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COTTON MATHER.

MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA;

OR,

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

NEW-ENGLAND,

FROM ITS FIRST PLANTING, IN THE YEAR 1620, UNTO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1698.

IN SEVEN BOOKS.

BY THE

REVEREND AND LEARNED COTTON MATHER, D.D. F.R.S.

AND PASTOR OF THE NORTH CHURCH IN BOSTON, NEW-ENGLAND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND OCCASIONAL NOTES,

BY THE REV. THOMAS ROBBINS, D.D.

AND

TRANSLATIONS OF THE HEBREW, GREEK, AND LATIN QUOTATIONS,

BY LUCIUS F. ROBINSON, LL. B.

HARTFORD:

SILAS ANDRUS & SON.

1853.

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SAL GENTIUM.

[THE SALT OF THE NATIONS.]

THE FOURTH BOOK

OF

THE NEW-ENGLISH HISTORY:

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE UNIVERSITY,

FROM WHENCE THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND (AND MANY OTHER CHURCHES,) HAVE BEEN
ILLUMINATED.—ITS LAWS, ITS BENEFACTORS, ITS VICISSITUDES, AND A CATALOGUE OF
SUCH AS HAVE BEEN THEREIN EDUCATED AND GRADUATED.

WHERE TO ARE ADDED,

THE LIVES OF SOME EMINENT PERSONS,

WHO WERE PLANTS OF RENOWN GROWING IN THAT NURSERY.

OFFERED UNTO THE PUBLICK

BY COTTON MATHER.

Here, as in furnaces of boiling gold
Stars dipt, come back, full as their orbs can hold
Of glitt'ring light.

AB. COULÆUS, de AMERICA.

*Ingenium, Pietas, Artes, ac Bellica Virtus,
Huc profugæ venient, et Regna Illustra condent;
Et Domina his Virtus erit, Fortuna Ministra.*

PLANTAR. Lib. 5.

ABM. CORLEY, on AMERICA.

Genius, Religion, Learning, Valor here,
Though poor and exiled, shall an empire rear,
Whose progeny shall be in goodness great,
Bondsmen to Virtue, Sovereigns over Fate.

HARTFORD:

SILAS ANDRUS & SON.

1853.

GENERAL CONTENTS OF THE SEVERAL BOOKS.

VOLUME I.

BOOK I.

ANTIQUITIES.—IN SEVEN CHAPTERS.—WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE LIVES OF THE GOVERNORS AND NAMES OF THE MAGISTRATES OF NEW-ENGLAND
—IN THIRTEEN CHAPTERS.—WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOOK III.

THE LIVES OF SIXTY FAMOUS DIVINES, BY WHOSE MINISTRY THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND
HAVE BEEN PLANTED AND CONTINUED.

VOLUME II.

BOOK IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE IN NEW-ENGLAND—IN TWO PARTS. PART I.
CONTAINS THE LAWS, THE BENEFACTORS, AND VICISSITUDES OF HARVARD COLLEGE, WITH
REMARKS UPON IT. PART II. THE LIVES OF SOME EMINENT PERSONS EDUCATED IN IT.

BOOK V.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE FAITH AND ORDER IN THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND, PASSED
IN THEIR SYNODS; WITH HISTORICAL REMARKS UPON THOSE VENERABLE ASSEMBLIES, AND
A GREAT VARIETY OF CHURCH-CASES OCCURRING AND RESOLVED BY THE SYNODS OF THOSE
CHURCHES.—IN FOUR PARTS.

BOOK VI.

A FAITHFUL RECORD OF MANY ILLUSTRIOUS, WONDERFUL PROVIDENCES, BOTH OF MERCIES AND
JUDGMENTS ON DIVERS PERSONS IN NEW-ENGLAND.—IN EIGHT CHAPTERS.

BOOK VII.

THE WARS OF THE LORD—BEING AN HISTORY OF THE MANIFOLD AFFLICTIONS AND DIS-
TURBANCES OF THE CHURCHES IN NEW-ENGLAND, FROM THEIR VARIOUS ADVERSARIES, AND
THE WONDERFUL METHODS AND MERCIES OF GOD IN THEIR DELIVERANCE. IN SIX CHAP-
TERS. TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED, AN APPENDIX OF REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES WHICH
NEW-ENGLAND HAD IN THE WARS WITH THE INDIAN SALVAGES, FROM THE YEAR 1688 TO
THE YEAR 1693.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

THE FOURTH BOOK, ENTITLED, SAL GENTIUM.

	PAGE
It contains an account of the New-English University, ...	7

THE INTRODUCTION.

PART I.—The Laws, the Benefactors, and the Vicissitudes of Harvard-Colledge; and a Catalogue of its Graduates; with Remarks upon it, ...	8
PART II.—The Lives of some Eminent Persons therein educated, ...	34
CHAPTER I.	
<i>Fides in Vita</i> ; or, Memorables concerning Mr. John Brock, ...	35
CHAPTER II.	
<i>Fructuosus</i> ; or, the Life of Mr. Samuel Mather, ...	39
CHAPTER III.	
The Life of Mr. Samuel Danforth, ...	59
CHAPTER IV.	
<i>Ecclesiastes</i> ; or, the Life of Mr. Jonathan Mitchel, ...	66
CHAPTER V.	
<i>Drusus Nov-Anglicanus</i> ; or, the Life of Mr. Urian Oakes, ...	114
CHAPTER VI.	
The Life of Mr. Thomas Shepherd, ...	119
CHAPTER VII.	
St. Stephen's Reliques; or, Memoirs of Mr. Joshua Moody, ...	125
CHAPTER VIII.	
<i>Gemini</i> ; or, the Life of the Collins's, ...	139
CHAPTER IX.	
The Life of Mr. Thomas Shepard, ...	142
CHAPTER X.	
Early Piety Exemplified; in the Life and Death of Mr. Nathanael Mather, ...	153

THE FIFTH BOOK, ENTITLED, ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

It contains, the Faith and Order in the Churches of New-England, agreed by their Synods: with Historical Remarks upon all those Venerable Assemblies; and a great variety of other Church-Cases, occurring and resolved in those American Churches, ...	177
THE FIRST PART.—The Faith professed by the Churches of New-England. With Remarks, ...	179
THE SECOND PART.—The Discipline practised in the Churches of New-England. With Historical Remarks; and a Rich Collection of Church-Cases happily decided, ...	207
APPENDIX.—The Heads of Agreement, assented to by the United Ministers, formerly called, Presbyterian and Congregational, ...	273
THE THIRD PART.—The Principles owned, and Endeavours used, by the Churches of New-England, concerning the Church-State of their Posterity. With Remarks, ...	276
THE FOURTH PART.—The Reforming Synod of New-England; with subsequent Essays of Reformation in the Churches, ...	316

THE SIXTH BOOK, ENTITLED, THAUMATURGUS, *vel*, ספר דברניא, *i. e. Liber Memorabilium.*

It contains many Illustrious Discoveries and Demonstrations of the Divine Providence, in Remarkable Mercies and Judgments on many particular persons among the people of New-England, ... 339

The Introduction: with Proposals made about recording Illustrious Discoveries of the Divine Providence, ... 341

CHAPTER I.

Christus super Aquas. Relating Remarkable Sea-deliverances, ... 343

CHAPTER II.

Hosaa. Relating Remarkable Salvations experienced by others besides the Sea-faring, ... 355

CHAPTER III.

Ceraunius. Relating Remarkables done by Thunder. With a *Brontologia Sacra*, remarkably produced, ... 361

CHAPTER IV.

The Returning Prodigal. Relating Remarkable Conversions, ... 373

CHAPTER V.

Historia Nemesios. Relating Remarkable Judgments of God, on several sorts of Offenders, in several scores of instances, ... 377

An Appendix, containing an History of Criminals, executed for Capital Crimes; with their Dying Speeches, ... 403

CHAPTER VI.

The Triumphs of Grace; or, a Narrative of the Success which the Gospel hath had among the Indians of New-England, ... 432

An Appendix, relating Things Greatly Remarkable, fetched from one little Island of Christianiz'd Indians, ... 440

CHAPTER VII.

Thaumatographia Pneumatica. Relating, the Wonders of the Invisible World, in Preturnatural Occurrences. It contains fourteen astonishing, but well-attested Histories, ... 446

THE SEVENTH BOOK, ENTITLED, ECCLESIIARUM PRÆLIA;

OR, A BOOK OF THE WARS OF THE LORD.

It contains the Afflictive Disturbances which the Churches of New-England have suffered from their various adversaries; and the Wonderful Methods and Mercies, whereby the Churches have been delivered, ... 457

THE INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

Mille Nocendi Artes; or, some General Heads of Temptation, with which the Churches of New-England have been exercised, ... 490

CHAPTER II.

Little Foxes; or, the Spirit of Rigid Separation in one remarkable zealot, vexing the Churches of New-England, and the Spirit of Giddy Familism in another; and some lesser Controversies arising upon sundry occasions, ... 495

CHAPTER III.

Hydra Decapitato; or, the First Synod of New-England, quelling a Storm of Antinomian Opinions; and many Remarkable Events relating thereunto, ... 508

CHAPTER IV.

Ignes Fatui; or, the Molestations given to the Churches of New-England, by that odd sect of people called Quakers; and some Uncomfortable Occurrences relating to a sect of *other* and *better* people, ... 522

CHAPTER V.

Wolves in Sheep's Clothing; or, an History of several Impostors, pretending to be Ministers, detected in the Churches of New-England. With a Faithful Advice to all the Churches, emitted by some of the Pastors, on that occasion, ... 537

CHAPTER VI.

Arma Virosque Cano; or, the Troubles which the Churches of New-England have undergone, in the Wars which the people of that country have had with the Indian Salvages, ... 552

APPENDIX.

Decennium Luctuosum; or, a History of Remarkable Occurrences, in the War which New-England had with Indian Salvages, from the year 1688, to the year 1693, ... 580

THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY OF HARVARD-COLLEGE.

INTRODUCTION.

If there have been Universities in the world, which a Beza would call *Flabella Satanae*,* and a Luther would call *Cathedras Pestilentiae* and *antichristi luminaria*,† and a third ventures to style *Synagogas perditionis* and *puteos Abyssi*;‡ the excellent Arrowsmith has truly observed, that it is no more to be inferred from hence that all are so, than that all books are to be burnt, because the Christians did burn the *magical* ones at Ephesus. The New-Englanders have not been Weigelians; or the disciples of the furious fanatic, who held forth [Reader, let it never be translated into English!] *Nullam esse in universo Terrarum Orbe Academiam, in qua Christus inveniatur; in Academiis ne tantillam quidem Christi cognitionem reperiri posse: Noluisse Christum Evangelicum prædicari per Diabolos; ergo non per Academicos.*§ Lest all the Hellebore of New-England (a country abounding with Hellebore) should not suffice to restore such dreamers unto their wits, it hath produced an University also, for their better information, their utter confutation. Behold, an American University, presenting herself, with her sons, before her European mothers for their blessing—an University which hath been to these plantations, as Livy saith of Greece, for the good of literature, there cultivated, *SAL GENTIUM*; an University which may make her boast unto the circumjacent regions, like that of the orator on the behalf of the English Cambridge, *Fecimus (absit verbo invidia, cui abest Falsitas) ne in Demagoritis lapis sederit super lapidem, ne deessent in templis theologi, in Foris Jurisperiti, in oppidis medici; rempublicam, ecclesiam, sedatam, exparatis, quo magis eruditi fuerint:*|| Finally, an University which has been what Stangius made his abbey, when he turned it into a Protestant Colledge; *Τῆς Θεογονίας παιδευτηρίον καὶ ψυχῶν διασκαλεῖαν Δογικῶν.*¶ And a river, without the streams whereof, these regions would have been meer unwatered places for the devil!

* Satan's fans.

† Seats of pestilence and beacons of Antichrist.

‡ Synagogues of perdition and sinks of hell.

§ That there is no institution of learning in the world, where Christ is to be found: in such institutions, not a particle of the knowledge of Christ can be obtained: Christ was unwilling that the gospel should be preached by devils; consequently, he is unwilling that it should be preached by scholars.

|| We have provided, (and let envy be as far removed from this declaration as is falsehood,) that in popular assemblies stone should not talk to stone—that the church should not lack priests, or the bar, jurists, or the community, physicians: we have supplied the government, the church, the senate, the army, with accomplished men, who are the better qualified to serve the public interest in proportion to the superiority of their acquirements.

¶ A seminary of the knowledge of God, and a school for logical minds.

PART I.

ITS LAWS, BENEFACTORS, VICISSITUDES, AND ITS GRADUATES.

§ 1. THE nations of mankind, that have shaken off barbarity, have not more differed in the languages, than they have agreed in this one principle, that *schools*, for the institution of young men, in all other liberal sciences, as well as that of languages, are necessary to procure, and preserve, that learning amongst them, which

*Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus.**

To relate the thousandth part of the brave things, which have been done by the nations of Asia, in former, or the nations of Europe, in latter ages, pursuant to this principle, would be to fill huge folio volumes, with transcribing from Hospinian or Meddendorpius, from Alsted, from Junius, and from Leigh, and from very many other authors. America is the part of the world whereto our history is confined; and one little part of America, where the first *academy* that ever adorned any English plantation in America was erected; and an academy which, if *majores nostri academias signato vocabulo appellavere Universitates, quod Universarum Divinarum Humanarumque Rerum Cognitio, in ijs, ut Thesauro conservato aperiatur*,† it may, though it have otherwise wanted many privileges, from the very foundation of it pretend unto the name of an UNIVERSITY. The primitive Christians were not more prudently careful to settle schools for the education of persons, to succeed the more immediately inspired ministry of the apostles, and such as had been ordained by the apostles; (and the apostle Julian truly imagined that he could not sooner undo Christianity than by putting of them down!) than the Christians in the most early times of New-England were to form a COLLEDGE, wherein a succession of a learned and able ministry might be educated. And, indeed, they foresaw that without such a provision for a *sufficient ministry*, the churches of New-England must have been less than a *business of one age*, and soon have come to nothing: the other *hemisphere* of the world would never have sent us over MEN enough to have answered our necessities; but without a nursery for such MEN among ourselves “darkness must have soon covered the land, and gross darkness the people.” For some little while, indeed, there were very hopeful effects of the pains taken by certain particular men of great worth and skill, to bring up some in their own private families for public services; but much of uncertainty and of inconveniency in this way was in that little while discovered; and when wise men considered the question handled by Quintilian, *Utilius ne sit domi, atque, intra privatos Parietes studentem con-*

* Chastens the manners and the soul refines.

† Our forefathers called academies by the significant name of Universities, because in them are revealed, like a hidden treasure, the *universal stores* of knowledge, both in divine and human things.

*tinere, an frequentiæ scholarum, et velut publicis præceptoribus tradere?** they soon determined it as he did, that *set-schools* are so necessary, there is no doing without them. Wherefore a COLLEDGE must now be thought upon: a Colledge, the best thing that ever New-England thought upon! As the admirable Voctius could happily boast of it, that whereas there are no less than *ten* provinces in the *Popish* Belgium, and there are no more than *two* Universities in them, there are but *seven* provinces in the *reformed* Belgium, and there are *five* Universities therein, besides other academical societies; thus the first Possessors of this protestant and puritan country were zealous for an University, that should be more significant than the Seminaries of Canada and Mexico; New-England, compared with other places, might lay claim to the character that Strabo gives of Tarsus, the city of our apostle Paul's first education; "they had so great a love to Philosophy," [*τοσαύτη ἐπέδωκε πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν,*] and all the liberal sciences, that they excelled Athens, Alexandria, and if there were any other place worth naming where the schools, and disputes of philosophy, and all humane arts are maintained." And although this country did chiefly consist of such as, by the difficulties of subduing a wretched wilderness, were brought into such a condition of poverty, that they might have gone by the title by which the modestly-clad noblemen and gentlemen that first petitioned against the Inquisition in the low countries were distinguished, namely, "a troop of beggars," yet these *Gueux* were willing to let the richer colonies, which retained the ways of the Church of England, see "how much true religion was a friend unto good literature." The reader knows that in every town among the Jews, there was a school, whereat children were taught the reading of the law; and if there were any town destitute of a school, the men of the place did stand excommunicate until one were erected: besides and beyond which, they had *midrashoth*, or divinity-schools, in which they expounded the law to their disciples. Whether the churches of New-England have been duely careful or no, about their other schools, they have not been altogether careless about their *midrashoth*; and it is well for them that they have not.

§ 2. A General Court, held at Boston, September 8, 1630, advanced a small sum (and it was then a day of small things), namely, four hundred pounds by way of essay towards the building of something to begin a Colledge; and New-Town being the *Kiriath Sepher*† appointed for the seat of it, the name of the town was for the sake of somewhat now founding here, which might hereafter grow into an University, changed into Cambridge. 'Tis true, the University of Upsal in Sueden hath ordinarily about seven or eight hundred students belonging to it, which do none of them live collegiately, but board all of them here and there at private houses; nevertheless, the government of New-England was for having their students

* Whether it is more expedient to shut up the student at home and in his own closet, or to send him to the crowded school and to public teachers.

† City of Books.

brought up in a more collegiate way of living. But that which laid the most significant *stone* in the foundation, was the last will of Mr. JOHN HARVARD, a reverend and excellent minister of the gospel, who, dying at Charlestown of a consumption, quickly after his arrival here, bequeathed the sum of seven hundred, seventy nine pounds, seventeen shillings and two pence, towards the pious work of building a Colledge, which was now set a foot. A committee then being chosen, to prosecute an affair so happily commenced, it soon found encouragement from several other benefactors: the other colonies sent some small help to the undertaking, and several particular gentlemen did more than whole colonies to support and forward it: but because the memorable Mr. JOHN HARVARD led the way by a generosity exceeding the most of them that followed, *his* name was justly æternized, by its having the name of HARVARD COLLEDGE imposed upon it. While these things were a doing, a society of scholars, to lodge in the *new nests*, were forming under the conduct of one Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, [or, if thou wilt, reader, *Orbilius Eaton*] a blade who marvellously deceived the expectations of good men concerning him; for he was one fitter to be master of a Bridewel than a Colledge: and though his *avarice* was notorious enough to get the name of a *Philargyrius** fixed upon him, yet his *cruelty* was more scandalous than his *avarice*. He was a rare scholar himself, and he made many more such; but their education truly was 'in the school of Tyrannus.' Among many other instances of his cruelty, he gave one in causing two men to hold a young gentleman, while he so unmercifully beat him with a *cudgel*, that, upon complaint of it unto the court in September, 1639, he was fined an hundred marks, besides a convenient sum to be paid unto the young gentleman that had suffered by his unmercifulness; and for his inhumane severities towards the scholars, he was removed from his trust. After this, being first excommunicated by the church of Cambridge, he did himself excommunicate all our churches, going first into Virginia, then into England, where he lived privately until the restauration of King Charles the II. Then conforming to the ceremonies of the church of England, he was fixed at Biddiford, where he became (as *Apostata est Osor sui Ordinis*)—a bitter persecutor of the Christians that kept faithful to the way of worship, from which he was himself an apostate; until he who had cast so many into prison for *conscience*, was himself cast into prison for *debt*; where he did, at length, pay one debt, namely, that unto *nature*, by death.

§ 3. On August 27, 1640, the magistrates, with the ministers, of the colony, chose Mr. Henry Dunstar to be the President of their new Harvard-Colledge. And in time convenient, the General Court endued the Colledge with a charter, which made it a corporation, consisting of a President, two Fellows, and a Treasurer to all proper intents and purposes: only with powers reserved unto the Governour, Deputy-Governour, and

* Money-lover.

all the magistrates of the colony, and the ministers of the six next towns for the time being, to act as *overseers* or *visitors* of the society. The tongues and arts were now taught in the Colledge, and piety was maintained with so laudable a discipline, that many eminent persons went forth from hence, adorned with accomplishments, that rendered them formidable to other parts of the world, as well as to this country, and persons of good quality sent their sons from other parts of the world for such an education as this country could give unto them. The number of benefactors to the Colledge did herewithal increase to such a degree of benefits, that although the President were supported still by a salary from the Treasury of the colony, yet the Treasury of the Colledge itself was able to pay many of its expences; especially after the incomes of Charlestown ferry were by an act of the General Court settled thereupon. To enumerate these benefactors would be a piece of justice to their memory, and the catalogue of their names and works, preserved in the Colledge, has done them that justice. But as I find one article in that catalogue to run thus, "a gentleman not willing his name should be put upon record, gave fifty pounds;" thus I am so willing to believe, that most of those good men that are mentioned were content with a record of their good deeds in the book of God's remembrance, that I shall excuse this book of our church history from swelling with a particular mention of them: albeit for us to leave unmentioned in this place MOULSON, a SALTONSTAL, an ASHURST, a PENNOYER, a DODDRIDGE, an HOPKINS, a WEB, an USHER, an HULL, a RICHARDS, an HULTON, a GUNSTON, would hardly be excusable. And while these made their liberal contributions, either to the edifice or to the revenue of the Colledge, there were other that enriched its library by presenting of choice books with mathematical instruments thereunto, among whom Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Richard Baxter, and Mr. Joseph Hill, ought always to be remembered. But the most considerable accession to this library was, when the Reverend Mr. Theophilus Gale, a well known *writer* of many books, and *owner* of more, bequeathed what he had unto his New-English treasury of learning; whereof I find in an Oration of Mr. Increase Mather, at the commencement in the year 1681, this commemoration:—" *Libris quam plurimis iisque Lectu dignissimis Bibliotheca Harvardina Locupletatur, quos THEOPHILUS GALEUS, (ὁ μακαρίτης) Theologus nunquam satis Laudatus, legavit; quosque Novanglorum Moses, Dominum Gulielmum Stoughtonum volo, procuravit, eoque se primum Hujus Academicæ Curatorem præbuit, atque Harvardinos omnes sibi in perpetuum Devinctos habet.*"* Indeed this library is at this day, far from a Vatican, or a Bodleian dimension, and sufficiently short of that made by Ptolomy at Alexandria, in which *Fame* hath placed seven hundred thousand volumes, and of that made by

* The library of Harvard College is enriched with a great number of books, and those such as are best worth reading—selected by Theophilus Yale, (of blessed memory) who has never yet received his full meed of praise as a theologian; also, by William Stoughton, the Moses of the New Englanders, who was the first benefactor of this institution, and has bound all true sons of Harvard to himself in bonds of everlasting gratitude.

Theodosius at Constantinople, in which a more certain *fame* hath told us of ten myriads: nevertheless 'tis I suppose the best furnished that can be shown any where in all the American regions; and when I have the honour to walk in it, I cannot but think on the satisfaction which Heinsius reports himself to be filled withal, when shut up in the library at Leyden; *Plerumque in ea simulac pedem posui, foribus Pessulum obdo, et in ipso Æternitatis Gremio, inter tot illustres Animas sedem mihi Sumo: cum ingenti quidem Animo, ut subinde Magnatum me misereat, qui Fœlicitatem hanc ignorant.**

§ 4. When scholars had so far profitted at the grammar schools that they could read any classical author into English, and readily make and speak true Latin, and write it in *verse* as well as *prose*; and perfectly decline the *paradigms* of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, they were judged capable of admission in Harvard-Colledge; and, upon the examination, were accordingly admitted by the President and Fellows; who, in testimony thereof, signed a copy of the Colledge laws, which the scholars were each of them to transcribe and preserve, as the continual remembrancers of the duties whereto their priviledges obliged them. While the *President* inspected the *manners* of the students thus entertained in the Colledge, and unto his morning and evening prayers in the hall joined an *exposition* upon the chapters; which they read out of Hebrew into Greek, from the *Old Testament* in the morning, and out of English into Greek, from the *New Testament* in the evening; besides what Sermons he saw cause to preach in publick assemblies on the Lord's day at Cambridge where the students have a particular gallery allotted unto them; the Fellows resident on the place became Tutors to the several classes, and after they had instructed them in the Hebrew language, led them through all the *liberal arts*, ere their first *four years* expired. And in this time, they had their weekly *declamations*, on Fridays in the Colledge-hall, besides publick *disputations*, which either the President or the Fellows moderated. Those who then stood candidates to be graduates, were to attend in the hall for certain hours, on Mondays, and on Tuesdays, three weeks together towards the middle of June, which were called "weeks of visitation;" so that all comers that pleased might examine their skill in the *languages* and *sciences* which they now pretended unto; and usually, some or other of the overseers of the Colledge would on purpose *visit* them, whilst they were thus doing what they called "sitting of solstices:" when the *commencement* arrived—which was formerly the second Tuesday in August, but since, the first Wednesday in July—they that were to proceed Bachelors, held their *act* publicly in Cambridge; whither the magistrates and ministers, and other gentlemen then came, to put respect upon their exercises: and these exercises were, besides an oration usually made by the President, orations both

* Generally, as soon as I set foot in it, I bolt the door, and seem to repose on the very bosom of immortal mind, among so many illustrious spirits: with a sense of delight so exalted, that I pity even princes, who do not know this happiness.

salutatory and *valedictory*, made by some or other of the commencers, wherein all *persons* and *orders* of any fashion then present, were addressed with proper complements, and reflections were made on the most remarkable occurrents of the præceding year; and these orations were made not only in Latin, but sometimes in Greek and in Hebrew also; and some of them were in verse, and even in Greek verse, as well as others in prose. But the main exercises were *disputations* upon questions, wherein the *respondents* first made their *theses*: for according to Vossius, the very essence of the Baccalaureat seems to lye in the thing: BACCALAUREUS being but a name corrupted of *Batualius*, which *Batualius* (as well as the French *Bataile*) comes a *Batuendo*, a business that carries *beating* in it: So that, "*Batualii fuerunt vocati, quia jam quasi Batuissent cum adversario, ac Manus conseruissent; hoc est, Publice Disputassent, atque ita Peritia suæ specimen dedissent.**" In the close of the day, the President, with the formality of delivering a book into their hands, gave them their *first degree*: but such of them as had studied three years after their first degree, to answer the Horation character of an artist,

Qui Studiis Annos Septem dedit insenuitque Libris et curis.†

And besides their exhibiting *synopses* of the liberal arts, by themselves composed, now again publicly disputed on some questions, of perhaps a little higher elevation; these now, with a like formality, received their *second degree*, proceeding Masters of Art.—"*Quis enim doctrinam amplectitur ipsam, præmia si tollis?*"‡ The words used by the President, in this action, were:

FOR THE BATCHELOURS.

Admitto te ad Primum Gradum in Artibus, scilicet, ad respondendum questioni, pro more Academiæ in Angliâ.

Tibique Trado hunc Librum, unâ cum potestate publicè prælegendi, in aliquâ artium (quam profiteris) quotiescunque ad hoc munus evocatus fueris.§

FOR THE MASTERS.

Admitto te ad Secundum Gradum in Artibus, pro more Academiæ in Angliâ.

Tradoque tibi hunc Librum, unâ cum potestate profitendi, ubicunque ad hoc munus publicè evocatus fueris.||

§ 5. Mr. Henry Dunster, continued the President of Harvard-Colledge, until his unhappy entanglement in the snares of Anabaptism fill'd the

* They were called *Battailers*, because they had battled as it were with an antagonist—that is, had engaged in a public controversy or discussion, and thus given a specimen of their proficiency.

† Who seven long years has spent in student-toil.

‡ For who would seek even learning itself, if you should strip it of its rewards?

§ I admit you to the first degree in Arts, that is to say, to the privilege of responding in debate, according to the custom of the English Universities; and I deliver to you this book, with the privilege of reading in public, in such profession as you shall select, as often as you are summoned to that duty.

|| I admit you to the second degree in Arts, according to the custom of the English Universities; and I deliver to you this book, with the privilege of practising a profession, whenever you shall be called upon to do so.

overseers with uneasie fears, lest the students, by his means, should come to be ensnared: Which uneasiness was at length so signified unto him, that on October 24, 1654, he presented unto the overseers an instrument under his hands; wherein he resigned the Presidentship, and they accepted his resignation. That brave old man Johannes Amos Comenius, the *fame* of whose worth hath been *trumpetted* as far as more than *three* languages (whereof every one is indebted unto his *Janua*) could carry it, was indeed agreed withal, by our Mr. Winthrop in his travels through the *low countries*, to come over into New-England, and illuminate this Colledge and *country*, in the quality of a President: But the solicitations of the Swedish Ambassador, diverting him another way, that incomparable Moravian became not an American. On November 2, 1654, Mr. Richard Mather and Mr. Norton were employed by the overseers to tender unto Mr. Charles Chancey the place of President, which was now become vacant; who, on the twenty-seventh day of that month, had a solemn Inauguration thereunto. A person he was, of whom 'tis not easie to say *too much*; but let it here be *enough* to recite the words of Mr. Increase Mather (who now succeeds him) in one of his orations:

“Cl. Ille Chancæus, quem CAROLUM magnum, jure optimo nominare possumus: Fuit ille senex venerandus, linguarum et artium præsidii instructissimus, gymnasiarcha præclarè doctus; qui in filiis prophetarum erudiendis fidelem navavit operam omnemque diligentiam adhibuit. Abitus et obitus tanti viri, Collegium quasi truncatum, ac tantum non enecatam reliquerunt.”*

After the death of Mr. Chancey, which was at the latter end of the year 1701, the *Alma Mater Academia* must look among her own sons, to find a President for the rest of her children; and accordingly the Fellows of the Colledge, with the approbation of the overseers, July 13, 1672, elected Mr. Leonard Hoar unto that office; whereto, on the tenth of September following, he was inaugurated.

This gentleman, after his education in Harvard-Colledge, travelled over into England; where he was not only a preacher of the gospel in divers places, but also received from the University in Cambridge the degree of a Doctor of Physick. The Doctor, upon some invitations, relating to a settlement, in the pastoral charge with the South Church at Boston, returned into New-England; having first married a virtuous daughter of the Lord Lisle, a great example of *piety* and *patience*, who now cross'd the Atlantick with him; and quickly after his arrival here, his invitation to *preside* over the Colledge at Cambridge, superseded those from the Church in Boston. Were he considered either as a *scholar* or as a *Christian*, he was truly a *worthy man*; and he was generally reputed such, until happening, I can

* That Chauncey, whom we may properly style Charles the Great, was a venerable old man, most accomplished in the fundamental principles of science and in the use of language, most expert in the art of instruction, who devoted himself with exemplary and unflinching diligence to the instruction of the sons of the prophets. The death of so great a man left the college crippled and well nigh crushed.

scarce tell *how*, to fall under the displeasure of *some* that made a figure in the neighbourhood, the *young men* in the Colledge took advantage therefrom, to ruine his reputation, as far as they were able. He then found the Rectorship of a Colledge to be as troublesome a thing as ever Antigonus did his *robe*; and he could subscribe to Melchior Adams' account of it, "*Sceptrum illud scholasticum, plus habet solitudinis quam pulchritudinis, plus curæ quam auri, plus impedimenti quam argenti.*"* The *young plants* turned *cud-weeds*, and, with great violations of the fifth Commandment, set themselves to *travestie* whatever he *did* and *said*, and aggravate every thing in his behaviour disagreeable to them, with a design to make him *odious*; and in a *day of temptation*, which was now upon them, several very *good men* did unhappily countenance the ungoverned youths in their ungovernableness. Things were at length driven to such a pass, that the students deserted the Colledge, and the Doctor, on March 15, 1675, resigned his Presidentship. But the *hard* and *ill* usage which he met withal made so deep an impression upon his mind, that his grief threw him into a consumption, whereof he dyed November 28, the winter following, in Boston; and he lies now interr'd at Braintree: where he might properly enough have this line inscribed over him for his

EPITAPH

Malus celcri saucius Africo.†

The fate of this ingenious man was not altogether without a parallel, in what long since befel Dr. Metcalf, the Master of St. John's Colledge in Cambridge; who, as Dr. Fuller has related it, was injuriously driven from the Colledge, and expired soon after his going out of his office: But I would not have my reader go too far, in constructing the remark, which the great Caius made thereupon, "*Omnes qui Metcalfi excludendi autores extiterunt, multis adversæ fortune procellis, sive divina ultione, seu fato suo juctati, mortem obierunt exemplo memorabili.*"‡ All that I shall farther add concerning our Doctor is, that in his time, there being occasion for the Colledge to be recruited with new edifices, there was a contribution made for it through the Colony, which, in the whole, amounted unto one thousand, eight hundred, and ninety five pounds, two shillings and nine pence; and of this, there was eight hundred pounds given by the one town of Boston; and of that, there was one hundred pounds given by the one hand of Sir Thomas Temple, as true a gentleman, as ever set foot on the American strand; and this contribution, with some other assistances, quickly produced a *new* Colledge, wearing still the name of the *old* one, which old one is now so mouldered away, that

* The academic sceptre is more fruitful of anxiety than of pleasure—brings more care than cash—more embarrassment than remuneration.

† His masts all splintered by the driving gale.

‡ All who favoured the dismissal of Metcalf, after suffering many adversities, either from special divine vengeance, or the ordinary course of Providence, died in a remarkable manner.

—*Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit.**

After the death of Dr. Hoar, the place of President *pro tempore*, was put upon Mr. Urian Oakes, the excellent Pastor of the Church at Cambridge; who did *so*, and would *no otherwise* accept of the place; though the offer of a *full settlement* in the place was afterwards importunately made unto him. He did the services of a president, even, as he did all other services, faithfully, learnedly, indefatigably; and by a *new choice* of him thereunto, on February 2, 1679, was, at last, prevailed withal to take the full charge upon him. We all know, that Britain knew nothing more famous than their ancient sect of DRUIDS; the philosophers, whose order, they say, was instituted by one Samothēs, which is in English, as much as to say, *an heavenly man*. The Celtic name, *Deru* for an *Oak*, was that from whence they received their denomination; as at this very day, the Welch call this tree *Derw*, and this order of men *Derwyddon*. But there are no small antiquaries, who derive this *oaken religion* and *philosophy* from the Oaks of Mamre, where the Patriarch Abraham had as well a *dwelling* as an *altar*. That *Oaken-Plain*, and the eminent OAK under which Abraham lodged, was extant in the days of Constantine, as Isidore, Jerom, and Sozomen have assured us. Yea, there are shrew'd probabilities that Noah himself had lived in this very *Oak-Plain* before him; for this very place was called *Ony*, which was the name of Noah, so styled from the Oggyan (*subcineritiis panibus†*) sacrifices, which he did use to offer, in this renowned Grove: And it was from this example that the ancients, and particularly that the Druids of the nations, chose *oaken* retirements for their studies. Reader, let us now upon another account behold the students of Harvard-Colledge, as a rendezvous of happy Druids, under the influences of so rare a President: But, alas! our joy must be short lived; for, on July 25, 1681, the stroak of a sudden death fell'd the tree,

—*Qui tantum inter caput extulit omnes,
Quantum lenta solent, inter viburna cypressi.‡*

Mr. Oakes, thus being *transplanted* into the better world, the Presidentship was immediately tendered unto Mr. Increase Mather; but his Church, upon the application of the overseers unto them to dismiss him unto the place whereto he was now chosen, refusing to do it, he declined the motion. Wherefore, on April 10, 1682, Mr. John Rogers was elected unto that place; and on August 12, 1683, he was installed into it. This worthy person was the son of the renowned Mr. Nathanael Rogers, the Pastor to the Church of Ipswich; and he was himself a preacher at Ipswich, until his disposition for *medicinal studies* caused him to abate of his labours in the *pulpit*. He was one of so sweet a temper, that the title of *delicie*

* The harvest waves where once stood Troy.

† Bread baked under ashes.

‡ Whose noble head towered high above the rest,
As 'mid the reeds the cypress lifts its crest.

*humani generis** might have on that score been given him; and his real *piety* set off with the accomplishments of a gentleman, as a gem set in gold. In his Presidentship, there fell out one thing particularly, for which the Colledge has cause to remember him. It was his custom to be somewhat *long* in his daily prayers (which our Presidents use to make) with the scholars in the Colledge-hall. But one day, without being able to give reason for it, he was not so long, it may be by half, as he used to be. Heaven knew the *reason*! The scholars, returning to their chambers, found one of them on fire, and the fire had proceeded so far, that if the devotions had held three minutes longer, the Colledge had been irrecoverably laid in ashes, which now was happily preserved. But him also a præmature death, on July 2, 1684, the day after the Commencement, snatched away from a society that hoped for a much longer enjoyment of him, and counted themselves under as black an *eclipse* as the Sun did happen to be, at the hour of his expiration.

But that the character of this gentleman may be more perfectly exhibited, we will here take the leave to transcribe the epitaph, engraved on his tomb, in God's-acre, at Cambridge. It is the desire of *immortality* inwrought into the very nature of man, that produced the invention of *epitaphs*, and while some will ascribe the invention unto the scholars of Linus, who so signified their affection to their slain master, others will that it may be ascend as high as the *great stone* of Abel, mentioned in the first book of Samuel, which, they'll tell us, was erected as a memorial to Abel by his father Adam, with that inscription upon it, "Here was shed the blood of the righteous Abel."

Now, to immortalize this their master, one of the scholars in Harvard-Colledge gave to the great stone of ROGERS the ensuing lines, to be now read there for his memorial; which, for the same cause, we make a part of our history:

*Mandatur huic Terræ et Tumulo,
Humanitatis Ærarium,
Theologiæ Horreum,
Optimarum Literarum Bibliotheca,
Rei Medicinalis Systema,
Integritatis Domicilium,
Fidei Repositorium,
Christianæ Simplicitatis Exemplar,
πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν θησαυρος.
Sc. Domini Reverendissimi,*

D. JOANNIS ROGERSII,
Rogersii Doctissimi Ipsuicensis in
Nov-Angliæ, Filii,
Dedhamensis, in Veteri Angliæ, per
Orbem Terrarum Clarissimi, Nepotis,
Collegii Harvardini
Lectissimi, ac Merito dilectissimi Præsidis,
Pars Terrestior.
Cælestior, à nobis Erepta fuit,
Julii 20, A. D. M. DC. LXXX. IV.
Ætatis suæ, LIV.

Chara est pars restans nobis, et quando cadaver.†

* The favourite of mankind.

† To this mound of earth is committed a treasury of benevolence, a storehouse of theologic learning, a library of the choicest literature, a living system of medicine, an embodiment of integrity, a repository of faith, a pattern of Christian sympathy, a garner of all virtues—in other words, the mortal remains of the Very Reverend John Rogers, son of the Very Learned Nathanael Rogers, of Ipswich in New-England, grandson of Mr. Rogers, of Dedham in Old-England, whose name is illustrious throughout the world. He was a favourite and deservedly admired President of Harvard College. His immortal part was borne away from us July the 20th, A. D. 1684.

His very dust is dear; 'tis all we have.

§ 6. The colledge was now again, by universal choice, cast into the hands of Mr. Increase Mather, who had already, in other capacities, been serving of it; and he accordingly, without leaving either his *house* or his *church* at Boston, made his continual visits to the colledge at Cambridge, managing as well the weekly *disputation*, as the annual *commencements*, and inspecting the whole affairs of the society; and by preaching often at Cambridge, he made his visits yet more profitable unto them.

Reader, the interest and figure which the world knows this my *parent* hath had, in the ecclesiastical concerns of this country, ever since his first return from England in the twenty-second, until his next return from England in the fifty-third year of his age; makes it a difficult thing for me to write the church-history of the country. Should I insert every where the relation which he hath had unto the public matters, it will be thought by the *envious* that I had undertaken this work with an eye to such a *motto* as the son of the memorable prince of Orange took his device, *patriæque patrique*.* should I, on the other side, bury in utter silence all the effects of that care and zeal wherewith he hath employed in his peculiar opportunities, with which the free grace of Heaven hath talented him to do good unto the public; I must cut off some *essentials* of my story. I will, however, bowle nearer to the *latter* mark than the *former*: and if no body blame Sir Henry Wotton for still mentioning his father with so much veneration, as "that best of men, my father," I hope I shall not be blamed for saying thus much, "my father hath been desirous to do some good." Wherefore I will not only add in this place, that when the honourable Joseph Dudley, Esq., was by the king's commission made President of the territory of New-England, this gentleman, among other expressions of his hearty desire to secure the prosperity of his mother, whose breasts himself had sucked, continued the government of the colledge in the hands of Mr. Mather, and altered his title into that of a *rector*. But when wise persons apprehend that the constitution of *men* and *things*, which followed after the arrival of another governor, threatened all the churches with quick ruines, wherein the colledge could not but be comprehended, Mr. Mather did, by their advice, repair to Whitehall; where, being remarkably favoured by *three crowned heads*, in successive and personal applications unto them, on the behalf of his distressed country, and having obtained several kindnesses for the colledge in particular, he returned into New-England, in the beginning of the year, 1692, with a royal charter, full of most ample privileges. By that royal charter, under the seal of King William and Queen Mary, the country had its *English* and its *Christian* liberties, as well as its titles to its lands (formerly contested) secured to it; and the province being particularly enabled hereby to incorporate the colledge, (which was the reason that he did not stay to solicit a particular charter for it,) immediately upon his arrival the general assembly gratified

* My country and my sire.



INCREASE MATHER.

his desire, in granting a charter to this university. Mr. Mather now re-assuming the quality of President over the colledge, which in his absence had flourished for divers years, under the prudent government of two tutors, Mr. John Leveret and Mr. William Bruttle, he does to this day continue his endeavours to keep alive that *river*, the streams whereof have made glad this city of God. Unto this brief recitation of occurrences relating to the colledge, I shall only annex a few passages, used by Mr. Mather when he gave the degrees, at the first cominencement after his arrival; because they are expressive of things purely *academical*:

“ Gradus academicus est honor ob virtutem potissimum intellectualem, merentibus, collatus : estque baccalaureatus, magisterium, ac doctoratus. Doctoratus in Nostro Athenæo plane ignotus ; et quod supra nos, nihil ad nos. De verâ nomenis baccalaurei notatione, inter peritissimos ambigitur. Nonnulli verbum à baculo, derivari volunt ; unde scholastici hanc baccalaurei descriptionem formarunt baccalaureus est persona habens dignitatem bajulandi ; baculum, premovibilis in magistrum. Ridiculum animal baccalaureus sit oportet, si hæc definitio, suo definito per omnia quadraret ! A Baccâ laurus vocem desumi verisimilius est ; caveant artem baccalaurei, ne laureolos, in mastaceo quærant. Ad magisterii gradum quod attinet, eo decorari solent, qui absoluto liberalium artium studio, istâ laureâ se dignos præbent. Magister artium, in quibusdam academiis philosophiæ doctor audit : sic apud Belgas, et sic etiam, ni fallor, apud nonnullos Germanos ; quamvis Anglis, Gallis, Hispanis, Italis, Polonis, iste titulus sit ignotis. De antiquitate et utilitate graduum academicorum, multi multa scripsêrunt ; præ cæteris, Altingius et Conringius. Honos alit artes. Ea quidem virtutis perfectio est, ut propter se expecti debeat ; ea tamen est humani ingenii perversitas, quòd nisi honoribus erigantur artes, neglectui habentur.

*Vix facîle invenies multis in millibus unum,
Virtutem pretium, qui putet esse sui.*

“ De jure conferendi academicos honores, juvenis doctissimus Christianus, Iterus, librum pereruditum nuper edidit : atque alterum de jure erigendi academias, Zeiglerus publici juris fecit. Mitto Rotmarum, qui collegia corpora ecclesiastica esse vult ac igitur pro academiis non habenda, quæ privilegiis pontificiorum non sunt donatæ. Jus constituendi academias, omnibus et solis, qui τὸ δόριον habent in republica tribuitur. Oggeret forsân aliquis, si hæc protestas inter regalia numeretur, quid Novanglia cum academia ? Quid Cantabrigia Novanglorum cum gradu academico ? Ejusmodi objectores sciant velim, nostram academiam regis auctoritate jam firmatam et munitam esse. Notius est quam ut meâ narratione egeat, quòd non solùm summæ potestates, sed alii, eorum nomine, hos honores dispersiant, quòd, exempli gratiâ, in imperio Romano Germanico, Archiduces Austriæ, etiam et comites Palatini ; quodque in fæderato Belgio, singuli ordines, in unaquaque provincia, hanc potestatem habeant et exerceant. Imo, et Rex ipse magnus Gulielmus, magnæ Britanniæ imperator, mihi dicere dignitatus est, se sat scire, quòd apud suos in Novangliâ subditos esset academia ; quæ academia (aiebat delictum humani generis, rex noster potentissimus) mihi erit in gratia. Quid verbis regiûs gratiosius esse

*poterit! Deindè verò summa provinciâ Massachusettensis curia, gubernator, senatus, populusque Nov-Anglicanus, collegium Harvardinum, academiam, cum auctoritate conferendi gradus pro more academiarum Angliæ nominârunt et instituerunt. Adsunt denique illustres duumviri: D. Gulielmus Phipsius, hujus territorii gubernator amplissimus, regis mandato delegatus; nec non D. Gulielmus Stoughtonus, pro-gubernator, Mæcenas noster æternam honorandus; quos equidem tanquam cancellarium et vice-cancellarium, hujus academix veneror, animo, menteque suspicio. Hæc cum ista se habeant, ad gradus academicos sine morâ, ac solito more, cur non procederemus, nullus video.”**

§ 7. At the commencement, it has been the annual custom for the batchelors to publish a sheet of theses, *pro virili defendendæ*,† upon all or most of the *liberal arts*; among which they do, with a particular character, distinguish those that are to be the subjects of the public disputations then before them; and those theses they dedicate, as handsomely as they can, to the persons of quality, but especially to the governour of the province, whose patronage the colledge would be recommended unto. The masters do, in an half sheet, without any dedication, publish only the questions, *pro modulo discutiendæ*,‡ which they propose either affirmatively or nega-

* A collegiate degree is an honour, conferred on those whose intellectual merits entitle them to it, and is either a Bachelor's, Master's, or Doctor's. The last are altogether ignored in our institutions of learning; for what is too high for us, is of course of no value to us. The true etymology of the term “*baccalaureate*,” is still in dispute. Some trace its derivation from *baculum*, “a staff,” and define a bachelor, as, “a person having the prerogative of beating others—holding the staff—a degree antecedent to that of Master.” A *Bachelor of Arts* would be a ridiculous creature, if this definition should hold good throughout. It is more probable that the word is taken from *bacca laurûs* (berry of the laurel). Let the Bachelors beware lest they look for their berries on the mock-laurel. As for the Master's degree, those usually receive its honours, who by strict application to liberal studies prove themselves worthy of that distinction. A Master of Arts, in some instances, is styled a Doctor of Philosophy; it is so in Belgium, and also, if I mistake not, in some parts of Germany; although that title is unknown in England, France, Spain, Italy, and Poland. Many writers, chief among whom are Altmg and Conringius, have discussed the antiquity and usefulness of academic degrees. Honour promotes learning. It is indeed the perfection of virtue, that it deserves to be cultivated for its own sake; yet such is the perversity of human nature, that, unless stimulated by hopes of distinction, we disregard the claims of learning.

Few trust the creed—though some in words accord—
That virtue is her own, her best reward.

A young Christian, Iter, has lately written a very learned work on the right of conferring academic degrees; and Zeigler has given to the public another concerning the right to establish institutions of learning. I say nothing of Rotmar, who wishes colleges to be classed as ecclesiastical bodies, and not be treated therefore as academies, which are not endowed with the privileges of the priesthood. The right of establishing colleges is reserved to all those, and to those only, who hold the sovereignty in the State. And perhaps some one would here suggest, if this prerogative is one of sovereignty, what has New-England to do with colleges? What has the New-England Cambridge to do with academic degrees? I would have such objectors understand that our college is now established and confirmed by royal authority. It is too notorious to need any statement from me, that not only the sovereign power, but others, in the sovereign's name, dispense these honours, as for instance, as in Catholic Germany, the archdukes of Austria, and even the Counts Palatine: and as in the Belgian confederation, every rank, and that too in every province, exercises this right. Yes, and even the great William, King of the British Empire, condescended to say to me, that he well understood that there was a college among his New-England subjects: “which college” (added that ornament of human nature, our mighty sovereign,) “I shall hold in special favour.” What could be more gracious than the royal words! Then indeed did the high court of the Province of Massachusetts, the governor, the senate and the people of New-England name and establish Harvard as a college, with the authority to confer degrees after the manner of the English Universities. Finally, it received the countenance of an illustrious daumvirate—Mr. William Phips, the most august governor of this territory, and Mr. William Stoughton, ex-governor, ever to be honored as our Mæcenas, whom indeed I revere as the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of this institution, and to whom I look up with profound esteem. When such is the state of things, I see no reason why we should not continue our academic degrees without hesitation and in the usual manner.

† Propositions, to be defended with all the disputant's ability.

‡ Questions to be discussed according to the part assigned to the disputant.

tively to maintain as respondents, in the disputations which are by them to be managed. They that peruse the theses of the batchelors of later years published, will find that though the Ramæan discipline be in this college preferred unto the Aristotelæan, yet they do not so confine themselves unto that neither, as to deprive themselves of that *libera philosophia*,* which the *good spirits* of the age have embraced, ever since the great Lord Bacon show'd 'em the way to "the advancement of learning:" but they seem to be rather of the *sect*, begun by Potamon, called ἐκλέκτικοι,† who, adhering to no former sect, chose out of them all what they lik'd best in any of them: at least, I am sure, they do not show such a veneration for Aristotle as is express'd at Queen's Colledge in Oxford; where they read Aristotle on their *knees*, and those who take degrees are *sworn* to defend his philosophy. A Venetian writer pretends to enumerate no less than twelve thousand volumes published in the fourteenth age, about the philosophy of Aristotle; none of ours will add unto the number. For this let the learned reader accept the excuse which their present president, in one of his orations, at the close of their exercises, has helpt us unto:

"Mihi quidem maximè arridet, quòd vos qui estis in artibus liberalibus initiati, liberum philosophandi modum, potius quam peripateticissimum sapere videmini. Nullus addubito quin Cl. Gassendi exercitationes vobis non sunt ignotæ, in quibus, quòd apud Aristotelem multa deficiant, multa superfluant, multa fallant, pluribus ostendit. Tritum est illud, qui non vult intelligi debet negligi; nonnulla autem in libris Aristotelis nemo mortalium potest intelligere. Fertur itaque de Hermolao barbaro, quòd Dæmonem ab inferis excitaverit, ut quid Aristoteles per suam ἐνταλέχεια voluit, exponeret. En egregium Aristotelis interpretem! Quam plurima in ejus scriptis, authoris paganismum redolent: mundum facit increatum: mortuorum resurrectionem possibilem negat; animam mortalem. Nonnulli Pyrrhonem, qui fuit pater Scepticorum: alii Zenonem, qui fuit pater Stoicorum; multi Platonem qui fuit pater Academicorum, Aristoteli præferunt. Vos autem quibus liberè philosophari contigit, in nullius jurare verba magistri, estis addicti: ast unicum Aristotelis dictum verè aureum, memoriâ teneatis: amicus Plato, amicus Socrates (addo ego amicus Aristoteles) sed magis amica veritas."‡

They likewise which peruse the questions published by the masters, will find, that as these now and then presume to fly as high as divinity, so their *divinity* is of that *reformed stamp* which carries as frequent confuta-

* Liberal philosophy.

† Eclectics.

‡ It is a subject of great gratification to me, that you, who have been initiated in liberal studies, have adopted a *liberal* mode of philosophizing, instead of floating about from school to school, as if you were literally Peripatetics. I doubt not that the essays of Gassendi are familiar to you; in which he demonstrates that many of Aristotle's positions are deficient—others, carried to extremes—others still, fallacious. It is a trite remark, that the writer who cannot be understood, ought to be thrown aside; yet there are some things in Aristotle which no human being can comprehend. Wherefore it is alleged of Hermolaus, an Asiatic, that he exorcised a spirit from hell, to explain to him what Aristotle meant by his *entelecheia* (active development of the faculties). Certainly, an imp would be a fine interpreter of Aristotle! How much that he has written is redolent of the heathenism of its author! He represents the world as uncreated; denies the possibility of a resurrection from the dead and the immortality of the soul. To Aristotle some prefer Pyrrho, founder of the Sceptics, Zeno, founder of the Stoics, Plato, the founder of the Academicians. But you, who are accustomed to philosophize in a *liberal* spirit, are pledged to the formulas of no master: and you should moreover remember that one truly golden sentiment of Aristotle: "Find a friend in Plato, a friend in Socrates," (and I say, a friend in Aristotle,) "but be sure, above all, to find a friend in truth."

tions of Arminianism with it as are possible: herein condemning those Protestant universities, abroad in the world, which have not preserved the glorious *doctrines of grace* in such purity, as that great party among the Romanists themselves, which go under the name of *Jansenists*. But for this also let their present president be accountable, whose orations at the end of their exercises have uttered such passages as these unto them:

*"Gravis illa fuit profundi doctoris querela, totum pene mundum post Pelagium in errorem abire. Causa in promptu est; nam propter Adæ, et in eo peccantis humani generis, naufragium, mortales prout res sint, nec sentiunt, nec judicant. Toti, toti, quanti quantique sunt, a bono et vero aversi, conversi ad malum et errorem. Pelagianismus itaque homini in statu lapsio naturalis est, nec unquam sic avelli potes- quod non iterum, tanquam infelix Lolium, in fundo naturæ corruptæ exoritori. Videmus Papistas, Socianistas, nec non Arminii sequaces, Pelagii de liberi arbitri. viribus, virus absorbentes ac devorantes; tametsi eorum error, non tantum ab Augustino, jamdudum, et a Luthero, in libro insigni cui titulus est, de servo arbitrio, sed etiam ab innumeris hujus seculi viris perquam eruditis, refutatur. Sed facessat jam Arminianismus, cum sit neo-pelagianismus. Mihi in mentem venit anagramma, sive ingeniosa nominis Arminii interpretatio, ex literarum trajectione. Jacobus Arminius, αναγραμματισζόμενος est, vani orbis amicus; at nobis ergo non sit amicus. Habemus autem in Amyraldo, Arminium redivivum; parum enim, aut nihil afferunt Amyraldistiæ, quos Novatores et Methodistas vocant, nisi quæ ab Arminianis acceperunt, uti multis Cl. Molienus evicit. Facessant igitur Novatores, et in nostra academia, nec vola, nec vestigium Arminianismi unquam inveniantur. In quantum verò inceptores nostri veram contrā Arminianismum sententiam pro virili propugnā- runt, eos laurea dignos habeamus."**

And now, I hope that the European churches of the *faithful* will cast an eye of some respect upon a little university in America, recommended by the character that has been thus given of it. Certainly they must be none but enemies to the reformation, the sons of Edom, (which the Jewish Rabbins very truly tell us is the name of Rome in the Sacred Oracles,) that shall say of such an university, "rase it! rase it!"

§ 8. But our account of Harvard College will be rendered more complete,

* It was a grievous complaint of a far-famed scholar, that almost the whole world had run after Pelagius into error. The reason is manifest: for on account of the fall of Adam, and of our sinful race through him, men, as things go, neither think nor judge. All, all are averse to truth and goodness, and inclined to evil and to error. Pelagianism is therefore natural to man in his fallen state, nor can it ever be so effectually rooted out, but that, like the noxious tare, it will spring up again in the soil of a corrupt nature. We see Papists. Socinians, even Arminians, swallowing and consuming the poison of Pelagius concerning the power of free will: although their error was utterly refuted centuries ago by Augustine, and in later times by Luther, in that famous work, entitled *The Will not Free*, and also by innumerable other able writers of the present century. But let Arminianism go, since it is nothing but Neo-Pelagianism. An anagram occurs to me, which, by a transposition of letters, becomes an ingenious definition of the word Arminius: *Jacobus Arminius*, anagrammatized, becomes *vani orbis amicus* (a friend of the vain world): for that very reason, let him not be our friend! We find also in the word *Amyraldus*, *Arminius redivivus* (Arminius, restored to life): for the followers of Amyrault, sometimes called New Schoolmen and Methodists, profess little or nothing but what they have learned from the Arminians, as the renowned Molienus has convincingly shown by numerous proofs. Let then the New Schoolmen go, and let no speck or trace of Arminianism be ever found in our institution. But let our young disputants be accounted worthy of the laurel in proportion to the energy with which they vindicate the truth from the assaults of Arminianism.

if we do here transcribe the laws of it; which laws, now, Reader, do bespeak thy patience:

STATUTA, LEGES, ET PRIVILEGIA, A PRESIDE ET SOCIIS, COLLEGII HARVARDINI, APUD CATABRIGIENSES IN NOVÀ ANGLIÀ, APPROBATA ET SANCITA; QUIBUS SCHOLARES SIVE STUDENTES, ET ADMISSI ET ADMITTENDI, AD LITERAS ET BONOS MORES, PROMOVENDUM, SUBJICERE TENENTUR.

1. *Cuicunque fuerit peritia legendi Ciceronem, aut quemvis alium ejusmodi classicum autorem ex tempore et congruè loquendi ac scribendi latinè facultas, oratione tam solutâ quàm ligatâ, suo (ut aiunt) Marte, et adunquam infectendi Græcorum nominum, et verborum paradigmata; hic admissionem in collegium jure potest expectare: quicunque vero destitutus fuerit hâc peritiâ, admonitionem sibi nequitiam vindicet.*

2. *Quicunque in collegium admittuntur, iidem etiam contubernio excipiendi sunt; et unusquisque scholarium œconomo tres libras, cum hospitio accipitur, numerabit; eidem ad finem cujusque trimestris quod debitum erit, solvet: nec licet ulli academico, nondum gradu ornato, convictum extra collegium quærere, nisi veniâ impetratâ à præside, aut suo tutore. Si quis autem hanc præsidis aut tutoris indulgentiam obtinebit, consuetudinem usitatam, fideliter observabit; sin autem aliquis a collegio decedendo, privatam institutionem quæsierit; copiâ à præside, vel a tutoribus illi non factâ, nullo privilegio academico patietur.*

3. *Dum hic egerint, tempus studiosè redimunt; tam communes omnium scholarium horas, quam suis prælectionibus destinatas, observando.*

4. *Unusquisque scholarium exercitia omnia scholastica et religiosa, tam publica quam privata, sibi propria præstabit. Adhuc in statu pupillari degentes, sexies quotannis rostra oratoria ascendent. Unaquâque septimanâ bis disputationibus publicis sophistræ interesse debent: cum baccalaurei tum sophistæ, analysin in aliquam S. literarum partem, instituent: baccalaurei singulis semestribus, publicè quæstiones philosophicas sub præsidis moderamine discutient: absente vero præside, duo seniores tutores moderantis partes alternatim agent.*

5. *Ne quis sub quovis prætextu, hominum, quorum perditæ ac discincti sunt mores, consuetudine utitor.*

6. *Nemo in statu pupillari degens, nisi concessâ priùs a præside, vel a tutoribus, veniâ ex oppido exeat: nec quisquam, cujuscunque gradus aut ordinis fuerit, tabernas aut diversoria, ad comessandum, aut bibendum, accedat, nisi ad parentes, curatores, nutricos, aut hujusmodi, accesserit.*

7. *Unusquisque scholaris, nullo parentum curatorum aut tutorum approbante, quidquam emito, vendito, aut commutato; qui autem secus fecerit, a præside aut tutore, pro delicti ratione multabitur.*

8. *Omnes scholares a vestibus, quæ fastum aut luxum præ se ferunt, abstineant; nec ulli studenti extra limites academice, sine toga, tunica, vel penula, exire liceat.*

9. *Omnis scholaris non graduatus, solo cognomine vocetur, nisi sit commensalis, aut equitis primogenitus, vel insigni genere natus.*

10. *Omnis commensalis, quinque libras in perpetuum academice usum solvet, priusquam in collegium admittatur.*

11. *Unusquisque scholaris in statu pupillari degens, tutori suo duas libras, at si commensalis, tres libras, per annum dinumerare tenebitur.*

12. *Nulli ex scholaribus senioribus, solis tutoribus et collegii sociis exceptis, recentem sive juniorem, ad itinerandum, aut ad aliud quodvis faciendum, minis, verberibus, vel aliis verbis impellere licebit. Et si quis non graduatus in hanc legem peccaverit, castigatione corporali, expulsionem, vel aliter, prout præsidis cum sociis, visum fuerit punietur.*

13. *Scholares, cujuscunque conditionis, a usu alearum vel chartarum pictarum, nec non ab omni lusu genere, in quo de pecuniâ concertatur, abstineant, sub penâ viginti solidorum toties, quoties, si sit graduatus; vel aliter, pro arbitrio præsidis et tutoris, si non sit graduatus.*

14. *Siquis scholarium a præcibus, aut prælectionibus abfuerit, nisi necessitate coactus, aut præsidis aut tutoris nactus veniam; admonitioni, aut aliusmodi, pro præsidis aut tutoris, prudentiâ, penâ, si plus quam semel in Hebdomade peccaverit, erit obnoxius.*

15. *Nullus scholaris quâvis de causâ (nisi præmonstrata et approbata præsidis et tutori suo) à*

studiis, stativæ exercitiis abesto: exceptâ semihorâ jentaculo, prandio vero sesquihorâ, concessâ; nec non cœnæ usque ad horam nonam.

16. *Siquis scholarium ullam Dei aut hujus collegii legem, sive animo perverso, sive ex supinâ negligentia violarit, postquam fuerit bis admonitus, gravius pro præsidis aut tutoris prudentia, pænis, coerceatur. In Atrocioribus autem delictis, ut adeo gradatim procedatur, nemo expectet.*

17. *Quicumque scholaris, probatione habitâ, poterit sacras utriusque testamenti scripturas, de textu originali Latinè Interpretari; et logicè resolvere; fueritque naturalis et moralis philosophiæ principiis imbutus; vitæque et moribus inculpatus; et publicis quibusve comitiis à præside et sociis collegii, approbatus, primo suo gradu possit ornari. Aliter nemo, nisi post triennium et decem menses ab admissione in collegium, ad primum in artibus gradum admittetur.*

18. *Quicumque scholaris locum habuit communem, scriptamque synopsis, vel compendium logicæ, naturalis et moralis philosophiæ, arithmeticæ, aut astronomiæ, exhiberit, fueritque ad theses suas defendendas paratus; nec non originalium, ut supra dictum, linguarum, peritus; quem etiamnum morum integritas ac studiorum diligentia cohonestaverint, publicis quibusvis comitiis probatione factâ, secundi gradûs, magisterii nimirum, capax erit.*

19. *Statutum est, quòd qui theologiæ dat operam, antequam baccalaureatum, in illa facultate consequatur, gradum magisterii in artibus, suscipiat ac sedulò theologicis, et hebraicis lectionibus incumbat; quibus annorum septem dabit operam: quo spatio, bis disputabit contra theologiæ baccalaureum semelque respondebit in theologiâ; concionabitur Latinè semel, et semel Anglicè, vel in templo, vel in aula academiæ: et si, in hoc tempore, in theologia profecerit, per solennem inaugurationem, baccalaureus fiet: hæc tamen cautione servatâ ne quis ante quinquennium completum à suscepto magistrali gradu, concionem hujusmodi habere permittetur.*

20. *Statutum est, quòd qui cupit in ordinem doctorum theologiæ cõptari, per integrum quinquennium, post susceptum baccalaurei gradum, lectionibus et studiis theologicis dabit operam, et antequam incipiendum, in eadem facultate admittatur, in questionibus theologicis bis opponet, semel respondebit, idque doctori, si commodè fieri poterit; Latinè semel, Anglicè semel, concionabitur in templo, vel in aula academiæ; solenniter sexies legat, et explicet aliquam scripturæ partem, et post solennem inceptionem, semel infrâ annum ipse sibi questionem proponere tenebitur in aulâ academiæ, cujus ambigua et dubitationes, in utramque partem, enucleabit, definiet et determinabit.*

21. *Statutum est, quòd præter cætera exercitia, pro gradibus theologicis prestanda, unusquisque tam pro theologiæ baccalaureatu, quàm pro doctoratu candidatus, tractatum quandam contra hæresiam vel errorem aliquem grassantem, aut in aliud utile quoddam argumentum (dirigentibus id præside et collegii sociis) pro communi ecclesiarum commodo, in lucem emitte, tenebitur.*

22. *Gradus academici, qui à præside et curatoribus collegii Harvardini antehac collati sunt, pro validis habeantur.*

23. *Unusquisque scholaris harum legum exemplar, à præside et aliquo tutorum subscriptum, sibi comparabit priusquam in collegium admittatur.**

* STATUTES, LAWS AND PRIVILEGES, APPROVED AND SANCTIONED BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE AT CAMBRIDGE IN NEW ENGLAND: TO WHICH BOTH SCHOLARS AND STUDENTS, CANDIDATES FOR ADMISSION AS WELL AS THOSE ADMITTED, ARE REQUIRED TO CONFORM, FOR THE PROMOTION OF LEARNING AND GOOD MORALS.

1. Every one competent to read Cicero or any other classic author of that kind extemporaneously, and also to speak and write Latin prose and verse with tolerable skill and without assistance, and of declining the Greek nouns and verbs, may expect to be admitted to the College: if deficient in any of these qualifications, he cannot under any circumstances be admitted.

2. All persons admitted to College must board at the Commons, and must each pay three pounds to the steward on their entrance, and must discharge all arrears at the end of every three months; nor shall any under-graduate of the institution be allowed to board out of College, unless by special permission of the President, or his tutor. If leave to do so shall be granted by either of these officers, the student shall faithfully observe the usual rules of the Commons; but if any ever shall leave College for private quarters, without permission of the President or Tutor, he shall not enjoy any privilege of the institution.

3. While the youth is here, he will be required to be diligent, and to observe study-hours with the same strictness as he does those of public recitation.

4. Every student must regard it as his duty to attend all college exercises, secular and religious, public and private. While in the freshmen class, he must speak in public on the stage eight times a year. Sophisters must be present at a public debate twice a week. Both bachelors and sophisters must write out an analysis in some branch of sacred literature: bachelors will discuss in public philosophical questions once a fortnight, under the superintendence of the President: in the President's absence, the two senior tutors will act as moderator by turns.

§ 9. Among the *laws* of Harvard-Colledge thus recited, the reader will find the degrees of a *baccalaureate* and a *doctorate*, in *divinity*, provided for those that, by coming up to terms *beyond* those required in any one European university, shall merit them. Now, though there are divines in the

5. No one must, under any pretext, be found in the society of any depraved or dissolute person.
6. No one in the lower class shall leave town without express permission from the President or tutors: nor shall any student, to whatever class he may belong, visit any shop or tavern, to eat and drink, unless invited by a parent, guardian, step-parent, or some such relative.
7. No student shall buy, sell or exchange any thing without the approval of his parents, guardians, or tutors. Whoever shall violate this rule, shall be fined by the President or tutor, according to the magnitude of the offence.
8. All students must refrain from wearing rich and showy clothing, nor must any one go out of the college-yard, unless in his gown, coat or cloak.
9. Every under-graduate shall be called by his surname only, unless he is a commoner, or the oldest son of a gentleman, or the child of a noble house.
10. Every commoner shall pay five pounds for the perpetual use of the college, before admission.
11. Every scholar in the lower class shall pay his tutor two pounds a year; unless he be a commoner, when he shall pay three pounds a year.
12. No person in a higher class, Tutors and Fellows of the college excepted, shall be allowed to force a freshman or junior to go on errands or do other services, by blows, threats or language of any kind. And any under-graduate who violates this rule, shall be punished by bodily chastisement, expulsion, or such other mode as shall seem advisable to the President and Fellows.
13. Students of all grades are to abstain from dice, cards and every species of gaming for money, under a penalty, in the case of a graduate, of twenty shillings for each offence; and, if the offender is an under-graduate, he shall be liable to punishment, at the discretion of the President and his tutor.
14. If any student is absent from prayers, or recitation, unless necessarily detained, or by permission of the President or a tutor, he shall be liable to an admonition; and, if he commit the offence more than once in a week, to such other punishment as the President or tutor shall assign.
15. No student must be absent from his studies or stated exercises for any reason, (unless it is first made known to the President or tutor, and by them approved) with the exception of the half-hour allowed for lunch, a half-hour for dinner and also for supper, until nine o'clock.
16. If any student shall, either through wilfulness or negligence, violate any law of God or of this college, after being twice admonished, he shall suffer severe punishment, at the discretion of the President or his tutor. But in high-handed offences, no such modified forms of punishment need be expected.
17. Every student who, on trial, shall be able to translate from the original Latin text, and logically to explain the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and shall also be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of natural and moral philosophy, and shall be blameless in life and character, and approved at a public examination by the President and Fellows of the College, may receive the first degree. Otherwise, no one shall be admitted to the first degree in arts, unless at the end of three years and ten months from the time of his admission.
18. Every scholar who has maintained a good standing, and exhibited a written synopsis of logic, natural and moral philosophy, arithmetic and astronomy, and shall be prepared to defend a proposition or thesis; shall also be versed in the original languages, as aforesaid: and who carries with him a reputation for upright character and diligence in study, and shall pass successfully a public examination, shall be admitted to the second, or Master's degree.
19. It is resolved, that those who pursue theology, before they receive a bachelor's degree in that department, shall first obtain a Master's degree in the arts, and shall diligently apply themselves to theological and Hebrew literature, and shall devote seven years to these studies. During this time, the candidate shall hold two discussions with a bachelor of theology, and shall once be a respondent in a theological debate: he shall pronounce one oration in Latin and one in English, either in church or the college-hall. And if by this time he shall become proficient in theology, he shall, with a solemn ceremony, be made a Bachelor. However, this caution should be observed, that no one shall be permitted to pronounce the oration until five years after his admission to the Master's degree.
20. It is resolved, that the person who desires to be admitted into the class of Doctors of Divinity, shall devote himself for five entire years after he has taken his bachelor's degree to a course of theological reading and study, and before his admission in this department, he shall twice defend and once endeavour to refute some theological proposition, if convenient, against a Doctor of theology. He shall pronounce one oration in Latin and one in English in a church, or the college-hall; he shall six times publicly read and explain some portion of Scripture; and after a solemn initiation, shall be obliged once in a year to propound a question in the college-hall, and to elucidate, define, and decide its ambiguities and points of doubt, as presented on both sides.
21. It is determined, that in addition to other exercises to be attended to by candidates for degrees in theology, every one of them, no matter to which degree he is looking, shall be obliged to publish, for the common benefit of the churches, and under the direction of the President and Fellows, some tract against heresy or an existing error, or some other useful argument.
22. Academic degrees, heretofore conferred by the President and Fellows of Harvard college, shall be holden to be valid.
23. Every student shall obtain a copy of these laws, signed by the President or some one of the tutors, upon his admission to college.

country whose abilities would fully answer the terms thus proposed, yet partly from the *novelty* of the matter itself, which under the former charter was never pretended unto, and partly from the *modesty* of the persons most worthy to have this respect put upon them, there was yet never made among us any of these *promotions*. 'Tis true, these titles are of no very early original; for the occasion of them first arose about the year of our Lord 1135. Lotharius the emperor, having found in Italy a copy of the "Roman civil law," which he was greatly taken withal, he ordained that it should be "publickly expounded in the schools;" and, that he might give encouragement unto this employment, it was ordained that the public *professors* of this law should be dignified with the style of *doctors*, whereof Bulgarus Hugolinus, with others, was the first. Not long after, this rite of creating doctors was borrowed of the *lawyers* by *divines*, who in their schools publickly taught divinity; and the imitation took place first in Bononia, Paris and Oxford. But I see not why such marks of honour may not be properly given by an American university, as well as an European, to them who, by such *capacity* and *activity* for the service of the churches, do deserve to be so distinguished. Indeed, this university did present their President with a *diploma* for a *doctorate*, under the seal of the college, with the hands of the fellows annexed: which, because it is the *first* and the *sole* instance of such a thing done in the whole English America, I will here transcribe it:

*Quum gradus academicos, tam in theologiâ, quam in philosophiâ, pro more academiarum in Angliâ, conferendi potestas, ab amplissimo gubernatore, et a summa Massachusettensis provincie curia, secundum sereniss. Regis ac reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ, illis concessa diploma, sit ad nobis commissa: et quoniam vir clarissimus, D. CRESCENTUS MATHERUS, Collegii Harvardini in Novâ Angliâ præses reverendus, libros quam plurimos tam Anglicè quàm Latinè edidit, omnigenâ literaturâ refertos, multisque præterea modis, non solum in linguis et in artibus liberalibus peritissimum, verum etiam in S. S. scripturis et in theologiâ se ostendit versatissimum; atque per studia et merita verè extraordinaria, non tantum apud Americanas, sed et Europæanas ecclesias commendatissimum se reddidit; propterea dictum D. CRESENTIUM MATHERUM, doctorali cathedrâ dignum, judicamus, eumque pro autoritate nobis commissâ, S. theologiæ doctorem, nominamus ac renunciamus. In cujus rei testimonium, academice sigillum hisce literis affiximus; nos, quorum hic sunt subscripta nomina. Datum Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum die Novembris septimo, anno Domini millesimo, sexcentesimo, nonagesimoque secundo.**

* Whereas the power of conferring academic degrees both in theology and philosophy, according to the custom of the English Universities, has been confided to us by our most excellent governor and the high court of the Province of Massachusetts, according to the Charter granted to them by their Most Serene Majesties, the King and Queen William and Mary: and whereas that most distinguished man, Mr. Increase Mather, the venerable President of Harvard College in New England, has published many books in English and in Latin, replete with the most varied learning, and is moreover most accomplished in literature and the liberal arts, and also admirably versed in the sacred Scriptures and theological lore, and has obtained for himself by his acquisitions and extraordinary merits a great reputation, not only in America, but in Europe: We therefore deem the said Increase Mather worthy of the Doctorate, and, according to the authority vested in us, pronounce and declare him a Doctor of Divinity. In testimony whereof, we whose names are hereunto subscribed have to these presents affixed the seal of the college. Dated at Cambridge in New England, on the seventh day of November, A. D. 1692.

Nevertheless, whatever use he may hereafter see cause to make of this instrument, he hath hitherto been willing to wear no other title than what formerly he had in the catalogue of our graduates, which is the next thing that my reader is to be entertained withal.

§ 10. Reader, the sons of Harvard are going to present themselves in order before thee. The catalogue pretends not unto such numbers as Osiander will find for us in the Academy of Tubinga, which yielded more than four thousand masters, *Inter quos erant magna Nomina et Lumina*;* nor such numbers as Howel reports of Paris, where there have been known at one time twenty thousand—yea, thirty thousand students; nor such numbers as Alsted reports of Prague, where the University had at once *forty-four thousand forreigners*, that were students in it, besides the native Bohemians. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that here are pretty competent numbers for a poor wilderness in its infancy; and a *poor wilderness* indeed it had been, if the cultivations of such a Colledge had not been bestowed upon it. In the perusal of this catalogue, it will be found that, besides a supply of ministers for our churches from this happy seminary, we have hence had a supply of magistrates, as well as physicians, and other gentlemen, to serve the commonwealth with their capacities. Yea, the considerable names of Stoughton and Dudley, in this list, have been advanced unto the chief place in government; nor has the country sent over agents to appear at Whitehall for any of its interests upon any occasion, for more than these thirty years, but what had their education in this nursery. It will be also found that Europe, as well as America, has from this learned seminary been enriched with some worthy men; among whom I will rather choose to omit the mention of Sir George Downing, who occurs in the first class of our graduates, than reckon him with a company so disagreeable to him as the rest, that were many of them afterwards famous ministers of the gospel in England and Ireland. *Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur.*† It will be likewise found, that not a few of these “Harvardians” have by their published writings been useful unto the world. That excellent man, who is the leader of this whole company, and who was a “star of the first magnitude” in his constellation, to wit, Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, an eminent herald of Heaven at Salisbury, and afterwards at Newbury in England, and (after the “act of uniformity” and the persecution following hereupon creepled him,) in several other places, as he had opportunity. He wrote several considerable treatises about justification; as, also, “against the unwarrantable practice of private Christians in usurping the office of public preaching;” and, as the scoffing Wood acknowledges, “he was accounted among the brethren a learned and a mighty man.” After him we have had, besides those whose lives are anon to be written, many others that by *writing* have made them-

* Among whom were great names and great lights.

† They do not agree well, and cannot stay in the same place.

selves to *live*; and not only have we had a Danforth, a Nathanael Mather, an Hoar, a Rowlandson, a Nowel, a Whiting, an Hooker, a Moody, an Eleazar Mather, a Richardson, a Thacher, an Adams, a Saltonstal, a Walter, the authors of lesser composures, out of their modest studies, even as with a Cæsarean section, forced into light; but also we have had an Hubbard, an Isaac Chancey, a Willard, a Stoddard, the authors of larger composures. Yea, the present President of the Colledge has obliged the public with more than *thirty* several treatises of diverse matters, and figures, and in diverse languages. 'Tis true, there is one more among the sons of this colledge, that might already bring in a catalogue of more than three-score several books, which the press has had from him; nevertheless, as Ronsard the French poet, upon reading of Du-Bartas' WEEKS, would say, *Monsieur Du Bartas a fait plus en une Semaine, que Je n'ay fait en toute ma vite*: "Du Bartas has done more in one week, than I have done in all the days of my life:" so it must be acknowledged that *three* composures of one writer may be more valuable than *threescore* of another. Nor, indeed, must be enumerated among the least blessings of New-England, that it has been, above all the rest of the English America, furnished with presses, from which it has had, a thousand ways, the benefits of that art of printing: a gift of heaven, whereof Beroaldus well sang:

*Quo nil Utilius dedit Vetustas,
Libros Scribere quæ doces premendo.**

Finally, if Harvard be now asked, as once Jesse was, "Are here all thy sons?" it must be answered, *no*: for upon a dissatisfaction, about a hardship which they thought put upon themselves, in making them lose a good part of a year of the time, whereupon they claimed their degree (about the year 1655,) there was a considerable number, even seventeen of the scholars, which went away from the Colledge without any degree at all. Nevertheless, this disaster hindred not their future serviceableness in the churches of the faithful, and some of them indeed proved extraordinary serviceable: among whom it would be criminal for me to forget Mr. William Brimsmead, Pastor at this day to the church of Malborough; and Mr. Samuel Torrey of Wegmouth, (of whose there are published three sermons, which at so many several times were preached at the anniversary elections of magistrates.) And unto these I may add Mr. Samuel Wake-man, the pastor to the church of Fairfield, of whom we have three or four several sermons published.

What now remains is to look over our catalogue; and then single out some subjects for a more particular biography. Only, while I carry in my *reader* to speak with them, the *writer* himself (solicitous that the name which Philo Judæus puts upon a colledge; namely, *Διδασκαλεῖον συμπασης ἀρετῆς*, or "a school of all virtue," may ever and justly be the name of

* Best gift of ancient times—the Press.

Harvard colledge,) will take the leave to address their successors with certain admonitions, translated from no less than a national synod of the Protestant churches in France. The last national synod, that sat before the dissipation of those renowned churches, after the other and many cares which the former most venerable assemblies took of their universities, by their decree, earnestly exhorted the governors of the universities to exert all their power "for the suppression of abuses crept in among them, redounding to the disgrace of religion, and opening the flood-gates to the deluge of profaneness, to break in upon the sanctuary," and under severe penalties enjoined the scholars, but most especially the students in divinity, "to keep themselves at the greatest distance from such things as are contrary to Christian modesty and sanctity, and to perfume the house of God betimes with the sweet odours of an early religious conversation, every way becoming the sacred employment whereto they be designed. Now, when we have transcribed some of the excellent words used by Monsieur Guittou, at the presenting of this decree to the university of Saumur, we will without any further delay give our catalogue leave to appear before us:

"You have consecrated your labours, your time, your whole man, unto the service of the sovereign monarch of the whole world; that Lord, who is ador'd by all the angels. Your own consciences, sirs, as well as mine, must needs tell you, you cannot bring with you too much *humility*, nor too much *self-abasement*, nor too much *self-annihilation*, nor too much *simplicity* and *sincerity*, when you come into His presence, whose eyes are a 'flaming fire,' and who 'searcheth your hearts and trieth your reins;' and offer yourselves to be enroll'd in the number of his *menial servants* and *gospel-ministers*.

"To be short, sirs, you are destined unto an employment in which there be no advancements made but by prayers; and prayers are never heard nor answered by God, further than they be *sincere*; and they be not in the least sincere, where the *hearts* are not guided and purified by the truth of God's holy word and spirit, who dictateth our prayers, and quickneth and sanctifieth our affections. Do you imagine, sirs, that God will give you his *holy spirit*, without whom you are nothing and can do nothing, unless you ask him of God? And are you then qualified and fitted for prayer, a most holy duty, when as your spirit is stuffed up, occupied and distracted with your youthful lusts, and replenished with the provoking objects of your vanity? Or, can you bring unto this sacred ordinance, unto this most religious exercise, that *attention*, *assiduity* and *perseverance*, which is needful to the getting of gracious answers and returns from Heaven, whenas the better and far greater part of your *time* is consumed in worldly companies and conversations? Certainly, sirs, you *will* find it exceedingly difficult to disentangle yourselves from those impressions you have *first* received, and to empty yourselves of the vanities you have imbibed, that you may be at liberty to reflect and meditate upon God's holy word.

"My dear brethren, honour and adorn that profession whereto you are devoted, and it will *reflect* beams of honour again upon you. Consider, sirs, what is becoming you, and God will communicate what is needful for you, to ev'ry one of you. Let his *name* and *glory* be the principal mark and butt of your conditions and studies, and it will bring down the choicest and chiefest of blessings of God upon you. Let your lives and conversations be accompanied and crowned with all the virtues and graces of *reformed* Christians; with that humility which becometh the servants of God; with that universal modesty and simplicity which God requireth from the ministers of his sanctuary, in their lives, actions, habits, language, behaviour, and in your whole course. And then, sirs, this your sanctification will be

most acceptable unto God and saving unto yourselves; it will bring your *profession* into credit and reputation; it will attract upon you the best *blessings* of Heaven; it will render your studies and employments prosperous, successful and edifying; the churches will be the better for you, and the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ will be by you promoted and advanced."

To these admonitions of Monsieur Guitton, I will only for a farewell, unto every scholar now address'd, subjoin that wherewith Mr. Carter took his leave of a scholar: *Fuge fastum, ignavium et antichristum.**

Our CATALOGUE is now, without any further ceremony, to be produced; a catalogue of Christian students, instructed in those, which the other day were *pagan* regions; a catalogue, whereof I may therefore say, as the historian does of the temple built by Constantine, it is τὸ πᾶσιν εὐκταῖον, καὶ ποθεῖ-μενον θέαμα—To all good men, a desirable spectacle.

CATALOGUS,

EORUM QUI IN COLLEGIO HARVIDINO, QUOD EST CANTABRIGIÆ NOV-ANGLORUM, AB ANNO 1642, AD ANNUM 1698. ALICUJUS GRADUS LAUREA DONATI SUNT.†

1642.	1648.		
* Benjamin Woodbridge.	1649.	* Johannes Rogersius Mr. <i>Præses</i> .	* Johannes Whiting Mr.
* Georgius Downing.		* Samuel Eaton Mr. <i>Socius</i> .	* Samuel Hooker Mr. <i>Socius</i> .
* Johannes Bulkæus Mr.		* Urianus Oakes Mr. <i>Socius, Præses</i> .	* Johannes Stone Mr. <i>Cantab. Angl.</i>
Gulielmus Hubbard Mr.		* Johannes Collins Mr. <i>Socius</i> .	Gulielmus Thomsonus.
Samuel Bellingham Mr. M. D. Ludg.		* Johannes Bowers.	<i>Qui ad secundum gradum admissi</i>
* Johannes Wilsonus Mr.	1650.		<i>fuere 1655. Diei sequentis baccala-</i>
* Henricus Saltonstall.		Gulielmus Stoughton Mr. <i>Oxonii</i> .	<i>rei, ad secundum gradum admissi ut</i>
* Tobias Barnardus.		* Johannes Gloverus <i>M. D. Aberd.</i>	<i>moris est. 1655.†</i>
* Nathanael Brusterus. <i>Th. Bac. Dub.</i>		Joshua Hobartus Mr.	1653. Aug. 10.
1643.		Jeremias Hobartus Mr.	* Edwardus Rawsonus.
* Johannes Jonesius Mr.		* Edmundus Weld.	* Samuel Bradstreet Mr. <i>Socius</i> .
* Samuel Matherus Mr. <i>Socius</i> .		* Samuel Philipsius Mr.	* Joshua Long Mr.
* Samuel Danforth Mr. <i>Socius</i> .		* Leonardus Hoar Mr. <i>M.D. Cantabr.</i>	Samuel Whiting Mr.
* Johannes Allin.		<i>Præses</i>	* Joshua Moodey Mr. <i>Socius</i> .
1644.		* Isaacus Allertonus.	Joshua Ambrosius Mr. <i>Oxonii</i> .
1645.		* Jonathan Inceus Mr.	* Nehemiah Ambrosius Mr. <i>Socius</i> .
* Johannes Oliverus.	1651.		Thomas Crosbæus.
* Jeremias Hollandus.		Michael Wigglesworth Mr. <i>Socius</i> .	1654.
* Gulielmus Amesius.		* Marigena Cottonus Mr.	* Philipus Nelson.
* Johannes Russellus Mr.		* Thomas Dudlæus Mr. <i>Socius</i> .	1655.
Samuel Stow, Mr.		* Johannes Gloverus Mr.	Gershon Bulkæus Mr. <i>Socius</i> .
* Jacobus Ward.		Henricus Butlerus Mr.	Mordecai Matthewsus.
* Robertus Johnson.		* Nathaniel Pelhamus.	1656.
1646.		* Johannes Davisius Mr.	* Eleazarus Matherus.
* Johannes Alcock Mr.		Isaacus Chauncæus Mr.	Crescentius Matherus Mr. <i>Dubl. Hib.</i>
* Johannes Brock Mr.		* Ichabod Chauncæus Mr.	<i>Socius, Rector. Præses. S. T. D.</i>
* Georgius Stirk.		* Jonathan Burræus Mr.	Robertus Painæus Mr.
* Nathaniel White Mr.	1652.		* Subael Dummerus.
1647.		* Josephus Rowlandsonus.	* Johannes Haynesius Mr. <i>Cantab.</i>
* Jonathan Mitchel Mr. <i>Socius</i> .	1653. Aug. 9.	Samuel Willis.	* Johannes Eliotus Mr.
* Nathaniel Matherus Mr.		* Johannes Angier Mr.	* Thomas Gravesius Mr. <i>Socius</i> .
Consolantius Star Mr. <i>Socius</i> .		* Thomas Shepardus Mr. <i>Socius</i> .	Johannes Emmersonus Mr.
* Johannes Barden.		* Samuel Nowel Mr. <i>Socius</i> .	1657.
* Abrahamus Walver.		* Richardus Hubbard Mr.	Zecharias Symmes Mr. <i>Socius</i> .
* Georgius Haddenus Mr.			* Zecharias Bridgen Mr. <i>Socius</i> .
* Gulielmus Mildmay Mr.			Johannes Cottonus Mr.
			Johannes Hale Mr.

* Avoid pride, sloth, and antichrist.

† CATALOGUE of those who received Degrees from Harvard College, Cambridge, New-England, between the years 1642 and 1698.

‡ Who were admitted to the second degree in 1655. On the day following, Bachelors were admitted to the second degree, as is usual, in 1656.

- Elisha Cookæus Mr.
 * Johannes Whiting.
 * Barnabas Chancæus Mr.
 1658.
 * Josephus Eliotus Mr.
 * Josephus Haynes.
 * Benjamin Bunker Mr.
 Jonah Fordhamus.
 * Johannes Barsham.
 * Samuel Talcot.
 * Samuel Shepards Mr. *Socius*.
 1659.
 Nathaniel Saltonstall.
 * Samuel Alcock.
 P. Abijah Savagius.
 Samuel Willard Mr. *Socius*.
 Thomas Parish.
 Samuel Cheverus.
 * Ezekiel Rogerus.
 Samuel Belchorus.
 Jacobus Noyes.
 Moses Noyes.
 1660.
 * Simon Bradstreet Mr.
 * Nathaniel Collins Mr.
 * Samuel Eliotus Mr. *Socius*.
 * Guilielmus Whittingham.
 * Josephus Cookæus.
 * Samuel Carterus.
 * Manasseh Armitagius.
 * Petrus Bulkæus Mr. *Socius*.
 1661.
 * Johannes Bellingham Mr.
 * Nathaniel Chauncæus Mr. *Socius*.
 * Elnathan Chauncæus Mr.
 Israel Chauncæus Mr.
 * Compensantius Osborn.
 * Daniel Weld.
 * Josephus Cookæus.
 Josephus Whiting Mr. *Socius*.
 Caleb Watsonus Mr.
 * Johannes Parkerus.
 * Thomas Johnsonus.
 * Bezaleel Shermanus.
 1662.
 Johannes Holiokus.
 Benjamin Thomsonus.
 Solomon Stodardus Mr. *Socius*.
 Moses Fiskeus Mr.
 Ephraim Savagius.
 Thomas Oakes.
 1663.
 * Samuel Symondus.
 Samuel Cobbet.
 * Johannes Reynerus Mr.
 * Benjamin Blackman.
 * Thomas Mighil Mr.
 * Nathaniel Cutler.
 1664.
 * Alexander Nowellus Mr. *Socius*.
 * Josiah Flintæus Mr.
 * Josephus Pynchonus Mr. *Socius*.
 * Samuel Brackenburius Mr.
 * Johannes Woodbridge.
 Josephus Easterbrookæus Mr.
 Samuel Street.
 1665.
 * Benjamin Eliotus Mr.
- Josephus Dudlæus Mr.
 * Samuel Bishop.
 * Edvardus Mitchelsonus.
 Samuel Mannaus.
 * Serantus Athertonus.
 Jabez Foxius Mr.
 * Caleb Cheeschaumuk *Indus*.
 1666.
 * Josephus Brownæus Mr. *Socius*.
 * Johannes Richardsonus Mr. *Socius*.
 * Daniel Masonus.
 Johannes Filerus.
 1667.
 Johannes Harriman Mr.
 * Nathaniel Atkinsonus.
 * Johannes Fosterus.
 Gershom Hobartus Mr.
 * Japheth Hobartus
 Nebemiah Hobartus Mr. *Socius*.
 Nicholaus Noyes.
 1668.
 Adamus Winthrop
 * Johannes Cullick
 Zecharias Whitmannus
 Abramus Piersonus
 Johannes Prudden.
 1669.
 * Samuel Epps Mr.
 Daniel Epps
 Jeremias Shephardus Mr.
 Daniel Gookin Mr. *Socius*
 Johannes Bridghamus Mr.
 * Daniel Russellus Mr.
 * Josephus Taylorus Mr.
 Jacobus Bayley Mr.
 Josephus Gurrish
 Samuel Treat Mr.
 1670.
 Nathaniel Higginson Mr.
 * Ammi Ruhamah Corlet Mr. *Socius*.
 Thomas Clarke Mr.
 * Georgius Burrough.
 1671.
 * Isaacus Fosterus Mr. *Socius*.
 Samuel Phips Mr.
 Samuel Sewall Mr. *Socius*.
 Samuel Matherus
 * Samuel Danforth Mr. *Socius*.
 Petrus Thacherus Mr. *Socius*.
 * Guilielmus Adamus Mr.
 Thomas Weld Mr.
 * Johannes Bowles Mr.
 Johannes Nortonus
 Edvardus Taylorus.
 1672.
 1673.
 Edvardus Pelhamus
 * Georgius Alcock
 Samuel Angier Mr.
 Johannes Wise Mr.
 1674.
 * Edmandus Davie *M. D. Padua*.
 * Thomas Sergeant.
 1675.
 Josephus Hanley
 Johannes Pike Mr.
 Jonathan Russellus Mr.
 * Petrus Oliverus Mr.
- Samuel Andrew Mr. *Socius*.
 Jacobus Minot
 Timothæus Woodbridge Mr.
 * Daniel Allin Mr.
 Johannes Emmersonus Mr.
 * Nathaniel Gookin Mr. *Socius*.
 1676.
 * Thomas Shephardus Mr.
 Thomas Brattle Mr.
 Jeremiah Cushing.
 1677.
 Thomas Chevers Mr.
 Johannes Danforth Mr. *Socius*.
 Edvardus Payson Mr.
 Samuel Sweetman
 Josephus Capen Mr.
 Thomas Scottow.
 1678.
 Johannes Cottonus Mr. *Socius*.
 Cottonus Matherus Mr. *Socius*.
 Grindallus Rawsonus Mr.
 * Urianus Oakes.
 1679.
 * Jonathan Danforth Mr.
 * Edvardus Oakes Mr.
 * Jacobus Alling Mr.
 Thomas Barnardus Mr.
 1680.
 * Richardus Martin
 Johannes Leveretus Mr. *Socius*
 Jacobus Oliver Mr.
 Guilielmus Brattle Mr. *Socius*.
 * Percivallus Green Mr.
 1681.
 * Samuel Mitchel Mr. *Socius*.
 Johannes Cottonus Mr.
 Johannes Hasting Mr.
 Noadiah Russellus Mr.
 Jacobus Pierpont Mr.
 Johannes Davie
 Samuel Russellus Mr.
 Guilielmus Denison Mr.
 Josephus Eliot Mr.
 1682.
 1683.
 Samuel Danforth Mr.
 Johannes Williams Mr.
 Guilielmus Williams Mr.
 1684.
 * Johannes Denison Mr.
 Johannes Rogersius Mr.
 Gordonius Saltonstall Mr.
 * Richardus Wenslæus
 Samuel Mylesius Mr.
 Nehemiah Walterus Mr. *Socius*.
 Josephus Webb Mr.
 Edvardus Thomsonus
 Benjamin Rolf Mr.
 1685.
 * Thomas Dudlæus Mr.
 * Warhamus Matherus Mr.
 * Nathaniel Matherus Mr.
 Roulandus Cottonus Mr.
 Henricus Gibs Mr.
 * Thomas Berrius Mr.
 * Johannee Whiting Mr.
 Edvardus Mills Mr.
 Johannes Eliotus Mr.

- Samuel Shepards
 * Petrus Ruck
 Isaacus Greenwood
 Johandes White, Mr. *Socius*
 Jonathan Pierpont Mr.
 1686.
 Franciscus Wainwright
 Benjamin Lynde Mr.
 Daniel Rogersius Mr.
 Georgius Phillipsius Mr.
 Robertus Hale
 Carolus Chancæus
 * Nicolaus Mortonus.
 1687.
 Johannes Davenport Mr.
 Johannes Clark Mr.
 Nathaniel Rogers Mr.
 * Jonathan Mitchel Mr.
 Daniel Brewer Mr.
 Timotheus Stevens Mr.
 * Nathaniel Welsh
 * Josephus Dasset Mr.
 Henricus Newman Mr.
 Josias Dwight
 Sethus Shove Mr.
 1688.
 1689.
 * Jacobus Allen Mr
 Samuel Moody Mr.
 Gulielmus Payn Mr.
 Addingtons Davenport
 Johannes Haynes
 * Gulielmus Partrigg
 Richardus Whittingham Mr.
 Johannes Emersonus Mr.
 Johannes Sparhawk Mr.
 * Benjamin Marston
 Johannes Eveleth
 * Benjamin Pierpont Mr.
 Johannes Hancock Mr.
 Thomas Swan Mr.
 1690.
 Paulus Dudlæus Mr. *Socius*.
 Samuel Matherus Mr.
 Johannes Willard Mr.
 * Daniel Denison
 Johannes Jonesius Mr.
 Josephus Whiting Mr.
 Nathaniel Clap
 Josephus Belcherus Mr.
 Nathaniel Stone
 Johannes Clark Mr.
 Thomas Buckinghamus
 Samuel Mensfield Mr.
 Petrus Burr Mr.
 * Johannes Selleck
 Johannes Newmarch Mr.
 Thomas Greenwood Mr.
 Benjamin Wadsworth Mr. *Socius*.
 Thomas Ruggles Mr.
 Stephanus Mix Mr.
 Edmundus Goffe Mr.
 Nicholaus Lynde
 * Benjamin Easterbrookæus Mr.
 1691.
 Johannes Tyng Mr.
 Ebenezer Pemberton Mr. *Socius*.
 * Thomas Makarty Mr.
 Josephus Lord Mr.
 Christopherus Tappan Mr.
 Samuel Emery Mr.
 * Thomas Atkinsonus
 Timotheus Edwards Mr.
 1692.
 Benjamin Colman Mr.
 Zecharias Alden
 Ebenezer White Mr.
 Jacobus Townsend
 Johannes Mors Mr.
 Caleb Cushing Mr.
 1693.
 Isaacus Chauncæus Mr.
 Stephanus Buckinghamus
 Henricus Flintæus Mr.
 Simon Bradstreet Mr.
 Johannes Wadæus Mr.
 Nathanael Hodson
 Penn Townsend
 Nathanael Williams Mr.
 Georgius Denison
 Johannes Woodward Mr.
 Josephus Baxter Mr.
 Gulielmus Venzie
 Nathaniel Hunting Mr.
 Benjamin Ruggles Mr.
 Gulielmus Grosvenor Mr.
 1694.
 Adamus Winthrop Mr.
 Johannes Woodbridge
 Dudlæus Woodbridge
 Eliphalet Adamus Mr.
 Johannes Savage
 Johannes Ballantine Mr.
 Salmon Treat
 Jabez Fitch Mr. *Socius*.
 1695.
 Samuel Vassal
 Gualterus Price Mr.
 Richardus Saltonstall Mr.
 Nathaniel Saltonstall Mr.
 Johannes Hubbard Mr.
 Simon Willard Mr.
 Habijah Savage Mr.
 Oliver Noyse Mr.
 Thomas Phips
 Timotheus Lindal
 Jonathan Law
 Ezekiel Lewis
 Thomas Blowers Mr.
 Thomas Little
 Ephraim Little
 Johannes Perkins Mr.
 Jedediah Andrews Mr.
 Josephus Smith
 Johannes Robinson Mr
 Josephus Green M
 Josephus Mors Mr.
 Nicolaus Webster.
 1696.
 Georgius Vaughan
 Petrus Thacherus
 Dudlæus Woodbridge
 Jonathan Remington
 Samuel Whitman
 Samuel Estabrookæus
 Andreas Gardner
 Samuel Melyen.
 1697
 Elisha Cookæus
 Antonius Stoddardus
 Antonius Stoddardus
 Jabez Wakeman
 Nathaniel Collins
 Samuel Burr
 Johannes Read
 Samuel Mordey
 Richardus Brown
 Hugo Adams
 Johannes Swift
 Johannes Southmayd
 Josephus Coit
 Josephus Parsonus
 1698.
 Thomas Symmes
 Josias Cottonus
 Samuel Matherus
 Josias Willard
 Dudlæus Bradstreet
 Petrus Cutler
 Johannes Foxius
 Nathanael Hubbard
 Henricus Swan
 Johannes White
 Josias Torrey
 Oxenbridge Thacherus
 Richardus Billings.

Illi quorum nominibus hæc nota () præfigitur, e vivis cesserunt.**

CANTABRIGIÆ, NOV-ANGLORUM, SEXTO QUINTILIS.—MDCXCVIII.†

We will conclude our catalogue of the graduates in this college with the elegy which the venerable Mr. John Wilson made upon its founder.

* Those to whose names an asterisk (*) is prefixed, have departed this life.

† Cambridge, New-England, May 6th, 1698.

IN PIENTISSIMUM, REVERENDISSIMUMQUE VIRUM,
JOHANNEM HARVARDUM,
È SUGGESTIO SACRO CAROLOENSI AD CÆLOS EVECTUM,
AD ALUMNOS CANTABRIENSES LITERATOS, PŒMA.

JOHANNES HARVARDUS.

ANAGR.—SI NON (AH!) SURDA AURE.

En, mihi fert animus, patroni nomine vestri
(Si non, (ah!) surdâ spernitur aure) loqui

Sic ait.

Me Deus, immenso per Christum motus amore,
Ad Cælos servum jussit abire suum.

Parebam; monitumque Dei præeunte parabam
Quicquid ad optatum sufficiebat opus.

Me (licet indignum) selegit gratia Christi,
Fundarem musis, qui pia tecta piis.

(Non quôd vel charâ, moriens uxorē carcerem,
Aut hæres alius quôd mihi nullus erat:)

Hæredes vos ipse meos, sed linguere suasit,
Usque ad dimidium sortis opumque Deus.

Me commune bonum, præsertim gloria Christi,
Impulit et charæ posteritatis amor:

Sat ratus esse mihi sobolis, pietatis amore
Educat illustres si schola nostra viros.

Hæc mihi spes (vitâ morienti dulciôr olim)

Me recreat, Cæli dum requiete fruor.

At si degeneres liqueat vos esse (quod absit!)—

Otia si studiis sint potiora bonis:

Si nec doctrinâ, nec moribus estis honestis
Imbuti, (fastu non leviore tamen.)

Grata sit aut vobis, si secta vel hæres ulla,
Vos simul inficiens, vos, dominique gregem:
Hæc mihi patrono quàm sunt contraria vestro!

Atque magis summo displicitura Deo!

Nec tamen ista meo sic nomine dicier opto,

Mens quasi promittat non meliora mihi!

Gaudia Cælorum vix me satiare valerent,

Si tanta orbatus, speque, fideque forem.

Ille Deus vobis, vestrisque laboribus, aliam,

Et dedit, et porro suppeditabit opem.

Ejus in obsequio, sic, O! sic, pergitte cuncti,

Ut fluat hinc major gloria lausque Deo.

At si quis recto malè sit de tramite gressus

(Quod David, et Solomon, et Petrus ipse queat.)

Hic sibi nè placeat, monitus neque ferre recuset,

In rectam possint qui revocare viam.

Sic grati vos este Deo! vestrique labores

Quos olim in Christo suscipietis erunt.

Utque vetus meruit sibi Cantabrigia nomen,

Sic nomen fiet dulce feraxque nova.

JOHANNES WILSONUS.

VERBA DOCT. ARROWSMITH, IN ORAT. ANTIWEIGELIANA.—Fazit Deus optimus, maximus, tenacem adeo veritatis hanc academiam, ut deinceps in Angliâ lupum, in Hibernia bufonem, invenire facilius sit, quàm aut Socinianum, aut Arminianum in Cantabrigia.

[TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE, EXPRESSLY FOR THIS EDITION.]

TO THE MOST PIOUS AND REVEREND

JOHN HARVARD,

BORNE FROM THE SACRED DESK AT CHARLESTOWN TO THE SKIES,
A POEM, ADDRESSED TO THE LEARNED ALUMNI OF CAMBRIDGE.

JOHN HARVARD.

ANAGRAM.—UNLESS WITH A DEAF EAR.

Your patron's voice my eager spirit hears—
Nay! spurn it not with dull and listless ears,
He speaks.

God, through the boundless mercy of His Son,
Called to my Spirit—sweetly led me on—
Filled me with strength divine, and showed the way
Which made life blessed to its latest day.
That call I heeded: though unworthy still,
I strove to do my heavenly Master's will;
Chosen of God to found, through grace Divine,
For Christian Learning an enduring shrine.
Not that no spouse sustained my fainting head,
Or loving children watched my dying bed;—
These I remembered, yet a half of all
I gave to you who throng this sacred hall.
The common weal, the glory of my God,
The love of man—these lured me where I trod.
Strong was my faith—'twas all I asked—that ye
Would shine as lights of truth and piety.
This hope, in life so blessed, adds a zest
To the high pleasures of this heavenly rest.
But if, degenerate, ye shall ever find
Sloth dearer than the riches of the mind;
If, losing virtue, nought is left beside
A bloated ignorance, inflamed by pride;

If darling heresies delight afford,
And ye deny your conscience and your Lord,
How will ye spurn the path your founder trod—
How tempt a covenant-keeping God!
Yet blend not thoughts like these with thoughts of me;
A better fortune seem these eyes to see.
Nay! Heaven itself could scarce suffice my heart,
If hope like this should languish and depart.
Thus far our God each pure endeavour cheers,
And will supply the strength of future years.
Walk by His light, His wisdom and His will—
He shall reveal a brighter glory still.
And if, like David's—Peter's—from the way
Of virtue any heedless foot shall stray,
Yet if, like them, the wanderer shall repent,
Our God doth pardon every penitent.
To Him be glory! to his glory, too,
Do whatsoever your hands shall find to do.
And as old Cambridge well deserved its name,
May the new Cambridge win as pure a fame.

JOHN WILSON.

WORDS OF DR. ARROWSMITH IN HIS ANTIWEIGELIAN ORATION.—May the great and good God grant, that this college shall be so tenacious of the truth, that it will be easier to find a wolf in England and a snake in Ireland, than either a Socinian or Arminian in Cambridge!

THE HISTORY OF HARVARD-COLLEGE.

PART II.

THE LIVES OF SOME EMINENT PERSONS THEREIN EDUCATED.

Discant ergo rabidi adversus Christum canes, discant eorum sectatores, qui putant ecclesiam nullos philosophos et eloquentes, nullos habuisse doctores, quanti et quales viri eam extruxerint et ornauerint, et desinant fidem nostram rusticæ tantum simplicitatis arguere suamque potius imperitiam agnoscant.—HIERON. PRAEF. AD CATUL. DE SCRIPT. ECCLES.*

§ 1. THE great Basil mentions a certain *art*, of drawing many *doves*, by anointing the wings of a few with a fragrant ointment, and so sending them abroad, that by the fragranty of the ointment they may allure others unto the house whereof they are themselves the domesticks. I know not how far it may have any tendency to draw others unto the religion hitherto professed and maintained in Harvard-Colledge: but I have here sent forth some of the *doves* belonging to that house, with the *ointment* of a *good name* upon them. And yet I should not have bestow'd the ointment of their embalm'd names, as I have done, if the God of heaven, by first bestowing the ointment of his heavenly *grace* upon them, had not given them to deserve it. Socrates being asked, which was the most beautiful creature in the world, answered, "A man garnished with learning." But, with his leave, a more beautiful creature is, "a man garnished with vertue." Reader, I will now show thee *ten men* garnished with *both*.

§ 2. The death of those brave men that first planted New-England, would have rendred a fit emblem for the country—a beech tree with its top lopt off, and the motto *ruina relinquo*;† (which tree withers when its top is lopt off!)—if Harvard-Colledge had not prevented it. But now, upon the lops of mortality, *uno avulso non deficit alter*.‡ We have opportunity to write the lives of another set, who indeed had their whole growth in the soyl of New-England; persons, whom I may call *cedars* and *fir-trees*, as Jerom did Cyprian and Hilary, and other holy men, in his comment on that passage, Isa. lx. 13: "The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir-tree, and the pine-tree, to beautifie the place of my sanctuary."

* Let then these rabid dogs, who rave against Christ, and let those who follow the pack, all seeming to suppose that the Church has embraced no philosophers, orators and scholars, understand, how great and how many are the men who have reared and adorned her, and let them cease to call our faith nothing better than rude simplicity, and let them rather acknowledge their own despicable ignorance.—JEROME.

† I am left a ruin.

‡ Though one is gone, another fills its place.

CHAPTER I.

FIDES IN VITA;* OR, THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN BROCK.

Olim fides erat in vitâ, magis quàm in articularum professione.—ERASM. EPIST.†

§ 1. DESIGNING to write the lives of some learned men, who have been the *issue* and the *honour* of Harvard-Colledge, let my reader be rather admonished than scandalized by it, if the first of these lives exhibit one whose *goodness* was above his *learning*, and whose chief *learning* was his *goodness*. If one had asked Mr. John Brock that question in Antoninus, Τίς σὺ ἢ τέχνη: “Of what art hast thou proceeded master?” he might have truly answered, Ἀγαθὸν εἶναι: “My art is to be good.” He was a good grammarian, chiefly in this, that he “still spoke the truth from his heart.” He was a good *logician*, chiefly in this, that he “presented himself unto God with a reasonable service.” He was a good *arithmetician*, chiefly in this, that he “so numbred his days as to apply his heart unto wisdom.” He was a good *astronomer*, chiefly in this, that his “conversation was in heaven.” It was chiefly by being a *good Christian* that he proved himself a *good artist*. The eulogy which Gregory the Great bestow’d on Stephen the Monk, *erat hujus lingua rustica, sed docta vita*;‡ so much belong’d unto this good man, that so *learned a life* may well be judg’d worthy of being a *written* one.

§ 2. He was born at the town of Stradbrook, in the county of Suffolk, A. D. 1620. And from his own trial of *early piety* in himself, while he was yet a *youth*, he was qualified, in a more significant and efficacious manner, to recommend it unto *young* people, as he very much did, when he came to be *old*. When he was about seventeen years of age, he came to New-England, as to a nursery of *piety*, with his parents: and here, no sooner was he recovered of the small pox, wherein he was very nigh unto death, but another fit of sickness held him for no less than thirty weeks together; whereby the hand of Heaven ordering the *furnace*, prepared him for the services that he afterwards performed.

§ 3. He was admitted into Harvard-Colledge, A. D. 1643, where he studied for several years, with an exemplary diligence; being of the opinion that, as Caleb said unto his men, “I bestow my daughter upon one of you, but he that will have her, must first win *Kiriath-Sepher*; i. e. a city of books;” thus, one is not worthy to have a church bestow’d upon him, until he hath some time lain before *Kiriath-Sepher*, and staid at some university. After five years lying here (as loth to be one of the *sacerdotes momentandi*,§ or *modò idiotæ, mox clerici*,|| sometimes by the ancients com-

* Faith in the life.

† Faith formerly manifested itself in the life, rather than in a profession of the articles of a creed.

‡ His speech was unpolished, but his life was wise.

§ Priestly minute-men.

|| Fools to-day, priests to-morrow.

plained of) he entred upon the work of the evangelical ministry; first at Rowly, and then at the Isle of Sholes. Here Scaliger might have indeed found "wisdom inhabiting the rocks," and here a *spiritual fisherman* did more than a little good among a rude company of *literal* ones.

§ 4. In the year 1662, he became a pastor to the church at Reading. And here he continued in the faithful discharge of his ministry, until the time that (as the ancients expressed it) "he took his journey a little before his body into another country." He wholly devoted himself unto his beloved employment; preaching on Lord's days, and on lectures at private church-meetings, and at meetings of young persons for the exercises of religion, which he mightily encouraged, as great *engines* to render his more publick labours effectual on the rising generation. His pastoral visits, to *water* what had been *sown* in his public labours, were also very sedulous and assiduous; and in these he managed a peculiar talent, which he had at Christian conference, whereby he did more good than some abler preachers did in the pulpit. He was herewithal so exemplary for his holiness, that our famous Mr. Mitchel would say of him, "he dwelt as near heaven as any man upon earth."

§ 5. About three or four years before his death, he was visited with a long and sore fit of sickness: but upon his restoration from that sickness, he enjoy'd a more *wonderful presence* of God with him in his ministry than ever before, and a more *wonderful success* of it. At length, he told one in his family, that he had besought this favour of Heaven: "to live but fourteen days after the publick labours of his ministry should be finished:" and he was in this thing most particularly favoured. He fell sick, and after a sickness of just *fourteen days*, on June 18, 1688, his friends full of sorrow for their loss might use Nazianzen's words concerning him, "Ἀπύπταται—he is *flown away*." But their sorrow, *quòd talem amiserint*,* was (to use the words of Jerom to Nepotian) accompanied with gladness, *quòd talem habuerint*.†

§ 6. Good men, that labour and abound in prayer to the great God, sometimes arrive to the assurance of a *particular faith* for the good success of their prayer. 'Tis not a thing that never happens, that the children of God, in the midst of their supplications for this or that particular mercy, find their hearts very comfortably, but unaccountably, carried forth to a strange perswasion that they shall receive this particular mercy from the Lord; and this perswasion is not a meer notion and fancy, but a special impression from Heaven, upon the minds of the saints that are made partakers of it. This particular faith is not the *attainment* of every Christian, much less an *endowment* of every prayer. There is no *real* Christian but what *prays in faith*; his prayer hath a general faith in the power, and wisdom, and goodness of God, and the mediation of Christ. But there is many a real Christian who is a stranger to the meaning of this thing:

* That they should have lost so good a man.

† That they should have once possessed so good a man

a particular faith for such mercies, without which a man may get safe to heaven at the last. It is here and there a Christian, whom the sovereign grace of Heaven does favour with the consolations of a particular faith: nor, if a Christian taste of these joys, may he expect more than a *taste* of them; they are *dainties* that are not every day to be feasted on: 'tis not in every prayer that the King of Heaven will admit every one to so much of *intimacy* with himself. Indeed, such a particular faith is not so much the *duty* of a Christian, as his *comfort*, his *honour*, his *privilege*. There is a *praying in faith*, incumbent on every Christian in every prayer; but this particular faith for the bestowal of such and such desired mercies, is not incumbent on a Christian; 'tis not required of him. 'Tis a vast privilege for a Christian to be *assured* that the Lord will do this or that individual thing for him; however, 'tis no *sin* for a Christian to break off not assured of it. But it is the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ that, with a singular operation, does produce in a Christian this particular faith; which indeed is near akin to the *faith of miracles*. Nor does the principal efficiency of the Holy Spirit, in these illapses, exclude and hinder the instrumentality of the holy angels in them: they are no doubt the holy angels that, with an inexpressible impulse, bear in upon the mind the particular faith wherewith some saints are at some times irradiated. The *wondrous meltings*, the *mighty wrestlings*, the *quiet waitings*, and the *holy resolves*, that are characters of a particular faith, which is no delusion, are the works of the Holy Spirit, wherein his holy angels may be instruments.

Eminent was Mr. Brock for his mysterious excellency. This good man was one full of the Holy Spirit and faith. He had many of those things which we may call (as the martyr Cyprian call'd those communications from Heaven which often directed him in his exigencies) "Divine condescensions." And there were many notable effects of his faithful and fervent prayers, whereof the exact history is now lost, because it was not in the proper season thereof composed and preserved.—Some few remarkable are not only still remembred, but also well attested.

One Thomas Bancroft lay very sick of the small pox; his distressed mother came drowned in tears to Mr. Brock: she told him, "she left her son so sick that she did not imagine ever to see him alive again;" he replied, "Sister, be of good cheer; the Lord has told me nothing of your son's dying; I'll again go with his case unto the Lord." The young man recovered, and is at this day a deacon of the church in Reading.

A child of one Arnold, about six years old, lay sick, so near dead, that they judg'd it really dead. Mr. Brock, perceiving some life in it, goes to prayer; and in his prayer used this expression: "Lord, wilt thou not grant some sign, before we leave prayer, that thou wilt, spare and heal this child? We cannot leave thee till we have it!" The child sneez'd immediately. Mr. Brock then gives thanks, and breaks off. The very next day the child visited him, and carried him a present.

When Mr. Brock lived in the Isle of Sholes, he brought the people into an agreement that, besides the Lord's-days, they would spend one day every month together in the worship of our Lord Jesus Christ. On a certain day, which by their agreement belong'd unto the exercises of religion, being arrived, the fishermen came to Mr. Brock, and asked him that they might put by their meeting, and go a fishing, because they had lost many days by the foulness of the weather. He, seeing that without and against his consent they resolved upon doing what they had asked of him, replied, "If you will go away, I say unto you, catch fish, if you can! But as for you that will tarry, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ this day, I will pray unto Him for you, that you may take fish till you are weary." *Thirty* men went away from the meeting, and *five* tarried. The thirty which went away from the meeting, with all their skill, could catch but *four* fishes; the five which tarried, went forth afterwards, and they took *five hundred*. The fishermen after this readily attended whatever meetings Mr. Brock appointed them.

A fisherman, who had with his boat been very helpful to carry a people over a river for the worship of God, on the Lord's-days in the Isle of Sholes, lost his boat in a storm. The poor man laments his loss to Mr. Brock; who tells him, "Go home, honest man; I'll mention the matter to the Lord; you'll have your boat again to-morrow." Mr. Brock, now considering of what a consequence this matter, that seem'd so small otherwise, might be among the untractable fishermen, made the boat an article of his prayers; and, behold, on the morrow, the poor man comes rejoicing to him, that his boat was found, the anchor of another vessel, that was undesignedly cast upon it, having strangely brought it up from the unknown bottom where it had been sunk.

When K. Charles II. sent one of his infamous creatures, whose name was Cranfield, for to be governour of Hampshire, a northern province of New-England, one of the illegal outrages committed by that Cranfield was the imprisoning of Mr. Moodey, the minister of Portsmouth. One who then lived with Mr. Brock, seeing him one morning very sorrowful, ask'd him the reason of his present sorrow. Said he, "I am very much troubled for my dear Brother Moodey, who is imprisoned by Cranfield: but I will this day seek to the Lord on his behalf, and I believe my God will hear me!" And on that very day was Mr. Moodey, (forty miles off,) by a marvellous disposal of Providence, delivered out of his imprisonment.

Multitudes of such passages, whereof these are but some few gleanings, caused Mr. John Allin of Dedham to say, concerning Mr. Brock, "I scarce ever knew any man so familiar with the great God as his dear servant Brock!"

CHAPTER II.

FRUCTUOSUS;* OR, THE LIFE OF MR. SAMUEL MATHER.

*Hæc casti maneant in religione nepotes
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.†*

§ 1. It is a thing truly and justly thought among the churches of God, *Fœlix illa anima, quæ aliis est forma sanctitatis.*‡ thrice and four times happy that man, from whose *example* other men may learn to be holy and happy. Now, for this *happiness*, not only were many among the first fathers of New-England, with the history of whose exemplary lives the faithful have been entertained, considerable, but some among the sons of those fathers also have bin so exemplary for their holiness, that their *lives* also deserve to fill the pages of an ecclesiastical history. One of those is now going to be set before my reader; and one who, whether we consider his *early sanctity* or his *fervent ministry*, will appear so much of a John Baptist unto us, that I choose the confession of Josephus the Jewish historian (who, if he were admitted into the discipline of Banus, a disciple of John, as he says he was, he might well make such a confession) concerning that John, to express the character of this worthy man: "he was an excellent man, and one that stirred up the people to piety and virtue, holiness and purity." This was Mr. Samuel Mather.

§ 2. Mr. Samuel Mather was born May 13, A. D. 1626, at Much-Wootton Lancashire. But was the question of Saul concerning David, "Whose son is this youth?"—about the meaning of which question, there may be some wonder, because David had already been serviceable at the court of Saul some while before; and therefore some take the meaning of the question to be, "What manner of man's son is this?" It was observed that some of the notablest men in the land were of this family, and, among the rest, Joab was of it—Joab, who for his valour was made general of the field; Joab, who never once in his life miss'd of the victory; he was the son of Jesse's daughter. Now, Saul was inquisitive, "What manner of man this Jesse was," that all his children prov'd so eminent. If my reader, thereto excited by the figure, which this person, as well as divers of his brothers have made in the church of God, shall accordingly inquire, "Whose son was this youth?" it must be answered, that his *father* was the famous Mr. Richard Mather, whose *life* has been already a considerable part not only in our own church-history, but also in the last volume of Mr. Clark's collections. Brought up and brought over by this his father, our Samuel came to New-England in the year 1635, delivered with the rest of his family

* Fruitful.

‡ Happy the soul, which is a pattern of holiness to others.

† In this religion firm, unswerving, pure,
Be our descendants, while the worlds endure.

from as eminent danger of death as ever was escaped by mortal men, in a fierce and sore hurricane on the New-English coast.

§ 3. Let the silly Romanist please himself with his Romance of St. Rumbald, who, as soon as he drew his *first breath*, cried, three times, "I am a Christian!" and then, making a plain "confession of his faith," desired that he might be baptized: it is most certainly true, that Samuel Mather did not suffer two times three years to pass him after his *first breath*, before he had, many times, manifested himself to be a Christian, under the regenerating impression of that Spirit into whose *name* and *faith* he had been baptized. The holy Spirit of God made early visits unto our Samuel, who from his childhood was devoted unto the tabernacle. He was in his early childhood an extraordinary instance of discretion, gravity, seriousness, prayerfulness, and watchfulness, which, accompanied with a certain generosity of temper, and an usual progress in learning, wherein

* * * — *Rerum prudentia velox,*
*Ante pilos venit;**—

render'd him the delight of all that part of mankind that know him; and as the name of Παῖδάριος γερων† was of old given to Macarius, thus this blessed young man was commonly called "the young old man," by those that mentioned him. R. Eliezer, the son of R. Azariah, when made president of the Jewish Sanhedrin, at sixteen years of age, was not one of a more composed behaviour. A certain Arabian commentary upon the Alchoran reports, that when John Baptist was a child, other boys asked him to play with them; which he refused, saying, "I was not sent into the world for sport." Such great thoughts inspired our Samuel Mather, while he was yet a child! To demonstrate and illustrate this part of his character, I shall only recite an extract of a letter, which he wrote from his lodging in Cambridge, to his father in Dorchester, when he was no more than twelve years of age:

"———Though [said he] I am thus well in my body, yet I question whether my soul doth prosper as my body doth; for I perceive, yet to this very day, little *growth* in grace; and this makes me question, whether grace be in my heart or no. I feel also daily great unwillingness to good duties, and the great ruling of sin in my heart; and that *God is angry* with me, and gives me no answers to my prayers, but, many times, he even throws them down as dust in my face; and he does not grant my continual requests for the *spiritual blessing of the softening of my hard heart*. And in all this I could yet take some comfort, but that it makes me to wonder, what God's *secret decree* concerning me may be; for I doubt whether even God is wout to deny grace and mercy to his *chosen* (though *uncalled*) when they seek unto him, by prayer, for it; and therefore, seeing he doth thus deny it to me, I think that the reason of it is most like to be, because I belong not unto the *election of grace*. I desire that you would let me have your prayers, as I doubt not but I have them; and rest

"Your Son,

SAMUEL MATHER."

* ——— Discernment, swift and keen,
Outfies the dart.

† Young old man.

Behold the language of one, more able than the famous Cornelius Mus to have been a preacher (as they say he was) when *twelve years* of age! Now, albeit, such "early accomplishments" use to be threatned with Cicero's *Non potest in eo succus esse diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter maturitatem est assecutus*.* and with Quintilian's *Ingeniorum præcox genius, non temerè unquam pervenit ad frugem*;† and with Curtius's *Nullus est et diuturnus et præcox fructus*;‡ which our proverb has Englished, "soon ripe, soon rotten;" there was no such observation to be made of our Samuel, who still continually grew in his accomplishment; and, instead of losing them, like the Hermogenes mentioned by C. Rodiginus, he kept advancing in all wisdom and goodness 'till he was found "ripe for eternal glory."

§ 4. In the catalogue of the graduates proceeding from Harvard-Colledge, our Samuel Mather was the first who appears as a Fellow of that happy society; wherein his careful instruction, and exact government of the scholars under his tuition, caused as many of them as were so, to mention him afterwards with honour as long as they lived; and such was the love of *all* the scholars to him, that not only when he read his last philosophy-lectures, in the colledge-hall, they heard him with tears, because of it's being his *last*, but also, when he went away from the colledge, they put on the tokens of *mourning* in their very garments for it. But by this his living at Cambridge, under the ministry of Mr. Shepard, he had the advantage to conform himself, in his younger years, more than a little, unto the *spirit* and *preaching* of that renowned man; (of whose life he afterwards published certain memoirs unto the world,) of which thing the famous Mr. Cotton, speaking to this our young Mather, did congratulate his happiness therein; adding, that in like manner one great reason why there came so many excellent preachers out of Cambridge, in England, more than out of Oxford, in some former days, was the ministry of Mr. Perkins in that university. Our Mather being not only by notable *parts*, both *natural* and *acquired*, and by an eminently gracious disposition of soul, but also by a certain florid and sparkling *liveliness* of expression, admirably fitted for the service of the gospel, several congregations in this wilderness applied themselves unto him for the enjoyment of his labours among them. In answer to their applications, he spent some time with the church of Rowly, as an assistant unto old Mr. Ezekiel Rogers; where the zeal of the people to have him settled, was the cause of his not settling there at all; but when the *temptations* arising from the zeal of the people caused him to choose a *removal* from thence, it went so near unto the hearts of some good men there, that it contributed, as 'twas thought, even unto shortning of their days in the world. Here, although in his rich furniture of learning from the schools, the *lamps* were lighted, before he did venture to bring his

* That vital power of his cannot be lasting, because it reached maturity too soon.

† A precocious genius hardly ever arrives at a fruitful maturity of talent.

‡ No fruit is at the same time premature and lasting.

incense unto the altar, yet his great learning did not make his preaching so obscure as to give the plain country-people occasion for the complaint which they sometimes made of another: "This man may be a great scholar, but he wants beetle and wedges to hew our knotty timber withal." Afterwards, a church being to be gathered in the north part of Boston, they had their eyes upon him to be their pastor, and accordingly *he* entertained a vast auditory of Christians with so incomparable a sermon upon the day when that people publickly embodied themselves into their ecclesiastical state, that old Mr. Cotton, with whom he then sojourned, said upon it, "Such a sermon from so young a man as this, is a matter of much more satisfaction than such an one from one of us elder men; for this young man is, SPES GREGIS."* And with this people he continued the winter following; among whom he was long after succeeded by one of his worthy brethren.

§ 5. Having in him the true spirit of a witness for our Lord Jesus Christ, he did, even while he was a young man, in this country set himself, with a prudent, but yet fervent zeal, upon all occasions to bear a just witness against every thing which he judged contrary unto the interests of holiness. But there was hardly any one thing against which he used more of thunderbolt, than that "unholy spirit of Antinomianism;" wherewith many people in those days were led aside. It was with a particular *agony* of dissatisfaction, that he would still speak of those "ungodly men, who turned the grace of God into wantonness." He would speak of them in such words as these [reader, they are of his own words, in a sermon upon "hardness of heart:"] "The same word is used for *blindness* and *hardness* (Eph. iv. 18, and Rom. xi. 7, 8), when Ahashuerus was offended with Haman, his face was covered; and amongst us when the cloath is pulled over the face, at an execution, the wretch is presently to be turn'd off. Thus, when the *eyes* of the soul are covered, and the 'God of this world blinds them,' and they are 'given over to believe a lye,' this is the beginning of their utter *hardness*, and eternal perdition. There are now many principles of darkness, whereby men's hearts are hardened in sin; whereof one is, 'the obligation of the moral law, as a rule of life unto a Christian:' a conceit that came out of hell, and is directly against the clearest light of Scripture—Mat. v. 17, 18, 19; and blasphemously injurious to the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; who dyed for this end, to make his people 'zealous of good works,' and therefore it makes him to dye in vain. This principle works extream hardness of heart; for when a man hath drunk in this poison, he may sin without sorrow—yea, and without any check of conscience for it. If he be not bound to *keep* to the rule, why should he be troubled for *breaking* of it? What are such errors but as Calvin speaks, *exundantis in mundum furoris Dei flagella*—'the scourges of the overflowing fury of an angry God against this wicked world?' Hence, also, there comes to be such extreme blindness and blockishness, and blackness of hell, upon

* The hope of the flock.

the spirits of some, as to deny the necessity of a *broken heart*, and sorrow for *sin*, in these times. Ministers must preach *old errors*, and call them by the name of *new lights*. Why, because they are *gospel times*, as if it were the work of the gospel to *harden* mens hearts, and make them stocks or stones, or like the sturdy oaks of Bashan, before the words of the God of Israel."

Nor could he with easier terms, at any time, speak of the licentious disposition, engendered by the Antinomianism broached and rampant, at that time, among many professors of Christianity.

§ 6. But he that "holds the stars in his right hand," intending that a *star* of this magnitude, should move in an orb, where his influences might be more extended than they could have been by any opportunities to be enjoyed and improved in an American wilderness, he inspired our Mather with a strong desire to pass over into England, and by the wisdom of Heaven there fell out several temptations in this wilderness, which occasioned him to be yet more desirous of such a removal. To England then he went, in the year 1650, where the right honourable Thomas Andrews, Esq., then lord mayor of the city of London, quickly took such notice of his abilities, as to make choice of him for his chaplain; and by the advantage of the post, where he was now placed in that chaplainship, he came into an acquaintance with the most eminent ministers in the kingdom; who much honoured and valued him, and, though of different perswasions, loved, *Christum habitantem in Mathero*.* Here his inclination to *do good*, produced good and great effects; but yet *one* that had like to have proved fatal unto himself: for being a man of excellent accomplishments, he was courted so often to preach in the biggest assemblies, that, by overdoing therein, he had like to have undone his friends, and lost his life. The famous Mr. Sydrach Sympson, observing this inconvenience, did with a brotherly—yea, with a fatherly care, obtain of him a promise, that he would not preach abroad at all, except when *he* should give his consent; and accordingly, when any public sermons were asked of him, he would refer those that asked unto Mr. Sympson, who, with a wise and kind consideration of this his friend's health, would give his consent but when it should be convenient.

§ 7. Mr. Mather was after this invited unto a settlement in several places; and in answer to those invitations, he did preach for a while at Graves-End, and after that at the cathedral in the city of Exeter. But having from his childhood a natural and vehement affection to a college-life, he retired unto Oxford, where he became a chaplain in Magdalen-College; and he had therewithal an opportunity, sometimes at St. Maries, to preach the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, which, for the sake of the Lord Redeemer, whom he loved always to preach, he gladly took. And having before this, proceeded master of arts in the only Protestant college of

* Christ dwelling in Mather.

America, he was now admitted *ad eundem*,* not only in the renowned university of Oxford, but in that of Cambridge also. But having been some time resident in Oxford, the English commissioners, then going into Scotland, were willing to carry with them some English ministers, whose eminent learning, wisdom, goodness and reputation, might be serviceable unto the interests of truth and peace in that nation. Accordingly, Mr. Mather, was one of the persons chosen for that service; and there he continued at Leigh, preaching the gospel of God our Saviour, for two years together.

§ 8. In the year 1655, he returned into England; and the Lord Henry Cromwél, then going over lord-deputy for Ireland, there were several ministers of great note pitched upon to go over with him, for the service of the Christian religion there, whereof was Dr. Harrison, Dr. Winter, Mr. Charnock and our Mr. Mather. When Mr. Mather came to Dublin, he was made a senior fellow of Trinity-Colledge; and from that university he had the offer of a *baccalaureatus in theologiâ*,† but he modestly declined it, and seemed inclinable to the Jewish rule, about the rabbinate, “love the work, but hate the rabbanship,” yet he that had already proceeded Master of Arts in so many universities, did here again proceed *ad eundem*.‡ Of any further degrees our Mather was ready to say, with the great Melancthon, who would not accept an higher title than that of Master: *Vides meum exemplum; nemo me percellere potuit, ut illum quamlibet honorificum titulum doctoris mihi decerni sinerem. Nec ego gradus illos parvifacio, sed ideò, quia judico esse magna onera, et necessaria reipublicæ verecundè petendos esse, et conferendos sentio.*§ But now, in preaching to that renowned city, and in the pastoral charge of the church there, he was joined as a colleague with Dr. Winter; and here preached every Lord’s-day morning at St. Nichol’s church; besides his turn, which he took once in six weeks, to preach before the lord-deputy and council. A preacher he now was of extraordinary esteem and success; and as the whole kingdom took notice of him, so he did service for the whole kingdom, in the eminent station where God had placed him. The more special excellencies for which his ministry was here observed, were—first, a most evangelical endeavour to make the Lord Jesus Christ the *scope* and *sum* of all that he said. Secondly, a most angelical *majesty*, wherewith his messages were still uttered, as coming from the throne of God; and thirdly, such a clearness of *reason* and *method*, that it was commonly remark’d Mr. Charnock’s invention, Dr. Harrison’s expression, and Mr. Mather’s logick, meeting together, would have made the *perfectest preacher* in the world. And if the sloathful man in Prov. xix. 24, who “will not so much as bring his hand unto his mouth,” were by the ancients understood concerning the

* To the same degree.

† Bachelor’s degree in theology.

‡ To the same degree.

§ You see what examples I have set: nothing hitherto could induce me to accept of the honourable title of “Doctor:” not that I hold such honours in light esteem, but because I consider them great burdens, and to be aspired to and conferred only as necessary to the State.

unholy minister, who will not bring *voci suæ vitam suam*;* our Mr. Mather was no sloathful preacher; for besides his being a preacher who, as Melchior Adam describes Jacobus Andreae, *si quando opus erat, mera sonabat tonitrua*,† he was also a preacher very eminent for holiness, and he taught the people at other times besides when he “opened his mouth.”

§ 9. A certain writer who does continually serve the “Romanizing faction in the church of England” with all manner of malice and slander against the best men in the world, that were in any measure free from the spirit of that faction, yet mentioning our Samuel Mather, in his “*Athenæ Oxonienses*,” gives this account of him: “Tho’ he was a Congregational man, and in his principles an high non-conformist, yet he was observed by some to be civil to those of the episcopal perswasion, when it was in his power to do them a displeasure. And when the lord-deputy gave a commission to him and others, in order unto the displacing of episcopal ministers in the province of Munster, he declined it; as he did afterwards to do the like matter in Dublin; alledging, that he was called into that country ‘to preach the gospel, and not to hinder others from doing it.’ He was a religious man in the way he profest, [this author confesses] and was valued by some who differ’d from him as to opinion in lesser and circumstantial points of religion.” Thus one of themselves, even a bigot of their own, has reported, and his report is true! For which cause, when the storm of persecution fell upon the non-conformists in Ireland, Mr. Mather, in his address to the lord-chancellor for his liberty, used these, among many other passages: “I can truly say, I desire no more, not so much favour for myself now, as I have showed unto others formerly, when they stood in need of it. But I will not say how much cause I have to resent it, and to take it a little unkindly, that I have met with so much molestation from those of that judgment, whom I have not provoked unto it, by my example, but rather have obliged by sparing their consciences, to another manner of deportment. For, indeed, I have always thought that it is an *irksome work* to punish or trouble *any* man, so it is an *evil* and *sinful* work, to trouble any *good* man with temporal coercions for such errors in religion as are consistent with the foundation of *faith* and *holiness*. It is no good spirit, in any form, to fight with carnal weapons; I mean, by external violence, to impose and propagate itself, and seek by such means the suppressing of contrary ways, which by argument it is not able to subdue.”—But let the merits of Mr. Mather have bin what they will, he could not avoid the hardships, which the historian proceeds to relate in these terms: “After his majesty’s restauration, he was suspended from preaching, ’till his majesty’s pleasure should be known, for two sermons, which were judged seditious.” Thus writes the veriest Zosimus that ever set pen to paper; even that Zosimus the younger, who cannot mention any well-wisher to the reformation of the church of England, without giving one

* His life into conformity with his preaching.

† Uttered thunder, when expediency required it.

occasion to think on Dr. Howell's observation upon the old Zosimus: "We know it to be the practice, in all reformations, of those who are addicted unto the old way, to render infamous such as have bin instruments in the alteration; and, by a prejudice against the persons, most ridiculously to insinuate an ill opinion of the thing or cause itself."

§ 10. One principal character upon the *spirit* of Mr. Mather, and one remarkable in the studies and sufferings of his *life*, will be given to my reader, in an account of the *two sermons* which were the pretended occasions of his being silenced. Know, then, that the Episcopal party in Ireland, immediately upon the king's restauration, hastning to restore their spiritual courts, and summon the ministers of the gospel to appear before them, and submit unto those unscriptural impositions, which many years had bin laid aside *ratione belli* (as they expressed it) *rabieque hæreticorum et schismaticorum*,* and answer for the breach of canons, which (as the others answered) "We bless God, we have never kept, to his praise we speak it, and we hope, through his grace, we never shall:" it was thought necessary on this occasion that a publick testimony should be born against the revival of those dead superstitions. Accordingly Mr. Mather, being the fittest person on many accounts to be put upon that service, he did, in the capital city of the kingdom, in a great auditory, preach two sermons upon K. Hezekiah's breaking in pieces the brazen serpent, and calling it Nehaustan, and thence advance this assertion, "That it is a thing very pleasing in the sight of God, when the sin of idolatry, and all the monuments, all the remembrances and remainders of it are quite destroyed and rooted out from among his people:" wherein his note upon the text was indeed but the very same with what his adversaries, who are usually great admirers of every thing said by Grotius, might have read in the commentary of that admirably learned (though frequently Socinianizing, and at last Romanizing) interpreter, upon the very same text; *Egregium documentum regibus, ut quamvis benè instituta, sed non necessaria, ubi ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, malè usurpantur, è conspectu tollant, nè ponant offendiculum cæcis*.† In the prosecution of this assertion, he offered many arguments, why the *ceremonies* of the Church of England, which were but the old leaven of human inventions and popish corruptions remaining in the worship of a church, whose *doctrine* he yet approv'd, as generally owned by good men, should not be reassumed, and by the old cruel methods of pœnal laws, reinforced. Against the ceremonies in general, he argued, that the preface to the common-prayer-book, expressly declared them to be mystical and significant, and so they differed nothing from sacraments, but that they wanted a divine institution; and, said he, "The promoters of them do pretend only the authority of the church; but if the second commandment

* On account of the existing war and the rage of heretics and schismatics.

† A most excellent hint to sovereigns, to remove all unnecessary impositions, however well contrived they may be, and avoid placing the least stumbling-block in the way of the blind and unintelligent among their subjects.

was given to the church, 'Thou shalt not make any graven image, or form of worship to thyself;' they are a manifest breach of that commandment." He added, that, as they were the *monuments* of the old papal and pagan idolatry, and men did therein, but *symbolize* with idolaters, thus, by the greater weight almost perpetually laid upon them, than upon greater things, they were still made further idols. Particularly, he argued against the *surplice*, "That it was a continuation of the superstitious garments, wherein the false worshippers did use to officiate; That the Aaronical garments being typical of the graces attending the Lord Jesus Christ, they are by his coming antiquated; That the Scriptures give not the least intimation of any *garments*, whereby ministers are to be distinguished." He added, "That among the *first reformers*, the most eminent were in their undistressed judgments, against the vestment; and that when the canons of 1571 forbad the 'gray amice, or any other garment defiled with the like superstition,' the æquity of that canon would exclude *this* also." He argued against the *sign of the cross in baptism*, that whatever was to be said against oyl, cream, salt, spittle, therein is to be said against the cross, which indeed never had bin used, in the worship of God, as *oyl* had been of old: that there is as much cause to worship the *spear* that pierced our Lord, as the *cross* which hanged him, or that it were as reasonable, to scratch a child's forehead with a *thorn*, to shew that it must suffer for him who wore a crown of thorns: that the *cross* thus employed is a breach of the second commandment in the very letter of it, being an *image* in the service of God of *man's devising*, and fetch'd, as Mr. Parker says, "from the brothel-house of God's greatest enemy." He argued against *kneeling* at the Lord's-Supper, that it is contrary to the *first institution*, which had in it none but a table-gesture: that it is a gross hypocrisy to pretend unto more devotion, holiness, and reverence, in the act of receiving, than the apostles did, when our Lord was there *bodily* present with them; that it countenanced the error of the papists, who kneel before their bready god, and profess, that "they would be sooner torn in pieces than do it, if they did not believe that Christ is there bodily present:" and that, since it was a rule in the common-prayer-book, set forth in K. Edward's time, 1549, "As touching kneeling and other gestures, they may be used or left, as every man's devotion serveth," it was a shameful thing to be so retrograde in religion, as now to establish that gesture. He argued against "bowing at the altar, and setting the communion-table altarwise," that the communion-table is in the sacred oracles called a *table* still, and, no where, an *altar*; and if it were an altar, it would imply a sacrifice, which the Lord's Supper is not: yea, it would be greater and better than the Lord's Supper itself, and sanctifie it; that if it were an altar, yet it should not be fasten'd unto the wall, *dresser-fashion*; but so stand, as that it might be "compassed about;" that the placing of it at the *east-end* of the church, with *steps* going up to it, and especially the setting of images, or other

massing appurtenances over it, smells rank of paganism: and that, whereas, in the very beginning of the reformation, this abuse was one of the first things put down, it were a most Romish vergency *now* to conjure it up again. He argued against "bowing at the name of Jesus," that the phrase of bowing ἐν τῷ ὀνοματί,* in the text, wrested unto his purpose, is but very untowardly translated, "at the name of Jesus," instead of "in the name;" and it were as proper to speak of "baptizing at the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit," and of "believing at God the Father, and at Jesus Christ his Son our Lord, and at the Holy Ghost." That by the "name of Jesus," is not meant the sound of the *syllables* in the word JESUS, but the power, majesty, dominion and authority of the *person* of the Lord Jesus; and it is a piece of cabalistical *magic*, to make an *incurvation* at the sound of this name, without paying the like respect unto other names of the blessed God, or particularly the name CHRIST, which is more distinguishing for our Lord, than that of JESUS; or why not at the *sight* as well as the *sound*? That the apostle speaks of such a *name*, to be acknowledged with *bowing*, as was given to our Lord after his resurrection, and as the *effect* and *reward* of his *humiliation*, which the name Jesus was not; it is the name of Christ exalted, or Christ the Lord; and by "bowing the knee," is meant the universal subjection of all creatures unto his Lordship, especially at the day of judgment. He argued against the stated holydays, that being feasts which the Jeroboam of Rome had devised of his own heart, yea, some of them, especially the December-festival, an imitation of an heathenish original, if the apostle forbad the observation of the Jewish festivals, because they were a "shadow of good things to come," it could not but be amiss in us, to observe the popish ones, which were *ethnic* also; that it was a deep reflection upon the wisdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, our lawgiver, the Lord of *time*, and of the *sabbath*, to add unto his appointments, and it is an infringement of our Christian liberty; that an occasional designation of time for lectures, for fastings, for thanksgivings, which are *duties* required by God, is vastly different from the stating of times for holy, so that the duties are then to be done for the sake of the *times*. He added, the wish of Luther, then sevenscore years ago, in his book, "*De Bonis Operibus*;"† that there were no other festival days among Christians, but only the Lord's-day:" and the speech of K. James to a national assembly in Scotland, wherein, "he praised God that he was king in the sincerest church in the world; sincerer than the Church of England, for their service was an ill-said mass in English; sincerer than Geneva itself, for they observed *Pasche* and *Yoole*—that is Easter and Christmas—and (said the king) what warrant have they for that?" Against "holiness of places," he argued, that they were the standing *symbols* of God's presence, which made stated holy places under the law, and those places were holy because of their typical relation to the Lord Jesus Christ, and there was a

* In the name.

† On Good Works.

further institution of God, which did make them to be *parts* of his worship, and *ways* and *means* of men's communion with himself, and to sanctifie the persons and actions approaching to them; which cannot be said of any places under the New-Testament, God has declared himself to be, both no respecter of persons, and no respecter of places; and our meeting-places are no more sacred than the ancient synagogues: that some excellent men of the episcopal way itself, have been above the conceit of "any difference in places;" Dr. Usher more particularly, who says, "in times of persecution, the godly did often meet in barns, and such obscure places, which indeed were public, because of the church of God there; the house or place availing nothing to make it public or private; even, as wheresoever the prince is, there is the court, although it were in a poor cottage." He added, that yet the churches (as they were *metonymically*, and almost *catechrestically* called) in the English nation, were not for the sake of *old abuses* to be demolished, as were the temples of the Canaanites, inasmuch as they were built for the worship of God; and those places are no longer *polluted*, when they are no longer so *abused*. He argued against organs and cathedral music, that there was a warrant of Heaven for instrumental music in the service of God under the *law*, when also this was not a part of their synagogue-worship, which was moral, but of their ceremonial temple-worship, whereas there is no such warrant under the *gospel*: that the instrumental music under the law, was intended for a "shadow of good things to come," which being now come, it was abolished; that even Aquinas himself, as late as four hundred years ago, pleaded against this instrumental music, as being used among the Jews, *quia populus erat magis durus et carnalis*:* the Church of Rome itself, it seems, had not then generally introduced it, as he says, *nè videatur judaizare*.† Finally, against the book of common-prayer, he argued, that it is a setting of *men's* posts by *God's*, to introduce into the public worship of God, as a standing part thereof, and impose by force, another *book*, besides the books of God; nor is there any *precept* or *promise* in the book of God, for the encouragement of it, nor any *example* that any ordinary church-officers imposed any stinted liturgies upon the church: that K. Edward VI. in his declaration acknowledged, "it seemeth unto you a new service, but indeed is no other but than the old, the self-same words in English that were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, which were so fond, that it had bin a shame to have heard them in English:" yea, some of the bishops themselves have reported, that Pope Paul IV. did offer Q. Elizabeth to ratifie it by his authority, *ut sacra hic omnia, hoc ipso, quo nunc sunt apud nos modo, procurari fas esset*:‡ now, inasmuch as the Church of Rome is the "mother of harlots," let any Protestant judge, whether it be fit for us to fetch the form of our worship from thence, and indeed a great part of the *form* from that

* Because they were a more stiff-necked and carnal-minded people.

† Lest it should appear to be Judaizing.

‡ That it might be canonical to follow all the ritual observances in the exact form now adopted by us.

old conjurer Numa Pompilius: that for ministers, instead of using their own ministerial gifts, to discharge the work of their ministry, by the prescriptions of others, is as bad as carrying the *ark* upon a *cart*, which was to have bin carried upon the *shoulders* of the *Levites*; and it is a sin against the *spirit of prayer*, for ministers in these days to be diverted from the *primitive way* of praying, which was, according to Tertullian's account, *sine monitore, quia de pectore*,* in opposition to the præscript forms of prayer amongst the pagans. He also touched upon the *corruptions* in the very matter of the common-prayer; the grievous preference therein given unto the *apocryphal* above the *canonical* writings; the complementing of the Almighty "to give us those things, which for our unworthiness we dare not presume to ask;" the *nonsense* of calling the lessons out of the prophets, *epistles*; and many more such passages, which he but briefly touched, though, he said, "it would fill a volume to reckon them." He concluded these discourses with an admonition to the bishops and episcopal party, that they would not now *revive*, or, at least, not *impose*, the superstitions of the former times: but among many things which he spake in his exhortation, I shall only transcribe these words: "When you have stopt our mouths from preaching, yet we shall pray; and not only we, but all the souls that have bin converted, or comforted and edified by our ministry, they will all cry to the Lord against you for want of bread, because you deprive them of those that should break the bread of life unto them. Now, I had rather be environed with armies of armed men, and compassed round about with drawn swords and instruments of death, than that the least praying saint should bend the edge of his prayers against me, for there is no standing before the prayers of the saints. Yea, I testifie unto you, that as the *saints* will *pray*, so the Lord himself will *fight* against you, and will take you into his own revenging hand: I speak it conditionally, in case you *persecute*, and I wish all the bishops in Ireland heard me! For in the name, and in the love of Christ, I speak it to you, and I beseech you so to take it. I say, if once you fall to the old trade of persecution, the Lord Jesus will never bear it at your hands, but he will bring upon you a swift destruction. And your *second* fall will be worse than the *first*: for Dagon, the first time, did only fall before the ark of God; but when the men of Ashdod had set him up in his place again the second time, then he 'brake himself to pieces' by his second fall, inso-much that there was nothing but the stump of Dagon left. Persecution is a very ripening sin; and therefore if once you superadd the sin of persecution, to the sin of superstition, you will be quickly ripe for final ruine; and in the day when God shall visit you, the guilt of all the righteous blood that hath bin shed upon the face of the earth, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Udal, and unto this day, will come down the hill upon your heads, even upon the persecutors of this generation. The

* Without a monitor, because from the heart.

Lord Jesus, when the 'day of vengeance is in his heart,' and when the 'year of his redeemed is come,' which is not far off, he will then require all that blood, and revenge it all upon *your* heads, if you justify the ways of former persecutors, by walking in the same steps of blood and violence."

Mr. Mather having thus faithfully born his testimony, his persecutors yet let him live quietly for more than five months after it; but *then* they thought it their time to call these two sermons (though there were not one word therein, directly or indirectly against the King or his government) "seditious preaching;" and thereupon they *silenced* him, though with so much *noise*, that both English and French Gazets took notice of it: but all the notice, which he took of that charge himself, was to say, "If it be sedition to disturb the Devil's kingdom, who rules by his Antichristian *ceremonies*, in the *kingdom of darkness*, as the Lord Jesus Christ doth by his own ordinances, in his Church, which is the *kingdom of heaven*, I may say, 'I did it before the Lord, who hath chosen me to be a minister, and if this be to be vile, I will yet be more vile than thus.' Indeed, there belong'd unto him the character once given of Erasmus Sarcerius: "*Lucebat in hoc viro commemorabilis Gravitas et Constantia; non Minas, non Exilia, non ullam ullius hominis potentiam taut vim pertimescebat; pæne dixeram, solem facilius de Cursu dimoveri potuisse, quam Matherum à Veritatis Professione.*"*

§ 11. Mr. Mather being so silenced by those "dwellers on the earth, who had bin thus tormented" by him, he did, with the consent of his Church, in the latter end of the year 1660, go over to England; where he continued a publick preacher in great reputation, at Burton-Wood, in Lancashire, until the general *death* upon the ministry of the non-conformists, at the black Bartholomew day, August 24, 1662—the *act* of which day doubtless made the Presbyterians think on the Bartholomew day which had been in another kingdom ninety years before; after which, the deputies of the reformed religion treated with the French King and the Queen mother, and some others of the Council, for a *peace*, and *articles* were on both sides agreed; but there was a question upon the *security* for the performance of those articles; whereupon the Queen said, "Is not the word of a King a sufficient security?" but one of the deputies answered, "No, by St. Bartholomew, madam, it is not!" Mr. Mather being one of the *twenty hundred* ministers expelled from all public places, by that *act* which was compleated by the "active concurrence" (as that excellent and renowned person, Dr. Bates, has truly observed) "of the old clergy from wrath and revenge, and the young gentry from their servile compliance with the court, and their distast of serious religion;" his Church in Dublin

* In this man were exhibited remarkable dignity and constancy. He feared neither threats, nor banishment, nor any power of man, nor any form of violence. I had almost said, that it would be easier to turn the sun from its course than Mather from the open profession of truth.

sent unto him to return unto his charge of them; having by this time opportunity to use that argument with him, for his return, "the men are dead that sought thy life." Accordingly, he spent all the rest of his days with his church in Dublin; but he preached only in his "own hired house," which, being a very large one, was well fitted for that purpose. And there was this remarkable concerning it, that although no man living used a more open and generous freedom, in declaring against the corruptions of worship reintroduced into the nation, yet such was his learning, his wisdom, his known piety, and the true loyalty of his whole carriage towards the government, that he lived without much further molestation; yea, the God of heaven recompensed the integrity of this his faithful servant, wherein he exposed himself, above most other men, for the truth, by granting him a protection, above most other men, from the adversaries of it; for which cause he did, in the year 1668, thus write unto his aged father in New-England: "I have enjoy'd a wonderful protecting Providence in the work of my ministry. I pray remember me daily in your prayers, that I may walk worthy of this goodness of God, and be made useful by him for the good of the souls of his people. If any had told me in April, 1660, that I should have exercised the liberty of my ministry and conscience, either in England or Ireland, and that without conforming to the corruptions of the times, and this for seven or eight years together, I should not have believed it; I should have thought it next to an impossibility: but with God all things are possible."

§ 12. Although Mr. Mather was full of zeal against "corruptions in the worship of God," and in that *just zeal* he also wrote a treatise containing *reasons* against *stinted liturgies*, and the English one in particular, and answers to the lamentable *concessions* which a reverend person (whose name, for honor's sake he yet spared) had made, in his *disputations*, for them; nevertheless, like the Apostle John, whom he had long before imitated, when he was a young disciple, upon other accounts, he was full of love towards the persons of good men, that were too much led away with those corruptions.—Hence he carried it with all possible respect unto godly and worthy men of that *way* which he so much disliked—the Episcopal; however, while they excluded the Scripture from being the rule of Church-administrations, and made unscriptural Rites, with promiscuous admissions to the Lord's table, and the denial of Church-power unto the proper pastors of the Churches, to be the terms of communion, he thought it impossible for non-conformists to coalesce in the same Ecclesiastical communion with them. Albeit he had the union of charity and affection with all pious conformists, of whom his words were, "There is Christian love and esteem due to such, as personally considered, and we should be willing and ready to receive them in the Lord:" yet for the union of an Ecclesiastical combination, with men that were of such principles, and by such principles became the authors of a schism, he said, "Unto their assembly

my glory, be not thou united;" and he added, "the best way for union with them is to labour to reduce them from the error of their way." Nevertheless, Mr. Mather, beholding that they who appeared studious of reformation in the nations were unhappily subdivided into *three forms*, or parties, commonly known by the name of Presbyterians, Independents, and Antipædo Baptists, he set himself to endeavour an union among all the good men of these three perswasions. To this purpose he did compose a most judicious Irenicum (afterwards printed) wherein he stated the agreement of these parties: he found, that they were agreed in all the fundamental points of the Christian faith, and rules of a Christian life; that they were agreed in the main acts of natural worship, namely, prayer and preaching, and hearing of the word; and in the special time for publick worship, namely, the Lord's days; that as to matters of institution, they were agreed in declaring for the Scriptures, as the *direction* of all; they were agreed that the Lord hath appointed a ministry in the Church, who are bound by *office* to publish the Gospel, and in his name therewith to dispence Sacraments, and the disciplines of the Gospel, and that all ignorant and ungodly persons are to be debarred from the Holy mysteries; and finally, that the *humane inventions* used and urged in the service of the Church of England, are unlawful. He proceeded then to consider the articles of *difference* which were betwixt them; and he found those articles to be mostly so meerly circumstantial, that if the several sides would but patiently understand one another, or act according to the concessions and confessions which are made in their most allowed writings, they might easily walk together, wherein they were of one mind, and wherein they were *not* so, they might willingly bear with one another, until God reveal unto them.—Only such as unchurch all others besides themselves, he found by the severity of their own disuniting principle, rendered incapable of coming into this union: But unto all the societies of these Christians, that made union and communion with the Lord Jesus Christ, the foundation of Church communion, he did, with a most Evangelical spirit, offer, first, that they should mutually give the right hand of fellowship unto each other, as true Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ. Secondly, That they should kindly advise and assist each other in their affairs, as there should be occasion for it: Thirdly, That they should admit the members of each other's congregations unto occasional communion at the table of the Lord. In this *uniting scheme* of his, as there was a due tenderness towards various apprehensions, without scepticism in religion, so there was a blessed essay to remove the greatest stumbling-blocks of Christianity. Indeed, such a generous largeness of soul there was in our Mather, that he could, with the excellent-spirited Mr. Burroughs, have written it as the motto upon his study-door, *Opinionum varietas, et opinantium unitas, non sunt 'Ασυσσάτα*.*

§ 13. While Mr. Mather was fulfilling his ministry in Dublin, as one

* A difference of opinions is not incompatible with the perfect unity of those who cherish such opinions.

who might justly have claimed the name of the Spanish Bishop, Fructuosus, there were many *salleys* to the doing of good, which he added unto the weekly and constant services of his ministry; whereof *one* was this: A certain Roman Catholick having published a short but subtil discourse entitled "*Of the one, only, Catholic and Roman faith,*" whereby the faith of some uncatechised Protestants was not a little endangered, Mr. Mather was desired by persons of quality to give the world an answer to this discourse. And in answer to their desire, he composed and emitted a most elaborate, pertinent, and judicious, though brief treatise, entitled, "*A Defence of the Protestant, Christian Religion against Popery, wherein the manifold Apostasies, Heresies, and Schisms of the Church of Rome, as also the Weakness of their Pretensions from the Scriptures and the Fathers are briefly laid open.*" But there was *another* thing which gave the studies of this learned and holy man a considerable exercise. There was one Mr. Valentine Greatreats, who felt a vehement *impression*, or *suggestion* upon his mind, of this import: ["I have given thee the gift of curing the evil!"] in compliance with which *impulse*, he stroked a neighbour grievously afflicted with the King's evil, and a cure succeeded. For about a twelve-month he pretended unto the cure of no other distemper; but, then, the ague being rife in the neighbourhood, the same sort of impulse told him ["I have given thee the gift of curing the ague!"] After which, when he laid his hand on people in their fits, the ague would leave them. About half a year after this, the impulse became yet more general, and said ["I have given thee the gift of healing,"] and then our *stroker* attempted the relief of all diseases indifferently: but frequently with such violent *rubbing*, as from any one would have had a tendency to disperse pains arising from flatulencies. All this while, he doubted whether there were any thing more in the *cause* of the cure that followed this *friction*, than the strong *fancy* of the feeble people that addressed him; wherefore, to convince his incredulity, as he lay in his bed, he had one hand struck *dead*, and the usual impulse then bid him to make a trial of his virtue upon himself; which he did with his other hand, and immediately it returned unto its former liveliness: this happened for two or three mornings together. But after this there were thousands of persons who flockt from all parts of Ireland unto this gentleman, for the cure of their various maladies; among whom there were some noble, some learned, and some very pious persons, and even ministers of the gospel; and although it was observed that a cure seldom succeeded without reiterating touches; that the patients often relapsed; that sometimes he utterly fail'd of doing any thing at all, especially when there was a decay of nature; and that there were many distempers that were not at all obedient unto the hand of this famous practitioner; nevertheless, his touches had thousands of wonderful effects. There were some *philosophical heads*, who refer'd all this virtue in the *hand* of our new sort of Chyrurgion, unto a particular complexion in him, or a

sort of sanative or balsamic *ferment*, which was in the *spirits* of the man; and who conceived the *impulse* upon him to be but a result of his *temper*, and like dreams, that are usually according to our constitution; or perhaps there might be something of a genius, they thought, also in the case. But Mr. Mather apprehended the "hand of Joab in all this;" and a plot of Satan, that *Μυριοτεχνιτης*, *Generis humani hostis*,* lying at the bottom of all. Mr. Greatreats had confessed unto him that, before these things, he had bin a student in Cornelius Agrippa, and had essay'd the cure of distempers, by his *Abra kat Abra*;† and Mr. Mather now feared that the devil, with whom he had bin so far familiar, did not only now *impose* upon the man himself, but also *design* upon multitudes of other people. Wherefore, to rectify the thoughts of people about the danger of unaccountable impulses, which had precipitated Greatreats into his present way of cures; and about the nature and intent of real miracles, whereof 'twas evident there were none in the cures by Greatreats pretended unto; and moreover, to prevent the superstitious neglect of God, and of *means*, which people were apt, on this occasion, profanely, to run into; and finally, to prevent the hazards which might arise unto our sacred religion by our popular *apothaising* of a blade who made scepticism in religion one part of his character; Mr. Mather drew up a discourse relating thereunto. This discourse, being shown to some of the King's privy-council in Ireland, was approved and applauded, as most worthy to be printed; but the primate's Chaplain at last obstructed it, because, forsooth, the *Geneva notes* and Dr. Ames were quoted in it, and it was not convenient that there should be any book printed wherein any quotations were made from such dangerous fanaticks. However, God blessed this manuscript for the settling of many unstable minds, and the stopping of mischiefs that were threatened.

§ 14. It is reported in the life of Mr. Rothwel, that being advised by a clergy-man, more *great* than *wise*, to forbear meddling with the *types*, as themes not convenient for him to study upon, he made that very prohibition but as an invitation to expect something of an extraordinary concernment in them; and accordingly, falling upon the study of the *types*, he found no part of his ministry more advantageously employed for himself or others. Our Mr. Mather, on the other hand, was earnestly desired by the non-conformist ministers in the city of Dublin to preach upon the types of evangelical mysteries, in the dispensations of the Old Testament; in compliance with which, he had not proceeded very far, before he saw cause to write unto one of his brothers, "the types and shadows of the Old Testament, if but a little understood, how full are they of gospel-light and glory! Having gone through diverse of them, I must acknowledge, with thankfulness to the praise of the freeness of the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I have seen more of him than I saw before." With much labour and judgment, at length, he finished his undertaking, and in a

* Author of a thousand wiles—enemy of the human race.

† Magical word.

course of sermons, from March, 1666, to February, 1668, on first the *personal* types, and then the *real* ones, whether first, the more *occasional* types, and then the more *perpetual* ones. And his church, after his death, calling another of his worthy brothers—namely, Mr. Nathanael Mather—to succeed him, that brother of his, in imitation of what Ludovicus Capellus did for *his* brother, and what Mr. Dyke, Mr. Culverwel, and others have done for *theirs*, in publishing the profitable works of the deceased, published this course of sermons unto the world; with some judicious discourses against modern superstitions intermixed. Here, the waxen combs of the ancient and typical cells being melted down, is (as one expresses it) “rolled up into shining tapers, to illuminate the students of those mysteries in finding out the honey that couches in the carcase of the slain lion of the tribe of Judah.” All the talents which Cato spent in erecting a tomb of Thracian marble for his dead brother Cæpio, turned not unto so much account as the care used by Mr. Nathanael Mather thus to bring into the light the meditations of his excellent brother Samuel; upon a subject wherein but few had ever waded before him. And if there be a truth in that opinion of some divines, “that the glory and gladness of the saints in heaven receives additions, as the good effects of what they formerly did on earth are there increasing; his action herein was yet more worthy the relation of a brother. But Mr. Mather did not so converse with *one* more obscure part of the sacred Scripture, as to leave *another* uncultivated with his industrious and inquisitive studies thereupon: the difficulties in the *prophetical* part of the New-Testament, as well as in the *figurative* part of the Old, were happily assail’d by his learned contemplations. When he had made a considerable progress herein, he wrote unto his youngest brother, who was then a minister in New-England, and since President of the College there—“I must needs tell you how much I do rejoice that it hath pleased God to stir up your spirit to search into the prophetical parts of the Scripture; of which I have often thought, and still do, that it is great pity they are so little minded and seen into by many, both ministers and others, who do deprive themselves of much satisfaction, which they might receive thereby. It is not good to despise any part of the mind and counsel of God, revealed in his word; there are unknown treasures and pleasures there stored up, more precious than gold and silver; and shall we not, in the strength of his spirit, search for them?” And as the brother to whom he thus wrote gave in sundry treatises, in diverse languages, unto the church of God, several happy fruits of his enquiries into the inspired prophecies, which “blessed are they that read and hear,” so our Mr. Mather himself arrived unto such attainments, herein, that he had no cause to make the confession (tho’ such was his modesty that he was ready enough to do it) of some eminent persons, *nullus sum in propheticiis*.* When ’tis said, “Blessed are they that keep the things written in this

* I am not profound in the interpretation of prophecy.

prophecy," a mathematician will tell us that what we render *keep*, is rather to be render'd *observe*, or *watch*, or *mind*; for *ἰνέειν*, is used by the Greeks as a *term of art*, expressing the astronomical observation of *eclipses*, *planetary aspects*, and other *coelestial phænomena*. Mr. Mather accordingly counted it his *blessedness* to take an *observation* of what fulfillment the divine books of prophecy already had received, and thence make *computation* of the *times* that were yet before us, and of the *things* to be done in those times. But of all his apocalyptical explications, or expectations, I shall here take the liberty to insert no more than this one, which may deserve perhaps a little thinking on: "That whenever God sets up in any of the ten kingdoms, which made the ten horns of the Papal empire, such an establishment, sovereign and independent, wherein antichrist shall have neither an *Εξουσία*, nor a *Δυναμὶς*, neither power of laws, nor force of arms, to defend him and his corruptions; doubtless, then, the witnesses of our Lord are no more trodden down, to prophecy in sackcloth, any longer. Then therefore expires the 1260 years, and since that such a kingdom well may be called the *Lord's*, then will the seventh trumpet begin to sound. Which, that it is near, even at the door, I may say, through grace I doubt not."

§ 15. While Mr. Mather was thus employ'd, it pleas'd the God of heaven, to "take away from him the desire of his eyes." He had in the year 1656 married a most accomplished gentlewoman, the sister of Sir John Stevens, by whom he had four or five children, whereof there lived but one, which was a daughter. But in the year 1668 this gentlewoman fell into a sickness, that lasted five or six weeks; all which time she continued full of divine peace and joy, and uttered many extraordinary expressions of grace, wherewith her pious friends were extreamly satisfied. When she drew near her end, her husband, seeing her in much pain, said, "you are going where there will be no more pain, sighing or sorrow." Whereto she answered, "Ah, my dear, and where there will be no more sin!" And her sister saying to her, "You are going to heaven," she answered, "I am there already!" So she went away, having those for her last words, "Come, Lord, come, Lord Jesus!" Not very long after this did Mr. Mather fall ill himself, of an impostume in his liver: but as in the time of his health and strength, he had maintained an "even walk with God," without such *raptures* of soul as many Christians have bin carried forth unto, so now, in the time of his illness, he enjoyed a certain tranquillity of soul, without any approaches toward rapturous extasie. He never was a man of words, but of a silent and a thinking temper, a little tinged with melancholly; and now he lay sick, he did not speak much to those that were about him; yet what he did speak was full of weight and worth, nor will his friends ever forget with what solemnity he then told them, "that he had preached unto them the truths of the great God, and that he now charged them to

• To watch.

† A sovereignty founded in law.

‡ The sovereignty of physical force.

adhere unto those truths, in the firm and full faith whereof he was now entering into glory: and that he did particularly exhort them to wash every day in the precious blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by faith apply his perfect and spotless righteousness unto their own souls." It has indeed bin commonly observed, that children "who honour their father and their mother;" according to the first commandment in the second table of the law, which has a peculiar *promise* annexed unto it, have the recompense of a long life upon earth. And I take notice that, in the commandment, what we translate, "that thy days may be long," is to be read, "that they may prolong thy days;" that is, thy father and thy mother, they shall prolong thy days, by blessing of thee, in the name of God, if thou carry it well unto them. But when the Sovereign Providence of heaven makes exceptions unto this general rule, we may believe that what is not fulfilled in the *letter*, is fulfilled in the *better*: and some, that "live long in a little time," also have their *days prolonged* in the enjoyment of *life* with the Lord Jesus Christ, our *life* throughout eternal ages. Thus, our Mr. Mather had bin as dutiful a Joseph as perhaps ever any parents had; and by his yearly and costly presents to his aged father, after he came to be a master of possessions in Ireland, he continued the expressions of his dutifulness unto the last; nevertheless, he now died, October 29, 1671, when he wanted about six months of being six and forty years old: and yet, as they who have gone to prove Adam a longer-lived person than Methuselah, use to urge that Adam was to be supposed fifty or sixty years old, being in the "perfect stature of man" at his first creation, so, if it be consider'd how much of a man our Mather was while he was yet a child, and if it be further considered how much *work* he did for the Lord Jesus-Christ after he came to the "perfect stature of man," he must be reckoned, "an old man full of grace, though not full of days;" and that epitaph which was once the great Jewel's, may be written on his grave, in the church of St. Nicholas, in the city of Dublin, where his ashes lie covered.

*Diù vixit, licet non diù fuit.**

BUT NOW

Gone where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.

* He lived a long life, and yet did not live long.

CHAPTER III.

THE LIFE OF MR. SAMUEL DANFORTH.

§ 1. Most Christian and candid is the speech of a certain author, who yet writes himself, "A beneficed minister, and regular son of the Church of England," when he says, "I never thought them good painters, who draw the pictures of the dissenting brethren with dirt and soot, but I, knowing them to be unlike those pictures, have with just offence beheld their injuries, and would have been pleased to have seen them described by some impartial and ingenious master, as fit to adorn the palaces of Princes." Reader, I am going to draw the picture of another minister, who was a non-conformist unto Emendables, in the Church of England; wherein tho' I am not ingenious, yet I will be impartial, and therefore, instead of the dirt and soot, which the persecuting bigots for a few ceremonies would employ upon the memory of such men, I will, with an honest and modest report of his character, cause him to be remembered next unto the first fellow of that Colledge, whereof he was the next.

§ 2. This was Mr. Samuel Danforth, son to Mr. N. Danforth; a gentleman of such estate and repute in the world, that it cost him a considerable sum to escape the knighthood, which K. Charles I. imposed on all of so much per annum; and of such figure and esteem in the Church, that he procured that famous lecture at Framlingham in Suffolk, where he had a fine mannour; which lecture was kept by Mr. Burroughs, and many other noted ministers in their turns; to whom, and especially to Mr. Shepard, he prov'd a Gaius, and then especially when the Laudian fury scorched them. This person had three sons, whereof the second was our Samuel, born in September, in the year 1626, and by the desire of his mother, who died three years after his birth, earnestly dedicated unto the "schools of the prophets." His father brought him to New-England in the year 1634, and at his death, about four years after his arrival here, he committed this hopeful son of many cares and prayers, unto the paternal oversight of Mr. Shepard, who proved a kind patron unto him. His early piety answered the pious education bestowed upon him; and there was one instance of it somewhat singularly circumstanced: when he was reciting to his tutor, out of the heathen poets, he still made some ingenious addition and correction upon those passages which ascribed those things unto the *false gods* of the gentiles, that could not without blasphemy be ascribed unto any one but the "Holy One of Israel:" his tutor gave him a sharp reprehension for this, as for a meer impertinency; but this conscientious child reply'd, "Sir, I can't in conscience recite the blasphemies of these wretches, without washing my mouth upon it!" Nevertheless, a fresh

occasion occurring, his tutor gave him another sharp reprehension for his doing once again as he had formerly done; but the tutor, to the amazement of them all, was terribly and suddenly seized with a violent *convulsion-fit*; out of which when he at last recovered, he acknowledg'd it as an hand of God upon him, for his harshness to his pupil, whose *conscientiousness* he now applauded.

§ 3. His learning, with his virtue, ere long brought him into the station of a tutor; being made the second fellow of Harvard-Colledge, that appears in the catalogue of our graduates. The diary which, even in those early times, he began to keep of passages belonging to his interior state, give great proof of his proficiency in godliness, under the various ordinances and providences of the Lord Jesus Christ; the watchfulness, tenderness and conscientiousness of aged Christianity accompanied him, while he was yet but young in years. His manner was to rise before the sun, for the exercises which Isaac attended in the evening; and in the evening likewise he withdrew, not only from the conversation then usually maintained, which he thought hurtful to his mind by its infectious levity, but from supper it self also, for the like exercises of devotion. Although he was preserved free from every thing *scandalous*, or *immoral*, yet he seem'd, as Tertullian speaks, *Nulli rei natus nisi pœnitentie*;* and the sin of *unfruitfulness* gave as much perplexity to him, as more scandalous and immoral practices do to other men; for which comprehensive sin, keeping a secret fast, once before the Lord, the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ so powerfully and rapturously comforted him, with those words, "he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; without me ye can do nothing;" that the remembrance thereof was all his days afterwards comfortable unto him.

§ 4. Mr. Welds returning for England, the church at Roxbury invited Mr. Danforth to become a Colleague to Mr. Eliot, whose evangelical employments abroad among the Indians made a Colleague at home to be necessary for him. The pastoral charge of that church he undertook in the year 1650, and no temptations arising, either from the *incompetency* of the salary allow'd him to support an hospitable family, or from the *provocation* which unworthy men in the neighbourhood sometimes tried him withal, could perswade him to accept of motions, which were made unto him, to remove unto more comfortable settlements; but keeping his eye upon the great man's motto *prudens qui patiens*,† he continued in his Roxbury station, for *three* years more than *thrice seven* together. All this time, as he studied *use*, by endeavours to do good, not only in that particular town, but with influences more general and extensive, so he did endeavour to signalize himself by studying of peace, with a moderating and interposing sort of temper, in rising differences; being of the opinion, that usually they have little peace of conscience, who do not make much con-

* Fruitful in nothing but penitence.

† He is wise who is patient.

science of peace." And when he then came to dye, spending one whole sleepless night in a survey of his past life, he said, "he could find no remarkable miscarriage (through the grace of Christ) in all this time to charge himself withal, but that with Hezekiah he had served the Lord with a perfect heart all his days."

§ 5. The sermons with which he fed his flock were elaborate and substantial; he was a notable *text-man*, and one who had more than forty or fifty scriptures distinctly quoted in one discourse; but he much recommended himself by keeping close to his main text, and avoiding of all remote excursions and vagaries; and there was much notice taken of it, that though he were a very judicious preacher, yet he was therewithal so affectionate, "that he rarely, if ever, ended a sermon without weeping." On the Lord's days in the forenoons, he expounded the books of the Old Testament; in the afternoons, he discoursed on the body of divinity, and many occasional subjects, and some chapters in the Epistle to the Romans, until the year 1661; and then he began to handle the "harmony of the four Evangelists," proceeding therein to those words of our Lord Jesus Christ, in Luke xiv. 14, "Thou shalt be recompenced at the resurrection of the just:" On which, having preached his last sermon, it proved indeed his *last*; and from thence he had no more to do, but now "waits all the days of his appointed time, until his change come," at that resurrection, when our Lord Jesus Christ shall *call*, and he shall *answer* that call, and the Lord shall have a "desire to the work of his hands." He also preach'd a monthly lecture, and on many private occasions, at meetings of Christians, in the families of the faithful. But instead of ever venturing upon any *extemporaneous* performances, it was his manner to write his sermons *twice* over; and it was in a fair long hand that he wrote them. His utterance was free, clear, and giving much in a little time; his memory very tenacious, and never known to fail him, though he allow'd it no assistances. And unto all the other commendable things observed in the discharge of his ministry, he added that of a most pastoral *watchfulness* over his flock. Hence he not only visited the sick as a messenger from heaven to them, "one among a thousand," but when he met persons recovered from sickness, he would, at this rate accost them: "Well, you have been in God's school; but what have you learnt? what good have you got?" And notable were the effects of these his applications. Hence also he took much care that none should keep an "house of public entertainment" in his town, but such as would keep good orders and manners in their houses; and the tavern being in view of his own study-window, when he saw any town-dwellers tippling there, he would go over and chide them away. Hence likewise he would animadvert upon miscarriages that came in his way, with all watchful and zealous faithfulness, and one instance of his doing so had something peculiar in it. A "day of humiliation" was to be attended, and a man of another town, by unseasonable driving a cart through the

street, caused this good man to come out and reprove him for the affront he thereby put upon the devotions of the people in the neighbourhood: the man made him an obstinate and malapert answer, but when he came home, he found one of his children suddenly dead; upon this he could have no rest in his mind, until he came to this "reprover in the gate," with humble and many tokens of repentance.

§ 6. After his "contraction," according to the old usage of New-England, unto the virtuous daughter of Mr. Wilson (whereat Mr. Cotton preached the sermon) he was married unto that gentlewoman in the year 1651. Of twelve children by her, there are four now at this day surviving; whereof two are now worthy ministers of the gospel. When his wife was under discouragements at any time, through domestick straits, he would reply, "Ben't you discouraged; if you undergo more difficulties than other gentlewomen, still we have the Lord's part, and at last you shall have an ample recompence, a prophet's recompence!" As his end approached, he had strong apprehensions of its approach; and the very night before he fell sick, he told his wife he "had been much concerned how she with her children would subsist, if he should be removed; but now he had got over it, and firmly believed in the covenant of God for them, that they should be, by the Divine Providence, as well provided for as they could be if he were alive:" which has been since accomplished unto admiration! Immediately after this, he fell sick of a putred fever, occasioned by a damp, cold, nocturnal air, on a journey; and in the space of six days passed from natural health to eternal peace, November 19, 1674. Of his dying prayers for his consort, one of the most lively was, that her daughter (now the wife of Edward Bromfield, Esq.) might be made a rich blessing and comfort unto her; and this also hath not been without its observable accomplishment! But if we now enquire after an epitaph, to be inscribed on the tomb where his ashes now lye, with those of our governor Dudley, for whose honourable family he always had a great friendship, I know not whether one might not be taken out of the words of his venerable old Colleague Mr. Eliot, who would say, "My Brother Danforth made the most glorious end that ever I saw!" or from a poem of Mr. Weld's upon him, which had a clause to this purpose:

Mighty in Scripture, searching out the sense,
All the hard things of it, unfolding thence:
He liv'd each truth; his faith, love, tenderness,
None can to th' life, as did his life express:

Our minds with gospel his rich lectures fed;
Luke, and his life, at once are finished:
Our new-built Church now suffers too by this,
Larger its windows, but its lights are less.

§ 7. The least pupils in astronomy cannot now, without some diversion, reflect upon the *astronomy* of the ancients, when we read them declaiming against the *spherical figure* of the heavens: the many passages to this purpose in Justin Martyr, and Ambrose, and Theodoret, and Theophylact, and the great Austin himself, I will not recite, least, reader, we should, before we are aware, play too much with the *beards* of the Fathers: nor

would we lay aside our value for good old Chrysostom's theology, because we find him in a confident and a triumphing manner upbraiding the world with such an opinion as, $\Pi\tilde{\alpha}$ 'έίσιν όι σφαιροεδη ζρανόν είναι α ποφανόμενοι: "Where are those men that imagine that the heavens have a sphœrical form?"—since the Scripture saith, "God stretched forth the heavens as a curtain, and he spread them as a tent to dwell in," which are not sphœrical. We will not call them *fools* for these harangues; but leave it unto one of themselves, even Jerom, to pass his censure upon them, *est in Ecclesia stultiloquium, si quis Cælum putet fornicis modo curvatum, Esaia, quem non intelligit, sermone deceptus*: "'Tis foolish speaking in the Church, if any, through misapprehension of the words of Isaiah, shall affirm that the heavens are not round." The divines of the latter ages are (though, to our surprize, the voluminous Tostatus was not!) better astronomers than those of the former; and among the divines, that have been astronomers, our Mr. Samuel Danforth comes in with a claim of some consideration. Several of his astronomical composures have seen the light of the *sun*; but one especially on this occasion. Among the "four hundred and odd comets," the histories whereof have been preserved in the records of learned men, a special notice was taken of that which *alarumed* the whole world in the year 1664. Now, although our Danforth had not the advantages of Hevelius, to discover how many odd clots, compact and lucid, there were in the head of that blazing-star, with one thicker than the rest, until it was grown to twenty four minutes diameter, nor to determine that it was at least *six* times as big as the earth, and that its *parallax* rendered it at length as remote from the earth as Mars himself, nevertheless, he diligently observed the motions of it, from its first appearance in Corvus, whence it made a descent, crossing the tropick of Capricorn, till it arrived unto the main top-sail of the *ship*, and then it returned through Canis Major, and again crossed the tropick of Capricorn, passing through Lepus, Eridamus, and the Equinoctial, and entered into the mouth of the Whale, and so into Aries; where it retired, not leaving any philosopher able to fulfil the famous prophecy of Seneca, in predicting the new appearance of it. He therefore published a little treatise, entitled, "An Astronomical Description of the late Comet, with a brief Theological Description thereof," in which treatise he not only proves, that a comet can be no other than a "cœlestial luminary moving in the starry heavens," whereof especially the "largeness of the circle" in which it moves is a mathematical and irrefragable demonstration, but also he improves the opinion of a comet's being *portentous*, endeavouring, as it became a devout preacher, to awaken mankind by this portent, out of a sinful security. Now, though for my own part, I am sometimes ready to say, with a learned man, *tædet me divinationis in re tam incerta*;* yet when I consider, how many learned men have made laborious collections of remarkable and calamitous events, to render

* I am tired of drawing portents from so uncertain a thing.

comets ominous, I cannot reproach the essays of pious men, to perswade us, "that when the hand of Heaven is thus writing MENE TEKEL, it is not amiss for us mortals to make serious reflections thereupon." But besides this, there are two other discourses of this worthy man printed among us. One is, "The Cry of Sodom, enquired into, or, a testimony against the sins of uncleanness," which, with much wonder and sorrow, he saw too many of the rising generation in the country carried away withal. Another is, "A Recognition of New-England's Errand into the Wilderness," or a sermon preached unto the general assembly of the colony, at their anniversary election; the design of which was to remind them of what he summarily thus expresses: "You have solemnly expressed, before God, angels and men, that the cause of leaving your country, kindred, and father's houses, and transporting yourselves, with your wives, little ones, and substance over the vast ocean, into this waste and howling wilderness, was your liberty to walk in the faith of the gospel with all good conscience, according to the order of the gospel, and your enjoyment of the pure worship of God, according to his institution, without humane mixtures and impositions."

EPITAPHIUM.

*Non dubium est, quin eò iverit, quò stellæ eunt,
DANFORTHUS, qui stellis semper se associavit.**

In December 1659, the (until then unknown) malady of "bladders in the windpipe," invaded and removed many children; by opening of one of them, the malady and remedy (too late for very many) were discovered. Among those many that thereby expired, were the three children of the Reverend Mr. S. D., the eldest of whom (being upward of five years and a half; so gracious and intelligent were her expressions and behaviour, both living and dying, and so evident her faith in Christ) was a luculent commentary on that marvellous prophecy, that the child should dye an hundred years old. How the sorrowful father entertained this solemn providence may be partly gathered from what he expressed unto such as came to attend his branches unto their graves; of which may be said, as was said of Job, "in all this he sinned not." He saw meet to pen down the minutes of what he spake, and they are faithfully taken out of his own manuscript:

"MY FRIENDS: If any that see my grief should say unto me, as the Danites unto Micah, 'What aileth thee? I thank God I cannot answer as he did, 'They have taken away my gods.' My heart was indeed somewhat set upon my *children*, especially the eldest; but they were none of my gods, none of my portion; my portion is whole and untoucht unto this day. To understand myself, and to communicate unto my hearers, the spiritual meaning and compass of the law and rule, and the nature of gospel obedience, hath been my design and work, upon which I have employ'd much reading and study, and what faith, hope, love, patience, &c., the glorious wisdom, power and mercy of God do oblige us to render. I have endeavoured to

* His name is wedded to the stars; and even

| His home and theirs are one in yonder heaven.

set forth before you, what if God will now try whether they were meer notions and speculations that I spake, or whether I believed as I spake, and whether there be any divine spark in my heart? I remember him that said to Abraham, 'Hereby I know that thou fearest me, in that thou hast not withheld from me thy son, thine only son.' It is the pleasure of God that (besides all that may be gain'd by reading, and studying, and preaching) I should learn and teach obedience by the things that I suffer. The holy fire is not to be fetched for you, out of such a flint as I am, without smiting. Not long before these stroaks lighted upon us, it pleased God marvellously to quicken our hearts (both mine and my wife's) and to stir up in us most earnest desires after himself: and now he hath taken our children, will he accept us unto freer and fuller communion with himself, blessed be his holy name! I trust the Lord hath done what he hath done in wisdom, and faithfulness, and dear love; and that in taking these pleasant things from me, he exerciseth and expresseth as tender affection unto me, as I now express towards them in mourning for the loss of them. I desire, with Ephraim, 'to bemoan myself,' &c. Jer. xxxi. 18, 19. O that I might hear the Lord answering me as he did ver. 20! It is meet to be said to God, 'We have born chastisement, we will not offend; what we see not, teach thou us; and if we have done iniquity, we will do so no more.' We know, and God much more knows enough in us, and by us to justifie his repeated stroaks, tho' we cannot tax ourselves with any known way of disobedience. My desire is, that none may be overmuch dismayed at what hath befallen us; and let no man by any means be offended. Who may say to the Lord, 'What dost thou?' I can say from my heart, tho' what is come upon us is very dreadful and amazing, yet I consent unto the will of God that it is good. Doth not the goldsmith cast his metal into the furnace? And you husbandmen, do you not cause the flail to pass over your grain, not that you hate your wheat, but that you desire pure bread? Had our children replied when we corrected them, we could not have born it; but, poor hearts, they did us reverence; how much rather should we be subject to the Father of spirits, and live? You know that, nine years since, I was in a desolate condition—without father, without mother, without wife, without children: but what a father, and mother, and wife have been bestow'd upon me, and are still continued, tho' my children are removed. And, above all, although I cannot deny but that it pierceth my very heart to call to remembrance the voice of my dear children, calling 'father, father!' a voice now not heard: yet I bless God it doth far more abundantly refresh and rejoyce me to hear the Lord continually calling unto me, 'My son, my son! my son, despise not the chastening of the Lord, nor faint thou when thou art corrected of him.' And blessed be God, that doth not despise the affliction of the afflicted, nor hide his face from him. 'Twas the consideration that God had sanctify'd and glorify'd himself, by striking an holy awe and dread of his majesty into the hearts of his people, that made Aaron hold his peace: and if the Lord will glorify himself by my family, by these awful stroaks upon me, quickning parents unto their duty, and awakening their children to seek after the Lord, I shall desire to be content, though my name be cut off: and I beseech you be earnest with the Lord for us, that he would keep us from sinning against him; and that he would teach us to sanctifie his name, and tho' our dear branches have forsaken us, yet that he that hath promised to be with his children in six troubles and in seven, would not forsake us. My heart truly would be consum'd, and would even dye within me, but that the good will of him that dwelt in the burning bush, and his good word of promise, are my *trust and stay*."

CHAPTER IV.

ECCLESIASTES;*

THE LIFE OF THE REVEREND AND EXCELLENT JONATHAN MITCHEL:

A Pastor of the Church and a Glory of the Colledge, in Cambridge, New-England.

WRITTEN BY COTTON MATHER.

———*Simul et jucunda et Idonea
dicere vitæ,
Lectorem delectando simul atque monendo.†*

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the Church at Cambridge in New-England, and to the Students of the Colledge there.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL, REVEREND AND DEARLY BELOVED: There have been few churches in the world so “lifted up to Heaven,” in respect of a succession of super-eminent ministers of the gospel, as the church in Cambridge has been. Hooker, Shepard, Mitchel, Oakes, (all of them *yours*) were great lights. You know that if *light* has been brought into a room, when it is removed, the place becomes darker than if never any such light had been there. A learned pen in an “epistle dedicatory” to the inhabitants of Boston in Lincolnshire, puts them in mind what an happy people they once were, while under the teaching of Mr. Cotton, who was from them removed to plant churches for Christ in the American Desart: And prays them to consider, “That as empires and kingdoms, so particular churches have had their periods. Bethel has prov’d a Beth-haven: in after times, we find young profane mockers in Bethel, and scornful neuters in Penuel, go to Shiloh; think of the sometimes glorious churches in Asia, says he. And he adds, that he had on purpose visited some places, where God had before planted his church, and a faithful ministry, to see if he could discern any footsteps and remembrances of such a mercy, and ‘lo, they were all overgrown with thorns, and nettles had over-covered the face thereof, and the stonewall thereof is broken down.’ And as he further well observes, when the Lord has been provoked to remove the candlestick, he is very hardly induced to restore it again. The Ark never returned to the same place from whence it was in a way of judgment removed, and the ‘glory of the Lord,’ which, after its gradual removes, was at last quite gone from the

Dr. Tuckney’s Epistle, prefixed
to Mr. Cotton on Ecclesiastes.

* The Preacher.

† His life, in virtue great, with genius bright.
Yields two-fold fruit, instruction and delight.

first temple, was not restored in the *second*, till Christ's *first coming*, nor will it be in this their rejection, till his *second*." Mercy forbid that such things as these should be verified in New-England, or in Cambridge! That this may not be your case, it concerns you not wantonly to *play* or *fight* by the light yet remaining, but to make the best improvement of your present advantages, giving all due encouragement to that worthy person who is now over you in the Lord.

Concerning your famous pastor, MITCHEL, I confess I had the happiness of a special intimacy with him, in his *life* time, nor do I know any one *death* (that of natural relations excepted) that ever has been so grievous and afflictive to my spirit, as was his. By reason of his eminent parts and piety, he had an happy influence on all these churches. Many of them fare the better at this day, because the preachers whom they are now instructed by, whilst students at the colledge, lived under his ministry. The colledge, Cambridge, New-England, may glory that ever such an one had his education there! As for the description of his *life*, by my SON emitted herewith, I have nothing to say concerning the *writer*, or this endeavour of his, because of my relation to him; only, that it is what he could collect, whether by information from those that knew that excellent man, or from his private manuscripts, which he had the perusal of it. It is not without the Providence of Christ, that it should be committed to the PRESS, *at such a time*, when there are agitations about some disciplinary questions amongst yourselves. What the judgment of that man of God was, you have in the subsequent relation of his life presented to your view.

The original manuscript, written by Mr. MITCHEL's own hand, I have by me. Whether he committed his thoughts to writing, with any design of publication, or for the satisfaction of some persons in a more private way, I know not; but it is now evident, that when his spirit was inclined thereunto, Heaven designed his meditations should be brought into publick view. Whilst he was living, you that were of his flock had (and, considering his great worth and wisdom, it would have been a reproach to you if you had not had) an high esteem of his judgment. "Being dead he yet speaketh to you," out of his grave. Those of you that retain a living remembrance of him, in your hearts, will easily discern something of Mr. MITCHEL's spirit in the way of his arguing. He does therein (according to his wonted manner) express himself with great *caution* and *prudence*, avoiding *extreams*, in the controverted subject. It cannot be denied but that there has been an error in some churches, who have made this or that *mode* to be a "*divine institution*," which Christ has not made to be so: and that there has been an unjustifiable severity in imposing *circumstantial*s not instituted, whereby some truly gracious souls have been discouraged from offering themselves to joyn in fellowship with such churches. Thus it has been, when an oral declaration of *faith* and *repent-*

ance has been enjoyed on all communicants, and that before the whole congregation; when as many an humble pious soul has not been gifted with such confidence. So likewise has it been, when the exact account of the *time* and *manner* of conversion has been required: whenas there have been multitudes of true believers (such especially as have been advantaged with a religious education) that the seed of grace has sprung

up in their souls "they know not how," Mark iv. 27. Mr. Baxter relates, that he was once at a meeting of many Christians, as eminent for holiness as most in the land, of whom divers were ministers of great fame; and it was desired that every one should give an account of the time and manner of his conversion, and there was but one of them all, that could do it. And (says he) "I averr, from my heart, that I neither know the day nor the year when I began to be sincere." For churches, then, to expect an account of *that* from all that they receive into their fellowship, is unscriptural and unreasonable. Nevertheless, it concerns them to beware of the other extream of laxness in admission unto the Lord's holy table. You know that your pastor MITCHEL had a latitude in his judgment as to the subject of baptism, (as also Dr. Ames, Mr. Cotton, and others of the congregational perswasion, had) but as to admissions to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, I know no man that was more conscientiously careful to keep *unqualified* persons from partaking therein than was he. As for this or that *mode* in *examining* of persons that offer themselves to be communicants in our churches, whether it shall be by a more continued relation of the work of grace in their hearts, or by questions and answers, (as was practised in the church at Hartford in Mr. Hooker's time, and which may possibly be as edifying a way as the former,) or whether the persons designing to partake in the Lord's Supper, shall declare their experiences orally or in writing, are *prudentials*, which our Lord has left unto churches to determine as they shall find most expedient for their own edification. Nevertheless, the substance of the thing (viz: "either a relation, as 'tis called, or an equivalent") ought to be insisted on. Churches are bound in duty to enquire, not only into the *knowledge* and *orthodoxy*, but into the spiritual estate of those whom they receive into full communion in all the ordinances of Christ. Some have thought that such qualifications are not to be expected from *children* born in the church, as from *strangers*; but they never had that opinion out of the Scripture, which says expressly concerning them that would eat the passover, that, "there is one law to him that is home-born, and to the stranger"—Exod. xii. 49; Numb. ix. 14. Wherefore in the platform of

discipline it is said, "the like trial is to be required of such members
Capt. 12. § 7. of the church as were born in the same, or received their membership, and were baptized in their infancy or minority, by virtue of the covenant of their parents, when being grown up to years of discretion, they shall desire to be made partakers of the Lord's table, unto which, because

holy things are not to be given to the unworthy, therefore it is requisite that those as well as others should come to their trial and examination, and manifest their faith and repentance by an open profession thereof, before they are received to the Lord's Supper, and otherwise not to be admitted thereunto;" these are the words in the "platform of discipline," agreed unto by the elders and messengers of the churches in the synod at Cambridge; in which synod were Mr. Cotton, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Norton, learned and aged divines, besides many others of great eminency. It is not the opinion of *men*, but the *Scripture* which must decide the controversy. Nevertheless, the judgment of those eminent divines who had deeply searched into these matters is not to be slighted. Nor is the private sentiment of this or that person to be laid in the balance with the judgment of a synod, consisting of persons of far greater authority than any younger ones pretended to be of a contrary opinion. Nor is there weight in that allegation, that when a man declares his own *experiences*, he "testifies concerning himself," and therefore his testimony is of no validity. By the same reason it may be said churches are not to examine those that essay to joyn themselves to them, about the soundness of their faith. For they may (as Arius did) profess that they *believe* articles of faith, which God knows they do not believe, nor is there any thing but their own testimony to prove that they do believe as they profess. But, above all, their notion is to be rejected, as a church-corrupting principle, who assert that the sacrament is a converting ordinance. Papists, Erastians, and some others, whom I forbear to mention, have so taught; but their heterodoxy has been abundantly refuted, not only by congregational writers, such as Mr. John Beverly against Timpson, but by worthy authors of the Presbyterian perswasion, particularly by Mr. Gelapsy in his "*Aaron's Rod*;" Dr. Drake in his answer to Mr. Humphrys, and Mr. Vines, in his treatise of the Lord's-Supper. If the sacrament were appointed to be a *converting* ordinance, then the most scandalous persons in the world—yea, *heathen* people—ought to have it administered unto them; for we may not withhold from them the means appointed for their conversion. The Scripture says, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread," 1 Cor. xi. 28, which clearly intimates that if, upon examination, he finds himself in a state of *sin* and *unregeneracy*, he ought not to "eat of that bread."

Blessed Mr. MITCHEL would frequently assert that, if it should pass for current doctrine in New-England, that all persons "orthodox in judgment," as to the matters of *faith*, and "not scandalous in life," ought to be admitted to partake of the Lord's-Supper, without any examination concerning the "work of grace in their hearts," it would be a *real apostacy* from former principles, and a *degeneracy* from the *reformation* which we had attained unto. I am willing upon this occasion to bear my testimony to the *present truth*, and to leave it upon record unto posterity; not knowing how soon

the Lord Jesus may by one providence or other (of which I have had several warnings) remove me from my present station among these churches. The arguments which have induced me to believe and testify, as now I do, are such as these:

1. Time was when churches in New-England believed there was *clear* Scripture proof for the practice we plead for. Particularly that scripture, Psal. iv. 10, "I have not hidden thy righteousness from the great congregation;" and that, Psal. lxvi. 16, "Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and will declare what he has done for my soul." And that scripture, 1 Pet. iii. 15, "Be ready always to give an answer to every man, that asks you a reason of the hope that is in you," does by just consequence intimate as much as we assert. Some have been bold to say, that since the apostle in the place alledged, speaks of believers apologizing for their hope before persecutors, it is an abuse of Scripture from thence to infer that any thing of that nature ought to be done for the satisfaction of churches. But renowned Mr. Hooker, in a manuscript which I have seen, answering the objections of some who disliked the practice of these churches, in examining and inquiring into the spiritual estate of their communicants, especially their requiring an account from the children of the church,) argues judiciously that if Christians are bound to give an account of the grounds of their hope to persecutors, much more to churches that shall desire it. So Mr. Shephard, the faithful and famous pastor of the church in Cambridge, in his answer to Mr. Ball. And to the same purpose, in the platform of discipline, it is inferred that men must declare and shew their repentance, and faith, and effectual calling, because these are the reason of a well-grounded hope. Now, for any man to charge these worthies of the Lord, and the platform of discipline, with abusing Scripture when they made such an inference, is a very unbecoming presumption. It was formerly thought that Scripture examples are not wanting to warrant the practice of our churches in this matter, since John required those whom he admitted to his baptism, to make a confession of their sins. And the apostles expected a declaration of their repentance from such as they admitted into the primitive church—Acts ii. 38. And Philip examined the eunuch concerning the sincerity of his faith—Acts viii. 37.

2. "That principle which tends to bring persons not duly qualified to partake in holy things, must needs be displeasing to the holy Lord Jesus Christ."—He would have his servants to "distinguish betwixt the precious and the vile"—Jer. xv. 19. And to turn away from such as have only "the form, and not the power of godliness" in them—2 Tim. iii. 5: they that have only a doctrinal knowledge, and an external conversion free from scandal, without regeneration, have no more than a form of godliness. If Christians should not make such persons their *familiars*, certainly they ought not to admit them to their *saored* communion. It is a very solemn word, which the Lord has spoken, saying, "You have brought into my

sanctuary uncircumcised in heart, to be in my sanctuary to pollute it; even in my house, when you offer the bread and the blood. No stranger uncircumcised in heart, shall enter into my sanctuary.”—Ezek. xlv. 7, 9. That man does but *defile* the sanctuary of the Lord, that has not the “water of separation [the blood of Christ through faith] sprinkled upon him”—Numb. xix. 20. But this principle or position, that persons are to be admitted to the table of the Lord without enquiring into their REGENERATION, tends to bring the “uncircumcised in heart” into the sanctuary. If churches should neglect all examinations concerning the *orthodoxy* of those they receive into their communion, would not that have a natural tendency to bring heterodox, and it may be *heretical* persons into their communion? By a parity of reason, the omitting all enquiries, as to the spiritual experience of them that come to the table of the Lord, has a tendency to fill the sanctuary with those who never had any experimental knowledge of the things of God.

3. “The church ought to know, as far as men can judge, that the persons whom they admit to the Lord’s Table are fit, and have a right to be there.”—Now, none are meet to partake of the Lord’s Supper, excepting such as have experienced a “saving work of grace.” They must be such as can and will examine themselves—1 Cor. xi. 28. And therefore must have the *matter* of self-examination, which is faith, repentance, and love, and other graces. Thus it was in the primitive apostolical church—Acts ii. 47: “The Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.” Churches are to receive such as the “Lord has received”—Rom. xiv. 1, 2, 3. Such as are “united to Christ”—1 Cor. xii. 27; 1 Thess. i. 1: “Living stones” must be in that building—1 Pet. ii. 5—Made ready by a work of divine grace on and in them, before they are laid there; of which the “prepared materials” in Solomon’s temple were a type—1 Kings vi. 7. They ought to be saints and “faithful in Christ Jesus”—Eph. i. 1. How shall the churches *know* that the persons who offer themselves to their communion are such, unless they pass under their trial—Rev. ii. 2. If a man claim *right* to a privilege, and yet sheweth no sufficient *reason*, he ought to be debarred until he can some way or other prove his *claim*. It is true, the judgment of churches is fallible: grace being a secret thing, hid in his heart: only Christ seeth it: churches cannot always discern the *tares* from the *wheat*. Nevertheless, they may not willingly receive in hypocrites. Ballarmine himself is fain to confess as much as that comes to. “When such were found in churches in the apostolical times, it is said, that they “crept in privily and unawares”—Gal. ii. 4; Jude v. 4; which intimates unto us that they did not *willingly* admit such into their fellowship. When the enemy sowed *tares* in the field, a culpable *sleeping* in those that should have been more watchful was the cause of it—Math. xiii. 25. They who object that we are bound in charity to believe that the persons who offer themselves to our communion are regenerate, with-

out ever making any *enquiry* into their spiritual estate, may with as good reason affirm that we are bound in charity to believe that they are "sound in the faith," without examining them about the matter. A *rational* charity, grounded upon evidence, and not a *blind* charity, is the rule according to which churches are to proceed.

4. "That practice, which Christ has owned with his special blessing and presence, ought not to be decryed as an human invention, but rather owned as a divine institution."—Was not the Lord's blessing Aaron's rod an effectual demonstration that his ministry had a divine approbation? Is not Paul's calling to the ministry, and Peter's also, proved from this argument, that God owned and blessed them both?—1 Cor. ix. 1, 2; Gal. ii. 7, 8, 9. That Christ has owned his churches, in their *enquiries* into the spiritual estate of such as they admit into their communion with his special gracious presence, is most certain. Have not some been converted by hearing others give an account of their conversion? How many have been comforted, and how many edified thereby! which proveth that this practice is lawful and laudable, and that to *stigmatize* it so, as some have done, is not pleasing to the Lord.

5. "To use all lawful means to keep church communion pure, it is a duty incumbent upon all churches, and most eminently on churches in New-England."—It is known to all the world, that church reformation, and *purity* as to all administrations therein, was the thing designed by our fathers, when they followed the Lord into this wilderness: and therefore degeneracy in that respect would be a greater evil in us than in any people. We shall not act like "wise children," if we seek to "pull down with our hand" that house (or any *pillar*-principle whereon it is founded) which our wise fathers have built. The "debasing the matter of particular churches" must needs corrupt them. A learned and renowned author has evinced, "that the letting go this principle, that particular churches ought to consist of regenerate persons, brought in the great apostacy of the Christian church." The way to prevent the like apostacy in these churches, is to require an *account* of those that offer themselves to communion therein, concerning the work of God on their souls, as well as concerning their knowledge and belief. If once this practice and principle of truth be deserted, "a world of unqualified persons" will soon fill, and pester and corrupt the house of God, and cause him to "go far off from his sanctuary." We may then justly fear, that these "*golden candlesticks*" will be no longer so, but become *dross* and *tin*, and reprobate silver, until "the Lord has rejected them." Let us dread to have an hand in causing it to be so! It is a solemn passage which Mr. Cotton (whom Dr. Goodwin calls "the apostle of this age") has in his judicious treatise of *The Holiness of Church Members*, p. 60: "Methinks [says he] the servants of God should tremble to erect such a state of the visible church, in hypocrisy and formal profession, as whose very found-

ation threateneth dissolution and desolation." True it is, that we may not "do evil," that "good may come of it." We may not use any "unlawful practice" to prevent impurity, as to the matter of our churches. But no man can say that the practice we plead for is *sinful*. If, then, the use of it may (by the blessing of Christ) be a means to keep our churches and communion pure, why should it be laid aside? Mr. MITCHEL, in a manuscript of his, which I have seen, has these weighty words: "The over-enlarging of full communion or admission of persons thereunto, upon slight qualifications, without insisting upon the practical and spiritual part of religion, will not only lose the power of godliness, but in a little time bring in profaneness, and ruine the churches these two ways: 1, Election of ministers will soon be carried by a formal, looser sort; 2, The exercise of discipline will by this means be rendered impossible. Discipline falling, profaneness riseth like a flood; for the major part, wanting zeal against sin, will foster licentiousness. It is not setting down good rules and directions that will salve it: for the specification of government is from men, not from laws. Let never so good a form of government be agreed upon, it will soon degenerate, if the instruments (or men) that manage it be not good."—Blessed MITCHEL! these are thy words; this was thy spirit!

6. "In the primitive and purest times of the church, there was great strictness used in examining such as were admitted to sacrament, concerning the sincerity of their repentance towards God, and their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ."—There are who pretend that this is a *new practice*, begun by a few *separatists* in Amsterdam, not an hundred years since. But such persons discover their ignorance, and that they are unacquainted and unstudied in ecclesiastical story. Justin Martyr (who lived an hundred and fifty years after Christ), in his second apology for the Christians, writeth, that they did "examine such as were admitted to their communion, whether they were able to conform themselves in all things to the word and will of God." If we would know what things were practised by the churches in the primitive times, the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian (as learned Usher has truly observed) give us the clearest discovery thereof. It is evident from them that, in those days, there was rather too much *rigidity* than too much *laxness* in their admission to sacraments. They would keep men, who were *catechumens* and *competentes** a long time, before they did receive them into full communion in the church. They required not only a profession of *faith*, and a confession of *sins*, but a submission to a severe scrutiny concerning their *sincerity* therein: *Piant scrutinia, ut sapius explorentur, an post renunciationem Satanae sacra verba datæ fidei radicatus corde defixerint.*† They were to be examined again and again, to find out whether the *words* of the faith they professed, were indeed fixed in their *hearts*. Cyprian, in his third epistle, says, *Mihi labor*

Alcuinus.

* Suitable candidates.

† They require renewed scrutiny, to ascertain whether, after renouncing Satan, their hearts are fundamentally fixed on the sacred truths of the faith they profess.

*est persuadere fratribus ut recipiendis consentiant: vix plebi persuadeo, ut tales patiantur admitti, quia nec cum vera pœnitentia venerant.** That they could not easily persuade the brethren in churches to consent to the admission of such persons to their communion, of whose sincere repentance there was any doubt. Origen declares as much as that amounts to. When, in after ages, churches degenerated, Chrysostom complains that, by admitting ungodly men into the church, they had "filled the temple with beasts," and he professed that he would sooner choose to have his right hand cut off, than administer the sacrament to a *known* wicked man. It is well known that the Waldenses, amongst whom religion was preserved during the reign of popery, were strict in this matter. And so were the Bohemian brethren: Commenius testifies concerning them, that they used a "diligent exploration" concerning the faith and repentance of their communicants, lest haply it should be only *superficiary* and *fallacious*. There was an *examen conscientiarum*† used amongst them. It must be acknowledged that, in the Protestant Reformation, there has been a great *neglect* and *defect* as to what concerns the discipline and government of Christ in his church. As the *apostacy* was gradual, so has the *Reformation* been. And there was (as Dr. Owen well observes) a wise providence in ordering it to be so: "For had the first reformers set themselves to remove out of the church all such as were unmeet for its communion, and to have reduced things to their *primitive institution*, by reason of the paucity of the number of such church members, the endeavour for a general reformation of doctrine and worship would have been obstructed. Hence it comes to pass that the reformation of the church, as unto the *matter* of it, was not attempted, until Calvin set up his discipline in Geneva, which has filled the world with clamours against him to this day. In most other places the matter or members of churches were, as to their lives and conversation, as bad as the papists. Nevertheless, eminent divines of the Reformation, in this and the last century, have approved of that which we are pleading for. Beza laments the remissness of Protestant churches in not taking more care about the qualifications of their members; concluding that there will never be such a reformation as ought to be endeavoured after, *Nisi a conversione cordium initium instaurationis sumatur*:§ except men with *converted hearts* be laid in the *foundation*. Bucer finds fault with English churches for admitting children who had been baptized unto the Lord's Supper, upon too low terms. He says, there should be "manifest signs of regeneration in them first: that they should appear to be such as had upon their hearts a sense of the word

Ratio Disciplin. Fratrum.
Bohem.† p. 44, &c.

Dr. Owen, "Of the Nature of a
Gospel Church," p. 13.

Beza Epist. 14.

Bucer Script. Anglis,||
Cap. 17, p. 482, 483.

* It is a great task for me to induce the brethren to consent to the admission of members: the great mass of the flock I can scarcely persuade at all to permit the admission of some, on the ground that they do not offer signs of true repentance.

† Treatise on the Discipline of the Bohemian Churches.

‡ Test of conscience.

§ Unless the foundation of the Reformation be heart-felt conversion.

|| Bucer on the English Churches.

of God, and that they did use secret prayer," &c. But how should such things be known concerning them without enquiry into their spiritual state! Chamier commends the strictness used in the primitive times, in examining those that desired to joyn to the church, *Chamier de Baptismo,* 1. 5.* *ne, quantum fieri poterit, lateant Simones,†* that so Simon Magus may not creep into the church, if it were possible to prevent it. Luther did at last sorrowfully bewail it, that he began his reformation with such *promiscuous admissions* to the table of the Lord, heartily wishing, that he had taught and practised such a church discipline, as that which was professed by the Bohemian brethren. Chemnitius wisheth that the *strictness* used among the ancients in the *probation* of communicants were restored and revived in the churches of the Reformation. His godly desire and hope that in time it will be so, is approved of by Gerhard, in his Common Place, *de Sacra Cœna.‡*

Some of those that are called Presbyterian fully concur with us as to the *substance* of what we plead for. When Mr. Norton, in his answer unto Apollonius, does assert that four things are to be required of those that desire admission into church fellowship:—1, A confession of faith; 2, A declaration of their experience concerning a work of faith; 3, A blameless conversation; 4, Professed subjection to the gospel, and the order of it—that learned and worthy professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, Dr. Hornbeck, declares his concurrence with him *Hornbeck Epistola ad Durium, § p. 299.* therein, and that in these particulars, those of the congregational way agree with some other reformed churches. To my certain knowledge, eminent ministers of the Presbyterian perswasion, in London, examine their communicants (before they admit them to partake with them at the Lord's Table) concerning their *faith* and *repentance*. And so (notwithstanding what is pleaded for by the godly learned Mr. Rutherford) some do in Scotland, as divers worthy ministers of that nation have assured me.

The difference, as to this matter, between a Presbyterian and a Congregational man (who are nevertheless "united brethren") is this: There is no Congregational man but he "reports to the church" something of what the person desiring communion with them has related to him; which the Presbyterian does not, only declares his own satisfaction, and giveth the brethren a liberty to object against the conversation of the *admittendi*.|| I know Presbyterians who are stricter in their examinations and admissions than some Congregational men. It appears, therefore, that such *enquiries* into the spiritual estate of them who are to be admitted unto full communion, in all the ordinances of the gospel, is no *singular* or *novel* practice: nothing but what is confirmed by "reverend antiquity," and has been ingenuously asserted by the great reformers, both of the former and this present age. Whether the *brethren*, as well as the *elders*, should not be

* Chamier on Baptism.

† That no Simon Magus shall by any possibility be found lurking within the fold of the church.

‡ On the Lord's Supper.

§ Hornbeck's Letter to Durium.

| Candidates.

concerned as *judges*, concerning the qualifications of those whom they receive into their communion, is another *question*, which I shall not here enlarge upon. It is certain that, in the primitive ages of the church, they had that liberty; otherwise Cyprian would never have said, *Vix plebi persuadeo ut tales patiantur admitti*,* &c. And elsewhere confessed his obligations and resolutions, *Nihil sine consensu plebis, privata sententia, gerere*.†

It is also certain that this is an avowed principle of all who are esteemed congregational. In the declaration of the *faith* and *order* owned and practised in Congregational churches in England, agreed and consented unto by their elders and messengers, in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658, they declare, "that the members of particular churches are saints by calling, visibly manifesting their obedience to the call of Christ, who being further known to each other by their confession of faith wrought in them by the power of God, declared by themselves, or otherwise manifested, consent to walk together according to the appointment of Christ." I have known many in England of that way; but never any that did not concern the *brethren*, as well as themselves, to be *judges* of the fitness of those who have desired to be received into their communion. It is evident that the church (and not the officers only) have power given them by Christ to judge who are meet to be *put out* of their communion—Mat. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 12. Then they must needs have the like power as to those that are to be *taken into* their communion. *Ejusdem est potestatis constituere et destituere*‡ is a known received axiom. If the whole church has power to judge of the repentance of one that is to be re-admitted, then of the repentance of one that is to have his first admission. But the Apostle speaks to the *church*, and not to the *officers* only to restore the penitent Corinthian to their communion—2 Cor. ii. 8. Again, If the "whole multitude of disciples" have power to judge whether persons are qualified with that wisdom and grace as to be meet for office-relation in the church, then they have power to judge concerning the knowledge and grace of communicants. The argument is a *majori ad minus*.§ They that are meet judges in a *greater* matter, much more in that which is *less*. But the former is clear from the Scripture—Acts vi. 2, 3, 4. For further satisfaction in this point, Mr. Norton and Mr. Shepard may be consulted, with that man of vast reading and learning, Mr. Robert Parker.

These things I have supposed to be proper for me to write to you, the Church of Christ in Cambridge; not as doubting of your steadfastness in the truth to this day professed and practised by you, but as desiring that those who shall succeed you, may continue to walk therein; and that so I might testify the peculiar respect that I do (and ought to) bear unto you, on the account of the undeserved love which all of you have manifested towards me. Five years are not expired since you were pleased unani-

* [Translated on p. 74.]

† To make no addition to the church on any one's private judgment, without the common consent of the flock.

‡ The power to admit and the power to expel reside in the same person. § From the greater to the less.

mously to invite me to accept of the pastoral office over you. But the unwillingness of the dear people, among whom I have been labouring in the Gospel for the space of thirty-six years, that I should leave them, in consideration of some other obstacles, kept me from complying with that your loving motion. Nevertheless, I cannot but whilst I live have a dear affection for you, and know not how to express it more than by endeavouring what in me lies, that you and your children after you may be confirmed in those ways of the Lord which your fathers, and your selves too, have experienced so much of His presence in. And I have also considered that you are singularly circumstanced, in that there are residing with you the "sons of the prophets," whose establishment "in the present truth," I am, more than any man in the world, under an obligation to promote, and I certainly know (not altogether without an awful sense of it) that the Son of God will e'er long enquire of me whether I did in this matter discharge my duty, according to his expectation, to whom I must be accountable concerning the improvement of whatever talents or opportunities to serve His interests He has or shall trust me with whilst I am in this world.

A few words let me further speak to you, who belong to that *nursery* for religion and learning, which has for a long time been the *glory*, not of Cambridge only, but of New England. Sixteen years will this summer be lapsed since God, by his providence, devolved the Presidentship of that society into my hands to manage it (so far as my insufficiencies for such a service will permit) for the ends which He (and our fathers, as his instruments) did at first erect a Colledge in New-England upon; which was chiefly, that so *scholars* might there be educated for the service of Christ and His churches, in the "work of the ministry," and that they might be seasoned in their tender years with such *principles* as brought their blessed progenitors into this wilderness. What my sollicitudes for this have been in both Englands, is known to Him who said to the churches, "I know your works." There is no one thing of greater concernment to these churches, in present and after times, than the prosperity of that society. They cannot subsist without a Colledge. There are at this day not above two or three of our churches but what are supplied from thence. Nor are the churches like to continue "pure golden candle-sticks," if the Colledge which should supply them prove apostate. If the *fountain* be corrupted, how should the *streams* be pure, which should "make glad the city of God?" How should "plants of renown" spring up from thence, if the Colledge it self become a degenerate plant?" You that are *tutors* there, have a great advantage put into your hands (and I pray God give you wisdom to know it!) to prevent it. The Lord hath made you *fathers* to many pupils. You will not deny but that He has made me a *father* to you. It was my recommendation that brought you into that station. And therefore, as my joy will be greater to see you acquit your selves

worthily, so my earnest solicitudes for it must needs be the more, on *that* account. There are many (I believe you wish you could say so of all of them) who were once under your tuition, that do worthily in Ephratah, and are like to be famous in Bethlehem, for which you ought to (and I doubt not but you do) humbly bless the Lord; that you (and they who shall succeed you) may be yet greater blessings, let me commend unto you the example of this blessed man, whose life is here described. When Jerom had considered the life of Hilarion, he resolved "Hilarion shall be the champion, whom I will follow!" Say each of you, "MITCHEL (once a tutor in Harvard-Colledge) shall be the example, whom I will imitate!" You will see, in the story of his life, that he did not only instruct his pupils in the knowledge of the *tongues* and *arts*, but that he would sometimes discourse them about the *spiritual estate* of their immortal souls. Such private personal instructions, are many times more effectual to conversion than publick sermons. Some very worthy persons, who were once his scholars, have a living remembrance of his words to this day. Others of them are now with him in glory, blessing God to eternity, whose providence disposed them under such a tutor. Famous Dr. Preston chose rather to live in Cambridge, than in any place of England, because, by reason of the University there, he had an opportunity, *Non modo dolare Lapides, sed Artichitectos*—to "prepare builders for the house of God." The Angels in heaven would not think it beneath them to be employed in so great a work and service for the churches of Christ, as that which infinite grace has called you unto. If you follow those that have gone before you (MITCHEL in particular) as they have followed Christ, your names will be precious and honourable like theirs, and you shall *live* after you are *dead*, as they now do.

And for you that are the *students* in the Colledge: I have often (as you know) in my discourses among you, exhorted you above all things to study Christ, and to be mindful of "the one thing necessary." *Gifts* without *grace* will be of no avail unto you at last. You may excel in *knowledge*, and yet be of all in the world the most *miserable*, and most like to the devils, as a converted Indian once said concerning some scholars. You know that many philosophers who were *heathen* excelled in that which is called, *humane learning*. And so have some Popish authors (Jesuits especially) done, whose books have been very edifying to others. I must confess that, as to that small measure of knowledge which I have attained unto, I have, (for some part of it) been beholden to the Divine Providence for the works of Ricciolus, Galtruchius, and others of that fraternity, who were very learned men, though enemies of the true Protestant religion. Knowledge, then, without Christ and holiness, will never bring you to heaven. One has written a book, "*de Salute Aristolus*;"* and another, "*de Animabus Paganorum*,"† endeavouring to prove that the phi-

* Aristolus on Salvation.

† Concerning the souls of the Heathen.

osophers who “knew not the only true God,” nor Jesus Christ, have eternal life. Let such and all other Pelagian and Arminian principles be far from you. But do not think it is enough, if you be orthodox in the *fundamental points* of religion. It was not (I can assure you) on any such account that your fathers followed Christ into this wilderness, “when it was a land not sown.” If you degenerate from the “order of the gospel,” (as well as from the “faith of the gospel”) you will justly merit the name of *apostates* and of *degenerate plants*. And such degeneracy in the children of New-England, and most of all in *you*, will be worse than in any children in the world. If any of you shall prove such, remember that you were told that *you take an unhappy time to degenerate in*. He whose “fan is in his hand, will thoroughly purge his floor.” The day is near when the Lord Jesus Christ will make his churches more pure and reformed than in the former ages: and will you at such a time corrupt your selves with loose and large principles in matters relating to the house of God, “whose house holiness becomes for ever!” How if some of you should live to see that scripture verified, where the Lord says, “The Levites that are gone far from me, when Israel went astray, they shall not come near unto me, to do the office of a priest unto me; but the sons of Zadok that kept the charge of my sanctuary, they shall enter into my sanctuary and they shall come near to my table to minister unto me!”—Ezek. xliv. 10. 15. Let me recommend unto you the weighty words of my most dear and worthy friend and predecessor, Mr. Oakes, once your learned president, which he delivered (and afterwards printed) on a very solemn occasion. He speaketh to you thus:

“Consider [saith he] what will be the *end* of receding or making a defection from the way of church government established amongst us. I profess, I look upon the discovery and settlement of the Congregational way, as the boon, the gratuity, the largess of divine bounty, which the Lord graciously bestowed on His people, that followed Him into this wilderness; and a great part of the blessing on the head of Joseph, and of them who were separate from their brethren. These good people that came over, shewed more love, zeal, and affectionate desire of communion with God in *pure* worship and ordinances, and did more in order to it than others, and the Lord did more for them than for any people in the world, in shewing them the *pattern* of His house, and the true *scriptural-way* of church government and administrations. God was certainly in a more than ordinary way of favor present with his servants in laying of our foundations, and in settling the way of church order according to the will and appointment of Christ. Consider, what will be the *sad issue* of revolting from the way fixed upon, to one extream or to another, whether it be to Presbyterianism or Brownism; as for the Presbyterians, it must be acknowledged that there are among them as pious, learned, sober, orthodox men, as the world affords; and that there is as much of the ‘power of Godliness’ among that party, and of the spirit of the good old Puritans, as among any people in the world. And, for their way of church-government, it must be confessed that in the day of it, it was a very considerable step to reformation. The reformation in K. Edward’s days was then a blessed work. And the reformation of Geneva and Scotland was then a larger step, and in many respects purer than the other. And for my part I fully believe that the Congregational way far exceeds both, and is the *highest step* that has been taken towards reformation, and for the

In his Election Sermon on Deut. xxxii. 29. p. 44, &c.

substance of it, it is the very same way that was established and practised in the 'primitive times,' according to the institution of Jesus Christ. I must needs say that I should look upon it as a sad degeneracy, if we should leave the *good old way*, so far as to turn councils and synods into clauses and provincial assemblies, and there should be such a laxness in admission of members to communion, as is pleaded for, and practised by many Presbyterians, and elders should manage all themselves in an *autocratical way*, to the subversion of the liberty and privilege of the brethren."

Thus Mr. Oakes. As for that excellently learned and holy man, Mr. Charles Chauncey, who for many years presided over Harvard-Colledge, none of you who now belong to that society can remember him. But you have heard what his *dying charge* to his sons (who through grace tread in their father's steps) was in his last will and testament, which you may see published with his life in due time. He that is now your president—*A longe sequitur vestigia, semper adorans*;* yet is willing not to evert or undermine the *foundation*, which his blessed predecessors have laid, but to build thereon. I remember Buchanan (who was tutor to K. James I.) in the preface to his Baptistes, which he *dedicates* to that K., says, that the reason why he did so was, "That in case he should, through the influence of evil counsellors, or from any other cause, be guilty of male-administration in his government, after ages should know that the blame ought to be imputed not to his tutor, but to himself." So let me say, if *you*, the students in Harvard-Colledge, or any of you, shall deviate and degenerate from the holy *principles* and *practices* of your fathers, the world shall know, and posterity shall know, that the reason of it is not for want of being otherwise instructed by your present, as well as by former presidents.

INCREASE MATHER.

MAY 7, 1697.

ECCLESIASTES; OR, THE LIFE OF MR. JONATHAN MITCHEL.

Sanctorum Vitas Legere et non Vivere, frustra est;

Sanctorum Vitas Degite, non Legite.†

§ 1. It is reported concerning the ancient Phrygians, that when a *priest* expired among them, they honored him with a *pillur* ten fathom high, whereon they placed his *dead* body, as if he were to continue, after his *death*, from thence instructing of the people. Nor can a *minister* of the gospel have any more honorable funeral than *that*, by which his instruction of the people may be most continued unto the people, after his expiration. But I may, without any danger of *mistake*, venture to affirm, that there cannot easily be found a *minister* of the gospel in our days, more worthy to have the story of his *life* employed for the instruction of mankind after his decease, than our excellent MITCHEL. And therefore I shall now

* Follows his footsteps, although far behind him, with unfailing reverence.

† Good lives to read and not to live—despise; | To lead and not to read them—that were wise.

endeavour to set him on as high a pillar, as the best history that I can give of his exemplary life can erect for that worthy man; for whom statues of Corinthian brass were but inadequate acknowledgements.

§ 2. If it were counted an honor to the town of Halifax in Yorkshire that the famous John *de Sacro Bosco*,* author of the well known treatise "*De Sphaera*,"† was born there; this town was no less honored by its being the place of birth to our no less worthily famous JONATHAN MITCHEL, the author of a better treatise of heaven, who, being descended (as a printed account long since has told us) of pious and wealthy parents, here drew his first breath, in the year 1624. The precise *day* of his birth is lost, nor is it worth while for us to enquire, by an *astrological calculation*, what aspect the *stars* had upon his birth, since the *event* has proved, that God the Father was in the *horoscope*, Christ in the *mid-heaven*, the Spirit in the *sixth house*, repentance, faith and love in the *eighth*: and in the *twelfth*, an eternal happiness, where no Saturn can dart any malignant rays. Here, while the "father of his flesh" was endeavouring to make him *learned* by a proper education, the "Father of spirits" used the methods of grace to make him *serious*; especially by a sore feavour, which had like to have made the *tenth* year of his life the *last*, but then settled in his arm, with such troublesome effects, that his arm grew, and kept a little bent, and he could never stretch it out *right* until his dying day. And upon this accident he afterwards wrote this reflection: "Thus the Lord sought to make me serious (Oh! when will it once be!) by steeping my first entrance into years of understanding, and into the changes of life, and my first motions to New-England, in eminent and special sorrows." Now, his *first motions* to New-England, mentioned in this reflection, invite us to hasten unto that part of our history which is to relate, that his parents were some of those exemplary Christians which, by the unconscionable impositions and persecutions of the English hierarchy upon the consciences of people, as remarkable for true Christianity as any in the realm, were driven out of it in the year 1635. The ship which brought over Mr. Richard Mather, and many more of those Puritans, which had found the church of England, then governed by such an "assembly of treacherous men," (a faction to whom that name, "the church of England," never truly belonged) that they were put upon wishing, with the persecuted prophet, "Oh! that I had in the wilderness a lodging-place of way-faring men!" was further enriched by having on board our JONATHAN, then a child of about eleven years of age; whose parents with much difficulty and resolution carried him unto Bristol to take shipping there, while he was not yet recovered of his illness. On the coast of New-England, they were delivered from a most eminent and amazing hazard of perishing, in a most horrible tempest; upon which deliverance Mr. Mather preached a sermon from that scripture, John v. 14: "Sin no more, lest a worse thing

* Of Holy-Wood.

† Concerning the Heavens.

come unto thee;" whereby further impressions of seriousness were made upon the soul of this young disciple.

§ 3. The godly father of our Jonathan found that America as well as Europe, New-England as well as old England, was a part of old Adam's world; well stocked every where with the thorns of worldly vanities and vexations; and that a wilderness was a place where *temptation* was to be met withal. All his family, and the Jonathan of the family with the rest, were visited with sickness the winter after their first arrival at Charlestown, and the *scarcity* then afflicting the countrey added unto the afflictions of their sickness. Removing to the town of Concord, his *greater matters* continually became *smaller* there, his beginnings were there consumed by fire, and some other losses befel him in the latter end of that winter. The next summer he removed unto Say-brook, and the next spring unto Weathersfield upon Connecticut river, by which he lost yet more of his possessions and plunged himself into other troubles. Towards the close of that year he had a son-in-law slain by the Pequot Indians; and the rest of the winter they lived in much fear of their lives from those barbarians, and many of his cattel were destroyed, and his estate unto the value of some hundreds of pounds was damnified. A shallop, which he sent unto the river's mouth, was taken, and burned by the Pequots, and three men in the vessel slain, in all of whom he was nearly concerned: So that indeed the Pequot scourge fell more on this family than on any other in the land. Afterward there arose unhappy differences in the place where he lived, wherein he was an antagonist against some of the principal persons in the place, and hereby *he* that had hitherto "lived in precious esteem with good men, wherever he came" (as a record I have seen testifies concerning him) now suffered much in his esteem among many such men, as 'tis usual in such contentions, and he met with many other injuries; for which causes he transferred himself, with his interests, unto Stamford in the colony of New-Haven. Here his house, barn, and goods were again consumed by fire; and much internal distress of mind accompanied these humbling dispensations. At last, that most horrible of diseases, the *stone*, arrested him, and he underwent unspeakable dolours from it, until the year 1645, when he went unto his rest about the fifty-fifth year of his age.

§ 4. Although the good Spirit of God gave our Jonathan to improve much in his holy dispositions while he was yet a youth, by the calamities which thus befel his father—and particularly upon occasion of a sad thing befalling a servant of his father's, who, instead of going to the lecture at Hartford, as he had been allowed and advised, would needs go fell a tree for himself, but a broken bough of the tree struck him dead, so that he never spoke or stirred more—our Jonathan, who was then about fifteen years old, in one of his old papers does relate, "this amazing stroke did much stirr my heart, and I spent some time in endeavouring the work of repentance according to Mr. Scudder's directions in his *Daily Walk*."

nevertheless, he had this disadvantage, that he was thereby diverted from *study* and *learning*, for the first seven years after his coming into the country. Had it not been for the disadvantage of this *intermission*, we had seen some lively emulation of Bellarmine's open lectures of divinity, at sixteen years of age, or Torquato Quasso's receiving his degrees in philosophy and divinity at seventeen, or Grotius's publishing of commentaries at the like seventeen. For he was, as the historian observes, all that will prove considerable, must be, *Puer, qui Seminaria Virtutum Generosiore concretus, aliquid Inclytum designasset*.* But after so long an intermission, as until September in the year 1642, and the eighteenth year of his age, upon the earnest advice of some that observed his great capacity, and especially of Mr. Mather, with whom he came into New-England, he resumed his designs for study and learning: wherein he made so vigorous a progress, that in the year 1645 he was, upon a strict examination, admitted into Harvard Colledge. Nor was it very long before Mr. Mather, who was the adviser of this matter, had the consolation of seeing the excellent labours of this person in the pulpit worthy of his own constant journeys to his monthly lectures; yea, and the most considerable fathers of the country, with himself, treating this person as not "coming behind the very chiefest of them all," and tasting his communications, not as "unripe grapes," or "wine just out of the press."

§ 5. But before we can fairly arrive to *that* part of our story, it will be as *profitable*, as *necessary* for us to observe the *steps* whereby God made him GREAT. The faculties of mind, with which the "God that forms the spirit of man" enriched him, were very notable. He had a *clear head*, a copious *fancy*, a solid *judgment*, a tenacious *memory*, and a certain *discretion*, without any childish *laschete* or levity in his behaviour, which commanded respect from all that viewed him: so that it might be said of him, as it once was of a great person in the English nation, "they that knew him from a child, never knew him any other than a man." Under these advantages, he was an hard student, and he so prospered in his indefatigable studies, that he became a scholar of *illuminations*, not far from the *first magnitude*: recommended by which qualifications, it was not long before he was chosen a Fellow of the Colledge. But the main strokes of his Colledge life, that I shall single out for my reader's observation, are of yet an higher character. Know, then, that as it was his own counsel to his brother, "the writing of sometimes your former and present life, would be a thing of endless use," thus it was his manner, whilst in the Colledge, to keep a brief diary, written in the Latin tongue, which he wrote indeed fluently and handsomely; and from a part of this diary, by him entitled, "*Vitæ Hypomnemata*,"† happily fallen into my hands, I shall note some few remarkables.

* Even as a child, giving proof of generous elements of virtue, and foreshadowing something worthy of distinction.

† Reminiscences of my life.

He kept a strict eye upon his *interior state* before God; and upon the dispositions of his heart, as well in sacred as in civil entertainments; but with an extreme severity^d of reflection upon himself, when perhaps, at the same time, the severest spectator upon earth besides would have judged every thing in him worthy to have been *admired*, rather than *censured*. He would record such things as these: One time,

Inter precandum, Deus ac Inspido ac Desolato Corde juste abfuit, ut me (quo nihil magis necessarium) humiliaret; Nam aliter (si paulo melius aliquando se habeat Cor) est in me, quod prophana Spirituali Superbia titillatur. Eram tamen inde non nihil ad Deum Excitator.

At another time,

Jejunio privato interfui, ubi multo Stupore, et multa vanitate Oppletus sum; aliqua tamen viguerant Suspiria et Deus non visus est me omnino abdicare, sed paulo meliorem fecit; utinam tenuissem et fovissem Desideria, quæ tunc accendit.

At another time,

Locum communem habui; vix abstinui in secreta superbia; Licet turpissima vanitas Animi (qua nunquam non omnia mea venenatur) me coram Deo prostravisset, prætur alia mea peccata, quæ me infra vermes ponunt, Neque sane unquam aliquid aut facio aut dico, unde plus pudoris quam Honoris, mihi non nascitur, si omnia mecum perpendo; et Deus solet semper aliquid relinquere, unde me (saltem apud me) pudefacit.

At another time,

Colloquiis Hilaribus, cum sociis quibusdam nimis indulsi.

At another time,

Adibam Bostonium, et ibi Libertatem Civilem accepi, sed ex Oblectamentis Leve et Insipidum Cor.

At another,

Liberius quam prudentius quædam locutus sum, unde mihi pudor.

Again: He laid up the more especial admonitions which touched him, in the sermons that he heard preached, or in other more private and useful conferences, and the *resolutions*, which he thereupon asked the help of Heaven to follow. He would record such things as these: One time,

Vix aliquid apud Deum sapii, sed excitavit me Concio Magistri Shepardi, Tremenda plane et præstantissima. Docuit Aliquos esse qui videntur inveniri et Servari a Christo et tamen postea pereunt. Hæc me terrebant (et utinam

In my prayer, God was justly withdrawn from my unsavory and desolate heart, that so He might humble me; than which there is nothing more needful for me. For otherwise (if my heart be at any time in a little better frame) there is that in me, which is tickled with spiritual pride. Nevertheless, I was from hence more excited God-ward.

I was present at a private fast, where I was filled with much sottishness and vanity: yet I had some lively sighs; and God seemed not wholly to cast me off, but made me a little better than I was before. I wish I had retained and cherished the desires which He then enkindled!

I common-placed. I could scarce abstain from secret pride; altho' a very base vanity of mind (with which every thing of mine is poison'd!) had laid me low in the dust before God, besides my other sins, which lay me lower than the very worms of the dust. But, indeed, I never do or say any thing, from whence there arises not more of shame than of honor to me, if I consider all things; and God uses in all ever to leave something, by which he makes me at least ashamed of my self.

I gave too much liberty unto merry talk with some of my friends.

I went unto Boston, and there took a civil liberty, but from such entertainments my heart grew light and unsavoury.

I discoursed some things with more freedom than wisdom; for which I was ashamed of myself.

I had little savour on my spirit before God: but a terrible and excellent sermon of Mr. Shepard's awakened me. He taught, that there are some who seem to be found and saved by Christ, and yet afterwards they perish. These things

infixa hærent!') ne tantum viderer esse Christi, et ne ad mortem usque sic pergerem. Rogavi Deum, ut mei Misertus totam rem ageret. Illa Nocte multo pudore, apud me suffusus eram, quod hactenus nihil in Meditatione quotidiana, feceram, et hinc cæcus et ignarus in Divinis, extra meipsum, et sine Deo, per Integras Septimanas vixeram. Jam Statui Meditandi opus quotidie urgere, quod ante hac aliquoties statui, sed, heu! Proposita violavi; unde succenset Deas. Ah, Quot et Quanta scire potuissem de Deo, si serius et constans in Meditatione fuissem!

At another time,

D. Shepardus utilissimè docuit. Illa Nocte Serie instabant Cogitationes, de infanda mea miseria, qua sine Deo, sine Redemptione, a Sabbato ad Sabbatum miserrimus pergo. Inde Tria statuebam mihi Observanda, quæ etiam Deo commendabam, ut in me efflceret. Primo, Non Quiete manendum in hac mea conditione; Intolerabile esse, ut sic pergerem, Secundo Precandum constanter, sine Languore, aut Intermissione, mane nocteque Implorandum Deum, intimis et ineffabilibus suspiriis. Tertio, si Deus non auscultaveret, et quæ opus sunt præstaret, in Amore sua manifestando, saltem Lugeam et Lachrymem, et pergam in Amartudine Animæ; si Consolationem et Pacem a Deo, non habuero, saltem nullam omnino habeam!

At another time,

D. Samuel Matherus eximie concionatus est, de Immutabilitate Dei Inde Redarguebat mutabilitatem et Inconstantiam Hominum erga Deum. Hæc me tetigerunt: Conscius eram Inconstantie meæ; Et serio, intimeque percussus, prostratus coram Deo vehementer Orabam Gratiæ.

Furthermore, he acquitted himself as one concerned for the *souls* of his pupils, when he came to have such under his charge; and was very desirous to see their hearts renewed by grace, the (beginning or) head of knowledge, as well as of their heads furnished with other knowledge. He would record such things as these: At one time,

Alloquebar M. W. de Salutis Negotio. Multis illum hortabar, monebam, et dirigebam, ad illud curandum, ne suffocaret Convictiones, et inconstantia, Deum luderit, sed precibus

terrified me, (and I wish, they had stuck fast in me!) lest I should only seem to belong unto Christ, and lest I should thus go on unto death. I beg'd of God that He would have mercy on me, and accomplish the whole work of His grace for me. That night I was covered with no little shame, because I had hitherto done, in a manner, nothing at the work of *daily meditation*, and hence I had lived blind, and ignorant in divine things, a stranger to myself, and without God for whole weeks together. I now resolved every day to urge the work of *meditation*, which heretofore I have often resolved, but alas, I have violated my purposes: for which cause God is angry with me. Ah! how many, how mighty things of God might I have understood, if I had been serious and constant in *meditation*!

Mr. Shepard preached most profitably. That night I was followed with serious thoughts of my inexpressible misery, wherein I go on most miserably from Sabbath to Sabbath, without God, and without redemption. From hence I determined that there are things which I must observe; and I commended these things unto God, that he would effect them in me: First, that I must not remain quietly in this my condition; but that it is intolerable for me to proceed as I am. Secondly, that I must pray constantly, without fainting, or any intermission: day and night I must cry unto the Lord, with groans that cannot be uttered. Thirdly, If God will not hear me, nor do the things that are needful for me in manifesting to me His love, let me at least mourn, and weep, and go on in the bitterness of my soul. If I shall not have comfort and peace from God, let me have none at all!

Mr. Samuel Mather preached excellently, concerning the *unchangeableness of God*. From hence he rebuked the changeableness and inconstancy of men towards God. These things touched me; for I was conscious to my own inconstancy; and being seriously and inwardly smitten with the sense of it, I cast my self down at the feet of God, with vehement supplications for His favour.

I spoke unto M. W. about the matters of eternal salvation. I largely exhorted him, advised him, directed him to be careful of this, that he did not stifle his convictions, and mock God by

ΠΡΟΞΚΑΡΤΕΡΗΣΗ. *Utinam ipse præstarem, quæ dixi! Deus, serva illum Juvenem!*

At another time,

S. M., primus e Pupillis meis, me allocutus est de Animæ suæ statu; plura quidem quam sperassem Latus audiivi; et (quod Deus dedit) Consilium addidi, ut pergeret diligenter Deum sequi, Animabam ad sequendum Deum; At pudebat me Ariditatis Animæ mei.

inconstancy, but be instant in prayer. I wish I could my self do, what I spoke! Lord, save that young man!

S. M., the first of my pupils, had some speech with me about the state of his own soul; I gladly heard more from him than I expected; and (with the help of God) I counselled him that he would go on to follow hard after God. I encouraged him to follow the Lord; but I was ashamed of the barrenness of my own soul!

Yea, how watchful he was, on all occasions, to observe what occasions he might have to *do good* among all the scholars, I shall no more than transcribe the following passage, to intimate:

Nocte, inter Scholares, multa seria dixi de Cognoscendis Rebus Pacis Nostræ, in Die nostro. Utinam ipse mihimet Auscultarem! Die sequenti plura ego collocutus sum cum Contubernaliis, ad probandum, esse Deum, et Scripturas esse ipsius verbum. Ah, nimium serpit inter nos Atheotes, et video Satanum multos perniciosissimos Dialogismos in Nonnullorum Mentes injicere! Hoc malo peribunt multi Juvenes, ni miserearis, O Deus! Et sensi me adhuc in his miserrime tenebrosos, nec magis aliquid Rogandum, quam ut Stabiliret me quoad Fundamentales istas veritates, claramque hic visionem daret! Hinc aliquando Occasiones Cupto Realitatem, ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΥ inculcandi, et illustrandi: quod non prorsus mane video. Utinam majori Cordis sensu, ego possem Deum prædicare. Sed quid mirum me oppleri Tenebris, qui Oppletus sum Cupiditatibus!

At night, among the scholars, I uttered many serious things, about "knowing the things of our peace in our day." Oh! that I could my self herein but hearken to myself! The day following, I discoursed more, with my chamber-fellows, to prove that there is a God, and that the Scriptures are His word. Alas! Atheism creeps in too much among us, and I see that Satan does cast many most pernicious reasonings into the minds of some. Many young men will perish by this mischief, except thou, O Lord God, have mercy on them! I found my self also most miserably dark in these things; nor is there any thing that I have more cause to ask than this: that He would establish me in these fundamental truths, and give me a clear vision of them! From hence I sometimes do snatch at occasions to inculcate and illustrate the reality of the things of God; which I see is not altogether in vain. I wish I could preach God, with greater sense upon my heart. But what wonder is it, if I that am full of *lusts*, be also full of *darkness*!

Reader, see how impossible it was for this excellent young man to record any thing in this diary, without some stroke of humiliation and admonition to himself in the close of all; the ready way of becoming *excellent*!

And while he was thus a young man, residing in the colledge, he would sometimes, on the Saturday, retire into the woods, near the town, and there spend a great part of the day in examining of his own heart and life, bewailing the evils which made him want the mercies of God, and imploring the mercies which he wanted of the Lord: which custom of spending Saturday, he had formerly attended also at South-Hampton, while he was yet but as a *school-boy* there. Moreover, it was, while he thus resided at the colledge, that his brother David, under deep distresses of mind about his everlasting interests, addressed him for counsel; and

our Jonathan then wrote unto his brother that *golden letter*, which was, almost thirty years after, published in London, at the end of his *discourse of glory*; a letter whereof the famous Collins makes this remark: "Every reader, sensible of spiritual things, will see it written with an excellent spirit, the spirit of God, and drawn out of his own experiences, and this when but newly entring upon his ministry;"—a letter, wherein he discovers that experimental acquaintance with the operations of *sin* and of *grace* upon the souls of men, which may intimate how eminent he was in one of the accomplishments most necessary to the *ministry* of the gospel, before he had yet *entered* upon it. If Chrysostom, the ancient, were sometimes called *insignis animorum tractandorum artifex*;* reader, here was a young man, who effectually proved himself, "an artist, at handling the cases of a soul!" I remember that Alexander More judges three certain *epistles* to be the most "consummate pieces" that ever the world saw; namely, that of Calvin, before his *institutions*; that of Thuanus, before his *history*; and that of Casaubon, before his *Polybius*. Now, though this epistle of our young MITCHEL come not into that class for the embellishments of literature, yet it has been reckoned one of the most "consummate pieces" in the methods of addressing a troubled mind.

§ 6. The extraordinary learning, wisdom, gravity and piety of this incomparable young man, caused several of the most considerable churches in the countrey to contrive how they might become owners of such a *treasure*, even before ever he had, by one public sermon, brought forth any of the *treasure* wherewith Heaven had endowed him. The church of Hartford in particular, being therein countenanced and encouraged by the Reverend Mr. Stone, sent a man and horse above an hundred miles to obtain a visit from him, in expectation to make him the successor of their ever famous Hooker; and though, upon the first motion to him from Hartford, his humble soul wrote these words, "I had more need to get alone into a corner, and weep, than think of going out into the world, to do such work: darkness and death clouds my soul!" yet he was prevailed withal to visit them. At Hartford he preached his first sermon, (June 24, 1649,) upon Heb. xi. 27: "He endured, as seeing him who is invisible;" on which action, though with his usual humility, he wrote this reflection in his diary:

"In preaching I was not to seek of what I had prepared; but my own heart was drie, carnal and unaffected, and methought I could not speak with any evidence, or presence of the spirit of God; so that when I had done, I was deeply ashamed within myself, and could not but loath myself, to think how miserably I had behaved myself, in that high employment, and how unsavoury, sottish and foolish my heart had been therein; I thought I, and all I did, well deserved to be loathed by God and man."

Yet that judicious assembly of Christians were so well pleased with the labours whereof he himself thought so meanly, that in a meeting, the

* Remarkable for his skill in ministering to the souls of men.

day following, they concluded to give him an invitation to settle among them: adding, that if he saw it his best way to continue a year longer at the colledge, they would, however, immediately upon his acceptance of their invitation, advance a considerable sum of money, to assist him in furnishing himself with a library (not unlike what the Uratislavian senate once did for the hopeful young Lucas Pollio, when they saw him, *juvenem dotibus ornatum a Deo, non vulgaribus* :* which they said, was “no new thing among them, having had Mr. Hooker’s instruction for doing so.” But he durst not then accept of their kind proposals; for before his journey to Hartford, the renowned Mr. Shepard, with the principal persons in Cambridge, had opportunely pray’d him that he would come down from Hartford, as free as he went up, insomuch as he did upon divers accounts most belong to Cambridge, and Cambridge did hope that he would yet more belong unto them. When Mr. Shepard first mentioned this thing unto him, he did with his constant humility record it in his diary, with this reflection, *Ego mirabar hinc rem! Quid in me videt Populus Dei? Totum Negotium Reliqui Deo agendum*—“I wondred at this matter! What is it that the people of God sees in me? I left the whole business to the Divine management!” And now returning to Cambridge, he no sooner came into the pulpit (August 12, 1649,) but Mr. Shepard must go out of it! Mr. Shepard in the evening told him, “this was the place where he should, by right, be all the rest of his dayes:” and enquiring of some good people, “how Mr. MITCHEL’s first sermon was approved among them;” they told him, “very well.” Then said he, “My work is done!” And behold, within a few dayes more, that great man was by death taken off; so that the unanimous desire of Cambridge for Mr. MITCHEL to be their pastor was hastened, with several circumstances of necessity for him to comply with their desire. But as the Jews used to say about the birth of R. Jehuda, on the very same day that another famous rabbi dyed, *Eo die occidit Lux Israelis, et iterum Orta est*;† so I may now say, “the same day was the light of New-England extinguished and revived!”

§ 7. *Occubuit Sol; Nox nulla Secuta est.*‡ Upon the setting of Shepard there arose MITCHEL, in whose *light* not only the church of Cambridge, but the colledge, and the whole country, were now “to rejoyce for a season.” The eyes of all New-England were upon him with *great expectations*; and he did more than answer their expectations: for he was indeed an *extraordinary* person. But scarce a paragraph of his *life* can be written to the *life*, without some reflection upon that humility, with which the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ hath *prepared* him for, and *adorned* him in all of that figure, whereto he arrived in the service of the churches. Just upon the time of his beginning his ministry at Cambridge, he was taken dangerously sick of the small pox, but though he were “sick nigh unto death,

* A youth endowed not with common gifts, but with divine graces.

† On that day the Light of Israel set and rose again.

‡ The sun set, but no night followed.

God had mercy on him, and not on him only, but on all the churches thro' this wilderness in him." No sooner was he recovered of that sickness, but this humble soul wrote, October 4, 1649, in his diary, (which after this time spoke English,) these among other passages:

"It has been of late weeks a special time of adversity with me, the Lord help me to consider it! I might say, 'my skin is broken, and become loathsome;' and 'there is no rest in my bones because of my sin; my loins are filled with a loathsome disease, and there is no soundness in my flesh;' by such a foul, noisom, filthy disease, it well appeared, what I indeed was; as the prophet speaks, 'full of putrefying sores,' it being at this time, I was as a city set upon a hill; that when I was attempting the pure and sacred work of the ministry, I should be surprized with that horrible disease! Do I begin to be some body in the world? God will make me vile in the eyes of the whole country; God will humble me before the sun, and in the sight of all Israel. He will have me begin my ministry with this disease: He knows that I have need of a great deal of purifying, before I come to that. A loathsome sinner shall have a loathsome sickness!"

And the grace of Heaven that made this fit of sickness to be considered thus as an humiliation by this eminent young man, then entering upon his ministry, did, by continually infusing other thoughts full of humiliation into him, lay the foundation of stately superstructures. As our Lord Jesus Christ, entering upon His ministry, endured the sorest conflict of *temptation* that He had ever met withal, so did this excellent ambassador of that Lord; he had his mind sorely buffeted with amazing and confounding apprehensions. Perhaps it will be many ways profitable unto some candidates of the ministry, as well as others, to see these papers recite some of the sad passages that rolled over the soul of a most lovely preacher, when he was beginning to preach the gospel of peace. We then find him, at a time when every one admired the excellencies that beautified him, thus writing and thinking of himself, as the *deformedst sinner* in the world. At one time,

"I have lived in this world almost twenty five years, and unto this day have known little of God in Christ, made little provision for eternity, got little acquaintance with the favour and love of God. How I have improved this time, wo to me, I may be ashamed to speak, amazed to think!"

At another time,

"Lord, I know not whether ever such a sinner as I, came to thee for mercy: whether ever such a work was done to any poor wretch, as the saving of my soul must be."

At another time,

"I have run through all the means of knowledge, and yet see no truth really, and in the glory of it; all afflictions, and yet am not humbled nor serious; all mercies, and yet am not thankful; all means of good, and yet am evil, only evil, transcendently evil, in the highest degree to this day."

At another time,

"If God do me any good, or do any good by me, it must be a creating work. Lord, I am fit for nothing; (good for nothing at all,) neither to live, nor dye; neither to teach, nor learn; neither to think, nor speak; neither to do, nor suffer; neither to communicate good, nor receive any; go through all that I am, either within or without, what am I but vileness and abomination?"

At another time,

"The church will (I suppose) this day consider and determine a day for ordination; but did there ever such a creature as I am go about such a business? I was low and vile this time twelve-month, when they first made the motion; but I am far lower and viler now. Great is the wrath of God that lyes upon me; and the tokens of it are in some respects increased. I cannot with confidence go to God as my Father in Jesus Christ. I know no truth of God to any purpose. I have no treasure of Christian experience; I know not what belongs to the main matters of conversion and salvation. My sin is enough to bring a curse upon all I do, and upon the whole place; I am under the very feet of Satan, in respect of it. *Object.* 'But shall not my sin then hinder me, and make me refuse this work of the ministry?' *Ans.* 'That is to mend one sin with another. The more evil, and the less good I have done, the more need I have to give myself up to do what good I can now; I should not choose my sin, and leave God's work; and if I cast it away, and go to God to take it away, and wait on Him, 'tis possible with him to deliver me from it, and to help me in His work; though that would be the greatest wonder that ever was done! However, let me lye at his feet, and leave myself with Him. *Quest.* 'Why do I enter upon it?' *Ans.* 'Because God bids me, and commands me?—Luke v.' He will have it so, and why should myself, or sin or Satan, say, 'What dost thou?' *Object.* 'But it may be God will take no pleasure in me?' *Ans.* 'I deserve He should not, but yet he deserves to be honored and served; and let it be my happiness and joy to do that, whatever becomes of me at last.'"

At another time,

"My case is now such (so dreadful, desperate and forlorn) as I think, there never was the like upon earth, since Adam was formed, unto this day: there is only this place of hope, that there is a degree of mercy in God, beyond what any ever yet made use of! for no man ever came to the end of infinite mercy: Lord, honour thyself by me, some way or other, whatever become of me."

At another time,

"Lord, it is the hour and power of darkness with me; I feel the dreadful rage of Satan, and my vile heart, now against me, to overturn me, and to cut off thy name, which thou callest me to bear in this place. I know not what will become of me, nor what to say to thee; but I will leave my woful soul and self to thy disposing. Lord, I am in hell; wilt thou let me lye there?"

At another time,

"God hath put this fear into my heart, lest this be the fruit and recompence of my sin, that I shall never know God for mine in truth, but live and dye in an unsound and self-deceiving way: that I should have many fears and prayers, and good affections, and duties, and hopes, and ordinances, and seemings, but never an heart soundly humbled, and soundly comforted unto my dying day: but be a son of perdition to the last, and never have God's special love revealed and assured to me! Lord, keep this fear alive in my heart!"

Such passages as these abundantly discover the *contritions* that laid him exceedingly low, in his own apprehension of himself, at the time when God was raising him to high improvements among his people; and it was by these *abasements*, that Heaven prepared him for those *improvements*. But being, after such preparations, called forth to the service of the churches, his employments came in so thick upon him, that he had not such leisure as heretofore to enrich his *diarys* with his observations. He was at length reduced unto this custom, that ordinarily, on the week before he administered the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, which was

once in two months, he spent a day in *prayer* with *fasting* before the Lord; and one of his exercises, on such a day, was to remind and record such passages of divine Providence towards *himself*, his *house*, his *flock*, the whole *country*, yea, and the whole *nation*, as he judged useful to be remembered with him; and such especially as might quicken the humiliations and the supplications, wherein he was engaged.

§ 8. The *death* of Mr. Shepard, was a death-wound unto the soul of Mr. MITCHEL, whose veneration for the great holiness, learning, and wisdom, of his predecessor, caused him to lament exceedingly the loss of so rich a blessing, and begin his own public ministry at Cambridge with sermons full of those lamentations. Indeed, when he had occasion to mention his own living four years under Mr. Shepard's ministry, he added, "unless it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with wonder than for those four years." Under an affliction, which he so much resented, the comfort which he so sought for himself he thus expressed:

"What a blessed thing it is to have this mediator, the man Christ Jesus to go unto, when I have no friend that I can fully speak to, and open all my complaints and ails into his bosom? I think, were Mr. Shepard now alive, I would go and intreat his counsel, and help, and prayer. Why, now I may go freely into the bosom of the man Christ Jesus, who is able, faithful, tender-hearted above the best of meer men. And I may go, and tell him not only my sorrows (and yet that is no small matter) but also my sins, all my sins; though not without shame, yet without fearful despair. I may complain to Him of a strong lust and of an hard heart. And he does not only pity me (and that He does more than any man could do) but is also fully able to help me against sorrow, yea, and against sin too. And in him, I may see, and take hold of the pity, and love, and grace of God the Father, who through Him, is well-pleased."

But that he might signalize his affection to the predecessor, he speedily took the pains to peruse and publish the sermons of that worthy man, upon the "Parable of the ten Virgins," which make a volume in folio; with a most excellent and judicious preface of *his* thereunto. Which afterwards was not without its recompence in the providence of God, when after his own death, his own sermons upon "the glory to which God hath called believers by Jesus Christ" (carefully transcribed, and so transmitted by Captain Laurence Hammond of Charlestown, to whose cares about it the church is now beholden for this treasure) were by some surviving friends printed at London. And he whom I have once already compared unto Pollio, who dyed when between forty and fifty years old, was in *this* also like that German divine, who left behind him a book of sermons, "*De Vita Aeterna*,"* whereof Melchior Adam says, *Non solum suae Confessionis Homines omnium Ordinum in Deliciis habuerunt, atque habent; sed etiam Adversariorum nonnulli, minus morosi probaverunt*;† both friends and foes approved it. The young gentlewoman, whom his predecessor had married

* On Eternal Life.

† Not only were men of his own creed, of every condition, delighted with it, but even many of the more generous among his adversaries approved of it.

a little before his decease, he now also married upon the general recommendations of that widow unto him; and the *epithalamiums* which the students of the Colledge then celebrated that marriage withal, were expressive of the satisfaction which it gave unto all the good people in the vicinity. Howbeit, before this he had addressed himself unto the venerable old Mr. Cotton, for leave to become his son-in-law, and Mr. Cotton, prognosticating the eminency which he would arrive unto, had given leave unto it: but the immature death of that hopeful young gentlewoman, Mrs. Sarah Cotton, preventing so desirable a match, made way for his pursuing and obtaining this other settlement. Being so settled, he wholly gave himself up to the services of the ministry, with such a disposition as he expressed in his parting advice to another, who, travelling from hence to England, had these words from him as his farewell: "My serious advice to you is, that you keep out of company, as far as Christianity and civility will give you leave; take it from me; the time spent in your study you will generally find spent the most profitably, comfortably and accountably."

§ 9. Eighteen years did he continue a Pastor to the church of Cambridge. And as that which encouraged him to accept at first the pastoral charge of that flock, was his being able to write that character of them, "that they were a gracious, savoury-spirited people, principled by Mr. Shepard, liking an humbling, mourning, heart-breaking ministry and spirit; living in religion, praying men and women: Here [said he] I might have occasions of many sweet hear-breakings before God, which I have so much need of!" So the continual prayers of such a people to the Lord Jesus Christ for him doubtless contributed more than a little unto his being furnished from Heaven with such rich treasures of light and grace, as made his ministry richly serviceable unto them all. In this his ministry he preached over a great part of the body of divinity. And as Paul appealed unto his two first chapters to the Ephesians, thus, in some degree, an appeal might have been made unto those labours of this admirable preacher, to demonstrate his "knowledge of the mystery of Christ." He made a most entertaining exposition on the book of Genesis, and part of Exodus; [an evangelical *targum** of Jonathan] he made many incomparable discourses on the four first chapters of John: occasional subjects he also handled, many with much variety: he likewise kept a monthly lecture, where he largely handled man's *misery* by sin, and *salvation* by Christ, and entered on the doctrine of *obedience* due thereupon; and vast assemblies of people from all the neighbouring towns reckoned it highly worth their pains to repair unto that lecture. The sermons, wherewith he fed the church of God, were admirably well-studied; they still smelt of the *lamp*; and, indeed, if there were nothing else to prove it, yet the notes which he wrote in his preparations for his publick exercises, were proof enough of his being an indefatigable student. He ordinarily medled with

* Shield.

no point but what he managed with such an extraordinary *invention*, curious *disposition*, and copious *application*, as if he would leave no material thing to be said of it by any that should come after him. And when he came to utter what he had prepared, his utterance had such a becoming *tunableness* and *vivacity*, to set it off, as was indeed *inimitable*; though many of our eminent preachers, that were in his time students at the College, did essay to imitate him. It has been observed by others, as well as Jerom, that *Quæ firmiter concepimus, bene loquimur, siquidem Talia in Animæ Substantiam quasi Concoquendo sunt Conversu*;* and our MITCHEL, having accordingly well *concocted* what he was to deliver, with clear and strong thoughts upon it, expressed it with a natural eloquence, which, (as Tully says of all true eloquence) cast the hearers into wonderment. Profound meditation having first, in his *heart*, got ready a well composed meat-offering for the house of God, his *tongue* was as the “pen of a ready writer” to bring it forth: and his auditories usually counted themselves at a *feast* with the inhabitants of heaven, while he was thus entertaining of them. His preaching was not that which Dr. Manton would justly rebuke under the name of “gentleman-preaching;” or, a sort of *harangue*, finely laced and gilded with such *phalarate stuff* as plainly discovers the vanity of them that *jingle* with it: but he still spoke as reckoning that, if Seneca’s philosopher was to remember, *Ad miseros vocatus es; opem laturus Naufragis, Captis, Ægris, Intente securi subjectum præstantibus Caput*:† such a thing is much more to be remembered by a *minister* of the Lord Jesus Christ. Hence, though he had a very clean style, and spoke,—*Munda, sed e medio Consuetaque verba*;‡—by the same token, that when he had once used one word, in the pulpit, which, it may be, no body else would have so severely criticised upon, after he came home, he wrote a severe animadversion upon it: “I was after in myself ashamed of it, [he wrote] as being a phrase too coarse for the pulpit!” Nevertheless, he had also a plain style, for which he might have been justly called, as Melancthon was by Keckerman, *Ille, ut sic dicam, Perspicuitatis Genius*;§ but so pungently improved, that what he *spoke*, was *felt* by his hearers, as “quick and powerful.” One that hath addressed the world with a treatise of ecclesiastical rhetoric, saith, *Credat mihi Ministeris Candidatus; Tria sunt, quæ valde commendant Concionatorem; Vocis Amabilitas, Epiphretorum Emphasis, et Connexionis Concinitus*:|| now all of these *three* commendations did belong to the preaching of our Mitchel. And, as it was the remark of that then *matchless* preacher Bucholtzer, to whom I have often in my thoughts *match’d* our Mitchel, “that a preacher was known by his peroration,” so

* Ideas clearly conceived—transmuted, as by a digestive process, into the very substance of the intellect—we always express well.

† You are called to aid the wretched—to bear succour to the shipwrecked, the captive, the sick—to those whose necks are bared for the axe of the executioner.

‡ In polished, yet common and unambitious phrase.

§ The very genius, so to speak, of perspicuity.

|| Let the candidate for the ministry rely upon it, that there are three qualities which especially commend the preacher to his hearers: a pleasant voice, an emphatic address, and an easy connection of thoughts and language.

'twas remarkt of our Mitchel, that tho' he were all along in his preaching, "as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice," yet, as he drew near to the close of his exercises, his comely *fergency* would rise to a marvellous measure of *energy*; he would speak with such a transcendent majesty and liveliness, that the people (more *thunderstruck* than they that heard Cicero's oration for Ligarius) would often *shake* under his dispensations, as if they had heard the sound of the trumpets from the *burning mountain*, and yet they would *mourn* to think, that they were going presently to be dismissed from such an "heaven upon earth." He had indeed an uncommon measure of that privilege, that is reported of Bucholtzer, *Ut, licet nonnisi finita Hora Altera peroraret, nullum tamen Audiendi Tedium, vel e media cuiquam plebe, Obreperit*: "Though he preached long sermons, the people were never weary of hearing them." Vast was the happiness of the scholars at the Colledge, and (in them) of all the churches in the country, while Cambridge was illuminated with such a ministry! It was a reflection upon this matter long since printed unto the world: "Reason and prudence requireth that the minister of that place be more than ordinarily endowed with learning, gravity and wisdom, orthodoxy, ability, excellent gifts in preaching, that so the scholars, which are devoted to be preachers of the gospel, might be seasoned with the spirit of such an Elijah: in which regards this holy man of God was eminently furnished; and his labours were abundantly blessed: for very many of the scholars bred up in his time (as is observed) do savour of his spirit for grace, and a most attractive manner of preaching." Truly, as it was no rare thing for a German divine to give solemn thanks unto God, "for being born in the days of Melancthon;" so there is many a New-English divine who has given thanks to God, "for their being at the Colledge in the days of MITCHEL." But it must here be added, that altho' the chief labours of this exemplary pastor were in the *study* and the *pulpit*, yet he did not think himself thereby excused from those *pastoral visits* which his flock expected from him. Herein he visited at fit hours, which he set apart for it, the several families of his flock; not upon trivial designs, but with serious and solemn addresses to their souls upon matter of their everlasting peace; and the *Gildas Salvianus* of Mr. Baxter was herein our MITCHEL himself, as well as much read and priz'd by this faithful pastor, who "watched for souls, as one that was to give an account."

§ 10. What he was in his ministry, the same he was in his discipline, when *offences* arose that called for his consideration, in the church whereto he was related; faithful, prudent, zealous, holy, and like an Angel of a church, "not bearing with those that are evil." When a public *admonition* was to be dispensed unto any one that had offended scandalously, one could have heard nothing more *pathetical* or more powerful than his discourses on those unwelcome occasions; the hearers would be all drowned in tears, as if the admonition had been, as indeed he would with much

artifice make it be, directed unto them *all*: but such would be the compassion, and yet the gravity, the majesty, the scriptural and awful pungency of these his dispensations, that the *conscience* of the offender himself could make no resistance thereunto. But when the Lord Jesus Christ intends to make any steward in his house eminently *prudent* and *faithful*, he commonly *tries* that person, by ordering some very difficult *church cases* to arise, quickly after his first entrance upon the stewardship. Some such thorny church cases did soon exercise the thoughts of this truly *aged young man*; in all of which he conscientiously considered the *rights* of the fraternity to judge in their own church cases as that renowned minister and martyr, the blessed Cyprian did, when he could say in one of his Epistles unto his flock, "from the very beginning of my ministry, I determined to do nothing without the consent of my people:" And again, "all such affairs as mutual respect requireth [*in commune tractabimus*]" "we will manage them in common;" and again, he would restore and admit none but those who "should plead their cause before all the people;" [*Acturi apud plebem universam causam suam.*] and order none of their matters, but [*presentibus et Judicantibus vobis,*] "with their presence and judgment." And if Mr. Mitchel had heard any reckon the *liberty* of the brethren thus confessed in the days of Cyprian, to be an *apostacy* from what was "in the beginning," he would have asked them, whether they reckon'd the loss of this liberty afterwards in the rise of Popery, to be any beginning, or tendency towards Church reformation and recovery? Now, tho' this liberty of the brethren, which our Mitchel, according to the primitive Congregational Church discipline allow'd, be that wherein for the most part the repose of the pastors has been by the compassionate wisdom of our Lord Jesus Christ provided for, yet some *trouble* sometimes has arisen to the pastors from the brethren's abuse of their liberty, which has call'd for much patience and prudence in those that have the rule over them. And so there did unto our MITCHEL, who on this occasion, as on all others, was readier still to condemn himself than any others; and once particularly recorded this passage in his diary: "I was troubled, [at some improper cavils from the brethren] and I fear spake not so lovingly and prudently as I should have done. I feel my spirit ready to rise, and forget my principles of lying low in the dust, and bearing with other's infirmities, and becoming all things to all men, for their edification. Oh! Lord, humble me, and teach me how to carry it!" Thus did this excellent person write, when he was enumerating his humbling circumstances, in a *secret fast* before the Lord. But there was an *harder case* than any of these to exercise him. Our MITCHEL, presently upon his becoming the pastor of Cambridge, met with a more than ordinary trial, in that the good man who was then the President of the Colledge, and a member of the Church there, was unaccountably fallen into the *briars* of Antipædo-baptism; and being *briar'd* in the *scruples* of that perswasion, he not only for-

bore to present an infant of his own unto the Baptism of our Lord, but also thought himself under some obligation to bear his testimony, in some sermons against the administration of baptism to any infant whatsoever. The brethren of the Church were somewhat vehement and violent in their signifying of their dissatisfaction at the obstruction, which the *renitencies* of that gentleman threatened unto the peaceable practice of infant-baptism, wherein they had hitherto walked; and judged it necessary, for the vindication of the church's name abroad in the country, and for the safety of the congregation at home, to desire of him that he would cease preaching as formerly, until he had better satisfied himself in the point now doubted by him. At these things extream was the uneasiness of our MITCHEL, who told the brethren "that more light and less heat would do better:" but yet saw the zeal of some against this good man's error, to push this matter on so far, that being but a *young man*, he was likely now to be embarrassed in a controversie with so considerable a person, and with one who had been his *tutor*, and a worthy and a Godly man. He could give this account of it: "Through the church's being apt to hurry on too fast and too impatiently, I found my self much oppressed; especially considering my own weakness to grapple with these difficulties; this business did lye down, and rise up, sleep and wake with me: It was a dismal thing to me, that I should live to see truth or peace dying or decaying in poor Cambridge." But while he was, with a prudence incomparably beyond what might have been expected from a young man, managing this *thorny* business, he saw cause to record a passage, which perhaps will be judged worthy of some remembrance:

"That day [writes he, December 24, 1653] after I came from him, I had a strange experience; I found hurrying and pressing suggestions against Pædo-baptism, and injected scruples and thoughts whether the other way might not be right, and infant-baptism an invention of men; and whether I might with good conscience baptise children, and the like. And these thoughts were darted in with some impression, and left a strange confusion and sickliness upon my spirit. Yet, methought, it was not hard to discern that they were from the EVIL ONE. *First*, Because they were rather *injected*, hurrying suggestions, than any deliberate thoughts, or bringing any light with them. *Secondly*, Because they were *unseasonable*; interrupting me in my study for the Sabbath, and putting my spirit into a confusion, so as I had much ado to do ought in my sermon. It was not now a time to study that matter; but when, in the former part of the week, I had given my self to that study, the more I studied it, the more clear and rational light I saw for Pædo-baptism. But now these suggestions hurried me into *scruples*. But they made me cry out to God for his help; and he did afterward calm and clear up my spirit. I thought the end of them was—*First*, To shew me the corruption of my mind; how apt that was to take in error, even as my *heart* is to take in lust. *Secondly*, To make me walk in *fear*, and take hold on Jesus Christ to keep me in the truth; and it was a check to my former *self-confidence*, and it made me fearful to go needlessly to Mr. D.; for methought I found a venom and poison in his insinuations and discourses against Pædo-baptism. *Thirdly*, That I might be mindful of the *aptness in others* to be soon shaken in mind, and that I might warn others thereof, and might know how to speak to them from *experience*. And indeed my former experience of irreligious injection was some help to me to discover the nature of these. I resolved also, on Mr. Hooker's prin-
ciple,

‘that I would have an argument able to remove a mountain, before I would recede from, or appear against a truth or practice, received among the faithful.’ After the Sabbath was over, and I had time to reflect upon the thoughts of those things, those thoughts of doubt departed, and I returned unto my former frame.”

The troubles thus impending over the Church of Cambridge did Mr. MITCHEL happily wade through; partly by much prayer with fasting, in secret, before God, for the good issue of these things; partly, by getting as much help as he could from the neighbouring ministers, to be interposed in these difficulties; and partly, by using much *meekness of wisdom* towards the erroneous gentleman; for whom our Mr. MITCHEL continued such an esteem, that although his removal from the government of the Colledge, and from his dwelling place in Cambridge, had been procured by these differences, yet when he dyed, *he* honoured him with an *elegy*, from which I will transcribe one stanza or two, because it very truly points out that generous, gracious, catholick spirit, which adorned that person who wrote it:

Where faith in Jesus is sincere,
That soul, he saving, pardoneth;
What wants or errors else be there,
That may and do consist therewith.

And though we be imperfect here,
And in *one mind* can't often meet,
Who *know* in part, in part may *err*,
Though *faith be one*, ALL do not see't.

Yet may we once the rest obtain,
In everlasting bliss above,

Where Christ with *perfect saints* doth reign,
In *perfect light* and *perfect love*:

Then shall we all *like-minded* be,
Faith's unity is there full-grown;
There *one truth* all both *love* and *see*,
And thence are perfect made in one.

There Luther both and Zuinglius,
Ridley and Hooper there agree;
There all the truly righteous,
Sans feud, live to eternity.

But there was a special design of Heaven in ordering these trials to befall our MITCHEL thus in the beginning of his ministry. He was hereby put upon studying and maintaining the doctrine of infant-baptism; and of defending the visible interest of the children of the faithful in the covenant of grace, under the *new* administration of it, as well as under the *old*, wherein we all know the infants of believers enjoyed the *seal* of being made righteous by faith. In the defence of this comfortable truth, he not only preached more than half a score ungainsayable sermons, while his own church was in some danger by the *hydrophobie* of anabaptism, which was come upon the mind of an eminent person in it; but also when afterwards the rest of the churches were troubled by a strong attempt upon them from the spirit of anabaptism; there was a publick disputation appointed at Boston two days together, for the clearing of the *faith* in this article, this worthy man was he who did most service in this disputation; whereof the effect was, that although the *erring brethren*, as is usual in such cases, made this their last answer to the arguments which had cast them into much confusion: “Say what you will, we will hold our mind!”

[*Concurrat veterum licet in te turba, potes tu, Hac omnes una vincere voce, Nego.**]

Yet others were happily established in the "right ways of the Lord." Nor was this all the good and great work for which this rare person was marvelously prepared by these temptations: there is a further stroke of our church history to be here *briefly* touched, though elsewhere more *fully* to be given.

§ 11. New-England was a wilderness planted by a people generally so remarkable in their holy zeal for the ordinances belonging to the house of God, that, for the sake of enjoying the administrations of those ordinances with *scriptural purity*, they had undergone the severe persecutions which at last exiled them into that American wilderness: and hence there were few people of any significance in the transplantation, but what, at their first coming over, joyned themselves unto the full communion of the churches in all special ordinances, though many of them had (I say not, justifiably) made the *terms* of their communion so strict, that it might justly have been reckoned a difficult thing for some sincere Christians of smaller attainments in Christianity to come up unto them. For this cause, although several of our *seers* did so far *see* the state which our matters would ere long devolve into, that they laboured much to have the *principles* of truth concerning "the church state of the children born in the church" declared and asserted in the "platform of church discipline," among the "first principles of New-England," nevertheless, many worthy men were slow to make any synodical decision of those principles, until there should arise more occasion for the *practices* that were to be deduced from them. This occasion did in twenty or thirty years time come on with some *importunity* and *impetuosity*, when the country began to be filled with the adult posterity of the first planters; among which there were multitudes of persons, who by the good effects of a pious education under the means of grace observable upon them in their profession of the faith, not contradicted by any thing scandalous in their *life*, deserved another consideration in the churches, than what was allowed unto Pagans; and yet were not so far improved in all the points of experimental godliness, that they could boldly demand an admission unto the *mysteries* at the *table* of the Lord; the conditions whereof confined it unto persons that were sensibly "grown in grace, and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ." The most of the ministers *then*, and before *then*, in the land were desirous to have the thus qualified posterity of the faithful, acknowledged in the churches, as the *nursery* from whence a successive supply of communicants was to be expected; and it was their desire that this nursery might be *watered* with baptism, and *pruned* with discipline, as well as otherwise *dressed* by the ministry of the word. Yea, they thought that, besides the internal benefits of the new covenant unto the elect of God, the sealing of

* Though the whole line of ancient sages assail your judgment, you can overcome them all with this simple phrase: "I deny it."

that covenant unto them that were visibly the right subjects of it, would be an assurance from God that when these persons grew up to years of discretion, he would infallibly make them the *offer* of his covenant, and so continue the gospel of it among them: whereas if they and theirs were no other accounted of than heathens, there would not pass many generations, before the sacred religion of Christ would, through the just wrath of Heaven, be lost among them in utter heathenism. However, all men did not then *see all things!* When the church of Roxbury, particularly in the year 1653, was put upon doing what was their duty in this respect, our MITCHEL was yet (he said) "in the dark about it:" he wished and wrote, "that it might not yet be pressed;" and added, "the Lord teach me humility, modesty, and wisdom in these things!" Many a day did this excellent man spend now in praying with fasting before God; and when he was thus engaged in the exercises of a sacred and secret fast, I find him inserting *this*, as not the least cause of his being so engaged:

"The case of the children of the church in regard of the doctrine and practice about it.— Oh! that God would shew me his mind and way clearly in those things: enable me to teach them convincingly, and set upon the practice thereof: and that the whole country might be guided aright therein: that Abraham's commanding power might have its due exercise as to the children of our churches. And that all the remaining knots and difficulties about *church-discipline*, and the management of Christ's visible kingdom, might once be resolved according to the word. Lord, humble me, and prosper my poor studies, and teach me to know and do thy noble will herein! as Ezek. xliii. 11."

And at another time:

"The points about church-discipline I have been long aiming to look more thoroughly into. Lord, help and guide me therein! and grant that I may be kept from extreams (the great undoing of the world): both from immoderate rigidness on the one hand, either in principles, spirit or practice; and on the other hand, from wronging either truth, or conscience, by any sinful compliance."

To these devotions, he joyned indefatigable *studies* upon the great question then agitated; and the *determination* of the question, at last, was more owing unto him than unto any one man in the world: for he was a great part in that renowned synod, that met at Boston in the year 1662. The result of the synod, afterwards published, was chiefly of his composure; and when a most elaborate answer to that result was published by some very worthy persons, that were then dissenters, the hardest service in the defence was assigned unto him. In fine, our Lord Jesus Christ made this *great* man, even while he was yet a *young* man, one of the greatest instruments we ever had of explaining and maintaining the truths, relating to the *church-state* of the *posterity* in our churches, and of the *church care* which our churches owe unto their *posterity*: and I have laid before the reader one of the most extensive and expensive labours that exhausted his life, when I have mentioned "the propositions of the synod about the subject of baptism." All that remains necessary to illustrate this paragraph of our history, is to describe, in a line or two, the

disposition which our MITCHEL did prosecute this grand concern withal: and I will therefore only transcribe a little from a judicious letter of his to Mr. Increase Mather upon that subject, which that reverend person afterwards printed unto the world; with an unanswerable vindication of these *first principles* of New-England, both from the imputations of apostacy, by some ignorantly cast upon them, and from whatever other objections might be advanced against them.

"As for the substance of the cause wherein we have engaged, [saith he,] I am daily more and more confirmed that it is the cause of truth and of Christ, and that wherein not a little of the interest of Christ's kingdom, and of the souls of men, is laid up. We have been reflected upon by some, as seeking ourselves, and driving on, I know not what design: though I cannot readily imagine what self-interest or self-end we here should be led by in this matter; sure I am, that for my own part, I prejudice myself much, as to *name, interest, and ease*, for my appearing in this cause: neither was I so unsensible as not to feel it *from the first*. I know myself to be a poor, vile, sinful creature, and I can with some feeling say, 'chief of sinners,' and 'least of saints;' but in this particular matter, I have often said, 'I wish my brethren could see through me;' for I know not any design or desire I have in it in all the world, but only that the will of God might be done among us, his kingdom be advanced, these churches settled on right bases, and flourish in the ways of truth, purity and peace, and that the good of the souls of men might be promoted both in this and after generations. Touching the matter itself, that hath been in debate, please to consider at leisure these three propositions:

"*First*, The whole visible church, under the New Testament, is to be *baptized*.

"*Secondly*, If a man be one in the church, (whether admitted at age or in infancy) nothing less than *censurable evil* can put him out.

"*Thirdly*, If the parent be in the visible church, his infant *child* is so also.

"Whether the persons described in the fifth proposition of the synod should be baptized, as a catholic or in a particular church-state, is another question: and I confess myself not altogether so peremptory in this latter, as I am the *thing* itself: [viz: that they ought to be baptized,] yet still I think, when all stones are turned, it will come to this, that all the baptized are and ought to be under discipline in particular churches."

And now 'tis more than time for us to dismiss this part of our *Mitchellian* portraiture from any further elaborations.

§ 12. Mr. MITCHEL's desire had been, "to be kept from extreams;" and indeed there was nothing more *observable* in his *temper*, than such a study of a *temper* in all difficult matters, as renders a person *amiable*, wherever 'tis *observable*. I remember I have met with a note of a very famous preacher, who, in the midst of many "temptations on both hands," relieved himself by interpreting from the context that passage in Ecces. vii. 18: "He that feareth God shall come forth from them all," to be meant of a deliverance out of all *extreams*. "The fear of God," in our MITCHEL, had this effect and reward: and his "wise coming forth from all extreams," was no where more conspicuous than in those points of church-discipline, for the clearing of which he had been (I may say *extreamly*) exercised. Had the sweet, charitable, amicable spirit, that signalized this good man, been expressed by all good men as much as it was by him, a great part of the ecclesiastical differences in the world had been evaporated, and it had

not been so long before the names of *Presbyterian* and *Congregational*, had been melted down into that one of UNITED BRETHREN. It was the wish of our MITCHEL to have those two things in the *state* of the church, lively represented unto the *sense* of the world: first, the *grace*, and then at the same time the *holiness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, the king of the church; and for the obtaining of such a representation, he thought nothing more effectual, than the *middle way*; for the children of the faithful to be taken within the verge of the church, under the *wings* of the Lord Jesus Christ in his ordinances, and under church care, discipline, and government, and to be in a state of initiation and education in the church of God, and consequently to have baptism, which is the seal of initiation: but that they shall not come up to the Lord's Table, nor be admitted unto an equal share with the communicants in the management of church affairs peculiar to them, until, as a fruit of the aforesaid helps and means, they attain unto such qualifications as may render their admission fair, safe, and comfortable, both to themselves and others. His words were, "We make account, that if we keep *baptism* within the compass of the non-excommunicable, and the *Lord's Supper*, within the compass of those that have (unto charity) somewhat of the power of godliness (or, grace in exercise) we shall be near about the right middle-way of church reformation." And hence, when he had pleaded with as irresistible *reason*, as indefatigable *study*, for the grace of the kingdom of heaven to be exhibited in our churches, by administering the baptism of the Lord unto the persons and infants of all who "understand the doctrine of faith," and "publicly profess their assent thereunto," and "are not scandalous in life," and "solemnly own the covenant of grace before the church, and subject themselves and theirs unto the Lord in his church:" he then set himself to plead for the holiness of that kingdom, to be exhibited in the churches, not only by censuring the baptized when they fell into scandalous evils, but also by requiring further degrees of *preparation* in those that they received unto the Supper of the Lord. Nothing was more agreeable unto him than such a notion of things as Polanus had, when writing of the Lord's Supper, he had these words: *Nec ad eam admittendi sunt ulli, nisi prius pastoribus ecclesiæ exploratum sit, eos veram fidei doctrinam recte tenere et profiteri, ac intelligere quid in sacra cæna agatur, quove fine, et seipsos probare possent, an sint in fide—Quocirca etiam catechumeni aut imperiti, e vulgo, tamdiu differendi donec de fide, et vita eorum pastoribus probe constet.** Now, because, it may be a singular service unto the churches to lay before them the judgment of so eminent a person, upon a concern of some curious and critical contestation in them, I shall reckon it no digression from the story of his *life* to recite

* Nor are any to be permitted to partake of it, unless it has first been ascertained by the pastors of the churches, that they rightly hold and profess the true doctrine of faith, and understand the import and object of The Sacrament at Supper, and are capable of demonstrating that they are in the faith—wherefore catechumens, or ignorant persons of the common rank, ought to be kept back, until the pastor is fully satisfied concerning their faith and purity of life.

the result of those meditations, in the digesting of which no little part of his life did roll away. He thus wrote for his *own* satisfaction, on January 4, 1664, and I shall be glad if it may now be for my *reader's*:

PROPOSITIONS.

"I. It is a necessary qualification, in worthy receivers of the Lord's Supper, that they examine themselves, and discern the Lord's body.—1 Cor. xi. 28, 29.

"II. Those whom the church admits to the Lord's Supper, must be such as she in charity judgeth that they can and will examine themselves, and discern the Lord's body; because she must admit none but such as are in charity (or visibly) worthy receivers, and they only are in charity worthy receivers, who in charity have the necessary qualifications of such. Either she must give it only to visibly worthy receivers, or she may give it to visibly unworthy receivers, which were to profane and pollute it. We must dispense ordinances, unto fit and proper subjects, as Christ's faithful stewards.—1 Cor. i. 1, 2.

"III. None can be such self-examining and discerning Christians without some experience of a work of grace, (or without grace in exercise) so as to have an experimental savoury acquaintance with the *essentials* of effectual calling, viz: conviction of sin and misery by nature, illumination in the knowledge of the gospel, and conversion of heart, by repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ. 1, *Self-examination* implies both, that there is the grace of faith and repentance, (or of vocation) the matter to be examined: and also an ability to reflect upon that grace that is and hath been wrought in us; to prove it, and find it to be approved, at least by a preponderating hope. 2, *Discerning the Lord's body*, the shewing forth or annunciation of his death, imports some acquaintance with, and actual eying of the main and more spiritual mysteries of the gospel, concerning Christ, his death, righteousness, redemption, and all the benefits thereof; and those as exhibited in this ordinance of the Supper. 3, That a lively or special exercise of *grace*, by reviving and renewing our *faith, repentance* and *love*) is required in preparation for, and participation of the Lord's Table, is abundantly evident, both by the *sense* of the expressions aforesaid, and by the *scope* of this ordinance, which is to *seal* not only *union*, but *actual communion* and *fruition*.—1 Cor. x. 16. By the active use of all the outward senses, in receiving the sacrament, implying that there must be an actual and active use of exercised senses, in reference to the inward part of it.

"IV. None can appear unto rational charity to have the qualification aforesaid, without holding forth the same in some way or other. Man can judge of internal qualifications no way but by external signs. Invisible grace is made visible to us by some outward tokens and manifestations. Here, *esse, et apparere, non esse, et non apparere*,* are all one.

"V. Besides a doctrinal knowledge of the principles of religion, there are two things required to the holding forth of grace in exercise (or of an experimental savoury acquaintance with the essentials of effectual calling) viz: 1, A *gracious conversation*. 2, *Gracious expressions*. By a gracious conversation, I mean, not only freedom from notorious scandal and obstinacy therein, but a conversation wherein some positive fruits of piety do appear, so as they that know the parties, can give a positive testimony for them.—Gal. v. 6; Jam. ii. 18, 26. "Gracious expressions" or words are, when a person can so speak of the essentials of effectual calling, as doth signifie not only a doctrinal, but a practical or spiritual acquaintance therewithal. That these are necessary to shew grace in exercise, appears: because—1, "Good words" are in Scripture made the great sign of a "good heart."—Mat. xii. 34, 35. 37; Prov. x. 20. And if it be so in ordinary conversation, much more may this sign be expected, when a man comes to hold forth, and give evidence of the grace that God has bestowed upon him, in order to partaking of the Lord's Table. 2, "Confession with the mouth" is that by which faith evidences itself to be saving and effectual.—Rom. x. 9, 10.

* To be and to appear, and not to be and not to appear.

3, It cannot be imagined how a person can have had experience of a work of grace, and that unto a comfortable discerning thereof in himself, but that he can speak of it, in some way or other, after a savoury manner.

"VI. Hence, either a relation of the work of conversion, such as hath been ordinarily used in most of our churches, or somewhat equivalent thereunto, is necessary in order unto full communion, or to admission unto the Lord's Table. There is an equivalent thereunto. 1, When an account of the essentials of conversion is given in way of answers, unto questions propounded thereabout. 2, In a serious, solemn, and savoury profession, or confession, *de presenti*, i. e. when a person doth, with understanding and affection, express and declare himself sensible of his sin and misery, and absolute need of Christ, his believing or casting himself on Christ in the promise, for righteousness and life, and his unfeigned purpose and desire, through the grace and strength of Christ, to renounce every evil way, and walk with God in the ways of new obedience; pointing also to some special truths, considerations or scriptures, that have or do affect his soul with reference to these things, though he do not relate the series of former passages and experiences. 3, When a person is eminently known to excel in gifts and grace, (as a long approved minister of the gospel, or other eminently holy Christian,) this is more than equivalent to such a relation.

"The sum is, the *modus agendi** may be various and mutable, and much therein left unto the prudence of church-officers; but the thing is necessary, viz: to hold forth, in one way or other, experience of a work of grace, or a practical acquaintance with the essentials of effectual calling. The reason is, because without *this* they cannot shew themselves able to examine themselves, and discern the Lord's Body, which is essentially necessary to worthy receiving, and hence the appearance of it necessary in a subject of orderly admission to the Lord's Table. A man must make a relation to himself, viz: by reviewing of his faith and repentance, or at least an equivalent present renewing thereof in preparations for the Lord's Table: i. e. to give himself a comfortable regular admission thereunto. And should he not declare and manifest such a thing to the church or officers thereof, to give them a comfortable ground to admit him?

"*Object.* But why may it not suffice for a man publickly to say, 'I believe on Christ, or do unfeignedly repent of my sins?' Or to consent to such expressions being read, or propounded unto him, without any more adoe?

"*Ans.* 1, He that can *groundedly* so say, or profess before God, angels and men, that he hath, (yea, *knows* that he hath) unfeigned faith and repentance, can say somewhat more particularly to show the reality of his acquaintance with those things. And if he cannot say it, *groundedly*, it is not meet to put him so to say.

"2, He that either cannot, or will not say any more than so, (especially in times of such light and means as we live in) he renders the truth of his faith and repentance suspicious, so as that rational charity cannot acquiesce in it. For all men know that faith is not dropt into men's hearts out of the clouds, without previous, concomitant and subsequent operations; or if it was first wrought in *infancy*, yet it will (especially when grown to such a lively exercise as fits for the Lord's Supper) shew itself in *effects*, renewings and increasings by the word and ordinances, so as a man will be able to hold forth some experience of the operations of grace.

"3, That mode of profession which the objection mentioneth, hath been found by plentiful experience to be a nurse of formality and irreligion. Now, it is a rule concerning the *modus agendi* or such like circumstances, that when by experience a thing proves inconvenient, and subject to abuse, there ought to be an alteration thereof.

"VII. Besides this, from the qualifications requisite to the Lord's Supper, there be other reasons serving to confirm the necessity of practical confession (viz: by relations, or otherwise, as was before said) in those that are admitted unto full communion.

"As—1, Let those Scripture examples be considered, wherein the grace wrought in the

* Mode of proceeding.

faithful is evinced, or collected from the Lord's dealings with them in the work of conversion, and experiences relative thereto, or to the fruits thereof. See 1 Thes. i. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10. Let those words be paraphrased according to their obvious sense, they will make up a full relation. And if Paul *knew* or gathered the grace that was in the Thessalonians from such things as those, does it not show, that such things are a proper and rational ground for us to gather grace from? If they be famously known otherwise (as they were in that case to Paul) it sufficeth, as was above said; but otherways, how should they be known but from the party's own mouth? So Col. i. 4—8. Is there not a kind of relation of the work and manner of the conversion of those three thousand in Acts ii. set down in that chapter? And consequently, the substance of such a relation or work was then *de facto* obvious to the apostles. And so of the conversion of Paul, chap. ix., and of Cornelius, chap. x. Yea, if we look into most of the *examples* in the Acts, consider, if they be not immediately reducible to ["a manifestation of a work of grace"] than to that of *knowledge*, and a *blameless life*? Paul had little to say for a foregoing blameless life to the disciples of Damascus; but a work of conversion he could hold forth to them, and a profession *de presenti* thereupon. So Acts ix. 26, 27.

"2, Ministers in giving the Lord's Supper to persons, do give a great and solemn testimony to them ["take, eat, this is Christ's body, that was broken for you];" therefore surely they may take and require a solemn testimony *from* them, and had not need to be slight therein.

"3, The power of godliness will soon be lost, if only doctrinal knowledge and outward blamelessness be accounted sufficient for all church-privileges, and practical confessions (or examinations of men's spiritual estate) be laid aside. For that which people see to be publicly required, and held in reputation, *that* will they look after, and usually *no more*, but content themselves with that. Consider if this hath not been a reason of the formality and deadness that hath overgrown many churches.—January 4, 1664."

Thus did a manuscript of this worthy man's, now in my hands, *harmonize* with a notable passage about the Bohemian churches:

Demum. quia obiciebatur, fratres non habere ecclesiam apertam cum plena Sanctorum Communionem, sed Administrare Sacramenta Quibusdam tantum sibi addictis: Responsum fuit, Sancta, dare non Sanctis, prohibuisse Christum; Christianismumque a pœnitentia, auspicandum, non a Sacramentis; neque Secundum Instituta Christi Absolutionem nunciandam nisi Resipiscantibus, et Credentibus, quod utrumque (Pœnitentiam et Fidem) ne Superficiarium sit et fallax, Exploratione indigere; Exploratione vero Tempore Justo: et quia Nudis Sacramentis Salutis Vim adscribere, ex Opere Operato, Errorum in Papatu Basis est, Errorem hunc corrigi non posse aliter, quam ut certa probatione, nec illa Subitanea, Cordium Arcana Revelentur, Novitique diu et caute tum Informentur, tum Explorentur.

Ratio Discipl. Patr. Bohem. p. 4, 5.

Because it was objected, that the brethren have not an *open church* with the full communion of saints, but administer the sacraments only to *some of their own party*; it was answered, that Christ hath forbid our giving of *holy* things unto *unholy* persons; and that Christianity is to be begun with *repentance*, and not with the *sacraments*; and that according to the institutions of our Lord, *absolution* is not to be pronounced upon any but those that *repent* and *believe*; both of which (*repentance* and *faith*) that it may not be superficial and fallacious, it must have some *exploration*; and this exploration must have a *sufficient time* for it. And because to ascribe a *saving vertue* unto the bare sacraments *ex Opere Operato*, is the bottom of the errors of Popery, this error cannot otherwise be corrected, than by this means; that by a *certain*, and no *sudden* trial, the secrets of mens' hearts may be laid open, and *novices* may be, with a long caution, both instructed and examined.

Reader, if the beating out of *truth* in controversies that have risen among us relating to our *church discipline* had not been the *special service*

wherein all our churches beheld the Lord Jesus Christ making use of this our learned, able, holy, and no less *considerate*, than *considerable* MITCHEL, I had not given thee so long an entertainment as that of these propositions—propositions which, if they should, in the opinion of *any*, fall short of demonstrations, and contribute nothing to *unite* and *settle* the various apprehensions of some very worthy men among us about an important point in our church government, yet they will, in the opinion of *all*, serve to express the dispositions of mind which the rare spirited author of them did both *live* and *dye* withal: they show how much he was *against* that rigid, unscriptural, uninstituted, and unwarrantable insisting upon *modes*, wherein some of our churches had sinned sometimes against the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ; and yet how much he was *for* all scriptural and rational *methods* to preserve the churches from sinning against the holiness, which does “become those houses of God for ever.”

§ 13. I have said that the *life* of our MITCHEL was in a special manner engrossed by the *services* of explaining, maintaining and perfecting those *principles*, whereby the Christian religion must be preserved, with a true and pure church state among us, and conveyed and secured unto posterity; and this leads me to that part of his character which distinguished him as much as any one whatsoever; namely, “a care of all the churches.” Our Lord Jesus Christ complains, “that the children of this world are” (for so I read it) “wiser for their own generation, than the children of light.” But our MITCHEL was “wise for his generation,” and exercised his *wit* with much contrivance and much diligence, that his *generation*, even the faithful people of God in the world, might be accommodated in all their interests. He was endued with a certain soaring and serious greatness of soul, which rendered *fly-catching* too low a business for him; though he were one of a very *lowly spirit* in his disposition to be always condemning of himself, yet he nourished in himself a generous disdain of low, little, trifling matters, and was of a *leading spirit* where hard service was call’d for, and of a *public spirit* for doing of service to as many as he could: his thoughts moved in a large sphere of usefulness, and he was continually projecting how to do good, in the most extensive manner unto more than an whole country. The Bucholtzerian expression of the apostolical ΠΑΝΤΑΧΕΙΡΙΑ* might be transferred into our account of Mr. MITCHEL: “he was a circle, whereof the centre was at Cambridge, and the circumference took in more than all New-England.” Hence, when he set apart his days for secret prayer with fasting before God, he would recapitulate in his private papers the humbling occasions for supplication, which he saw not only in afflictive things on his own particular flock, but also in all the sad sights, which in disasters either upon the civil or sacred concerns throughout all our three colonies, and all gradual decays of our glory, occur’d unto him; yea, and he would then travel so far, as to observe

* Comprehensiveness.

the condition of the church throughout Great Britain, and the nations of the European world; and all these occasions of distress and request, he would enumerate before the Lord, with the matters of his own everlasting welfare. From the same heroic vertue (as I may properly call it) in him it was, that in the weekly meetings of the neighbouring pastors, after the weekly lectures in the towns which he could visit and at all other such meetings, he would, with a most becoming discretion and modesty, be still putting forward something or other that might be for general advantage: and when the ministers met at any time so much without advantageous effects of their discourses, that it could be said the time had been *smoaked* away to no purpose, he would be troubled at it; it caused him once to write this lamentation: "Little done! I have begun to feel the sadness of the present time, and the Lord's withdrawing from us, and our chariot-wheels taken off: I find that in all societies, where I have any thing to do, commonwealth, and church and colledge, things stick, and we draw heavily, and nothing can be gotten forward: all things, and all the spirits of men, seem to be off the hinges; Oh! Lord, affect my heart therewithal!" In this lamentation, the reader finds the colledge mentioned, and indeed the colledge was nearer unto his heart than it was to his house, though next adjoining to it. He was himself an accomplished scholar, and he loved a scholar dearly; but his heart was fervently set upon having the land all over illuminated with the fruits of a learned education. To this end, he became a *father* to the colledge, which had been his *mother*, and sought the prosperity of that society with a very singular solicitude; but among other contrivances which he had for the prosperity of the colledge, one was, "a model for the education of hopeful students at the colledge in Cambridge." His proposals were, for septennial subscriptions by the more worthy and wealthy persons in this poor wilderness; to be disposed of by trustees (namely, the magistrates and ministers of the six next towns, for the time being, with seven other gentlemen by them chosen out of the said towns, of which any seven to be a quorum, if three ministers were among them), who should single out scholars eminently pregnant and pious, and out of this bounty support them in such studies as they should by these trustees be directed unto, until they had either performed such profitable services as were imposed on them in the colledge itself, or prepared themselves for other services abroad in the world. He was mightily affected with a passage of Luther's:

"If ever there be any considerable blow given to the devil's kingdom, it must be by youth excellently educated. And therefore, *Res seria est, Ingens est*; 'it is a serious thing, a weighty thing, and a thing that hath much of the interest of Christ and of Christianity in it,' that youth be well trained up, and want no helps for that end; that schools, and school-masters, and poor scholars be maintained. It is the flourishing of a common-wealth, to be well furnished with learned, worthy and able men for all purposes. And God will not give us such men by miracle, seeing he hath vouchsafed us other ways and means to obtain them. Learning is an unwelcome guest to the devil, and therefore he would fain starve it out. But

we shall never long retain the gospel without the help of learning. And, if we should have no regard unto religion, even the outward prosperity of a people in this world would necessarily require schools and learned men. Alas, that none are carried with alacrity and seriousness to take care for the education of youth, and to help the world with eminent and able men!"

'Twas from considerations, like these of Luther's, that he did with an accurate and judicious pen shape these proposals. But if New-England then had not many persons in it of the same inclination with Pope Paul II., who pronounced them, HERETICKS that should mention the name of an ACADEMY, and exhorted people that they would not put their children to *learning*, inasmuch as it was enough if they could but read and write: yet, through the discouragements of poverty and selfishness, the proposals came to nothing. Moreover, the remarkable *acuteness*, joined with an extraordinary *holiness* in this renowned man, caused the churches in all quarters, far and near, when their difficult church-cases called for the help of councils, to make their applications unto Cambridge, for Mr. MITCHEL to come and help them in their difficulties. And in these councils, as well as when weighty cases have been laid before the elders of the churches, by the general courts, though usually most of the ministers present were elder than he, yet the sense and hand of no man was relied more upon than his for the exact result of all. With so much humble wisdom and caution did he temper the significant forwardness at well-doing which he still carried about him, that the disproportion of *age* hindered not the most aged and able and venerable *angels* in our churches from their paying a very strange respect unto him. Yea, as the Jewish Midrash upon that passage in the first Psalm, "his leaf shall not wither;" I remember is this, *Omnes necessitatem habent Colloquii ejus*;* even such a necessary tree of life was MITCHEL accounted in the garden of New-England. However, he encountred with such temptations as must buffet all that have in them any thing of significancy; for which cause, once particularly, when he had been admirably acquitting himself in an undertaking of great consequence to the churches, he came home, and wrote these words:

"My spirit was carried out in too much forwardness: I see cause to be deeply abased, and loath myself, and hang down my head before God and men. How do I marr God's work, and marr what he gives me therein, by my own folly! Sometimes I am ready to resolve to put forth myself no more in publick work, but keep myself silent, and uningaged, as I see others do. But then I perceive that this tasteth of frowardness and pride. Lord, give me more wisdom to manage and demean myself! but if thy service and honor may be promoted by my weakness and folly, let me be willing to be vile, that God may be exalted—2 Sam. vi. 21, 22."

Upon the whole, he was unwilling to affect such an unserviceable privacy, that they who passed by his house, might say, *Hic situs est MITCHELLUS*.†

§ 14. I know not how far that learned Frenchman, who writes, "the conformity of the Congregational church-government unto that of the

* All have need of his society.

† Here lies Mitchel.

ancient primitive Christians," hath seen verified his observation, "all disinterested persons may easily be perswaded that the Congregational communion retains most of the Apostolick, because it is not only the cream and and best of the others, but also because it hath more charity. 'Tis very rarely seen (saith he) that any one of the Congregational way does not love all good men, of what communion soever they be, and that they do not speak of them as of the true churches of Jesus Christ: whereas even the most sober and honest party of the Episcopal men, and some of the Presbyterians, are so strongly possessed with prejudices against those of Congregations, that they are in their account no better than hypocrites, schismatics, and men of strange enthusiasm." If any of the Congregational way do not answer this character, let these words condemn them; as I know those of the Presbyterian way in this country have by their charitable temper much confuted that part of the discourse by which they are here characterized. But the observation, I am sure, was verified in our MITCHEL; who was one fully satisfied and established in the Congregational way of church government, and yet had a spirit of communion for all godly men in other forms, and was far from confining of godliness unto his own. It was a frequent speech with him, "the spirit of Christ is a spirit of communion!" And I can tell what he would have said, if he had lived to see the books of so ridiculous a schismatick as he that has made himself infamous by attempting to prove, "that where there is no Episcopal ordination, there is no true church, minister, sacrament, or salvation." His great worth caused him to be called forth several times with an early and special respect from the general court of the colony, to preach on the greatest solemnity that the colony afforded; namely, "the anniversary election of Governour and Magistrates:" And one of the sermons which he preached on those occasions was, after his death, published unto the world, under the title of "*Nehemiah on the Wall*." In that sermon, reader, take notice of the discovery which he gave of his own Catholic charity, when he says:

"Do not wrong and marr an excellent work, and profession, by mixing and weaving in spurious principles or practices; as those of SEPARATION, Anabaptism, Morellian (anarchial) confusion. If any would secretly 'twist in and espouse such things as those, and make them part of our interest, we must needs renounce it as none of our cause, no part of the end and design of the Lord's faithful servants, when they followed him 'into this land, that was not sown.' Separation and Anabaptism are wonted intruders, and seeming friends, but secret fatal enemies to reformation. Do not, on pretence of avoiding corruption, run into sinful separation from any true churches of God, and what is good therein; and yet it is our 'errand into the wilderness' to study and practice true Scripture-reformation, and it will be our crown, in the sight of God and man, if we find it and hold it, without adulterating deviations."

Thus, though he were a reformer, yet he had nothing in him of a Donatist: for which cause Mr. Baxter, hearing of him, said, "if an oecumenical council could be obtained, Mr. Mitchel were worthy to be its moderator." And this disposition of charity in him was rewarded with the respects

which he found from learned and pious men, that were in many things not of his own perswasion: such holiness and patience, and sweet condescension, were his incomparable abilities accompanied withal, that good men, who otherwise differed from him, would still speak of him with reverence. To give one particular instance: 'Tis well known that the reverend Charles Chancey, President of the Colledge, and a neighbour in the town and church with our much younger MITCHEL, at the time of the Synod, zealously and publickly opposed the Synodalian principles whereof Mr. MITCHEL was no small defender: But so far was the dissent between them, in the very heat and heighth of all the controversie, from causing the reverend old man to handle his antagonist, in any measure as the angry Dioscorus did the dissenting Flavian, in the council of Ephesus, that he would commonly say of him, "I know of no man in this world that I could envy so much as worthy Mr. Mitchel, for the great holiness, learning, wisdom and meekness, and other qualities of an excellent spirit, with which the Lord Jesus Christ hath adorned him."

§ 15. And shall we a little more particularly describe that *holiness* of this excellent man, which we have so often mentioned? It is an aphorism of a Machiavel, [and, reader, was it not worthy of a Machiavel!] "that he who writes an history, must be a man of no religion." By that profane rule, the first and the best historian in the world, the most *religious* Moses, was ill accomplished for a writer of history. But the history which we are now writing, does professedly intend nothing so much as the service of religion, even of that religion whereof our MITCHEL made an exemplary profession. Wherefore we go on to say: know, reader, that he was a great example of a "walk with God;" and of religion he was much in prayer, much in fasting, sometimes taking his virtuous wife, therein to make a *consort* with him; and sometimes also he kept whole days of thanksgiving privately with his family, besides what he did more publicly; devoting himself as a thank-offering to God for his mercies, with a reasonable service. In his diary, he betimes laid that rule upon himself, "Oh! that I could remember this rule, never to go to bed until I have had some renewed, special communion with God!" He kept a strict watch over not only his words, but also his very thoughts; and if by the reflection, which he was continually making on himself, he judged that his mind had not been always full of heaven, and his heart had been, what he called, *hard* and *slight*, that he had been formal in his devotions, that he had not profited abundantly by the sermons of other men, that he had not made conscience of doing all the good he could, when he had been in any company, he would put *stings* into his reflections, and rebuke and reproach himself with an holy indignation. Severe might seem the rule of R. Hanina: "If two sit together, and there be no discourse of the law, 'tis the seat of the scornful;" severe might seem the rule of R. Simeon: "If three do eat at one table, and say nothing about the law, they are as

if they eat the sacrifices of the dead;" and severe might be the rule of R. Hananiah: "He that wakes in the night or walks by the way, and lets his heart lie idle, sins against his own soul." But our MITCHEL reckoned it no *severity* unto himself to impose upon himself such rules as these for his conversation. I have read, that *five* devout persons being together, there was this question started among them: how, in what ways, by what means, "they strengthened themselves in abstaining from sin against the God of heaven?" The first answered, "I frequently meditate on the certainty of death, and the uncertainty of the time for my death, and this makes me live in the fear of sin every day as my last." The second answered, "I frequently meditate on the strict account of sin that I am to give at the day of Judgment, and the everlasting torments in hell, to be inflicted on them that can give no good account." The third answered, "I frequently meditate on the vileness and filthiness and loathsomeness of sin, and the excellency of grace, which is contrary unto so vile a thing." The fourth answered "I frequently meditate on the eternal rewards and pleasures reserved in heaven for them that avoid the pleasures of sin, which are but for a moment." The fifth answered, "I frequently meditate on the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and his wondrous love to miserable sinners, in dying a cursed and bitter death for our sin; and this helps me to abstain from sin, more than any other consideration whatsoever;" and the answer of this last was indeed the greatest of all. Now, all these were the subjects which our holy MITCHEL obliged himself to an assiduous meditation upon; and by meditating on these it was, that he became very holy. Moreover, he was, as holy men use to be, very solicitous to make a due improvement of all afflictions that the providence of Heaven dispensed unto him. He would say, "When God personally afflicts a man, it is as if He called unto the man by name, and jogged him, and said, 'Oh! repent, be humbled, be serious, be awakened:'" Yea, he could not so much as be kept a little from the labour of his ministry by an hoarse cold arresting him, without writing down this improvement of it: "My sin is legible in the chastisement: cold duties, cold prayers (my voice in prayer, *i. e.* my spirit of prayer fearfully gone), my coldness in my whole conversation, chastisement with a cold: I fear that I have not improved my voice for God formerly as I might have done, and therefore He now takes it from me." But the affliction which most of all exercised him, seems to have been in the successive death of many lovely children, though all of them in their infancy. 'Tis an observation made by some, upon several passages in the Scripture concerning that generous and gracious man, David, that he was *Liberorum Amantissimus*—full of affections to his children; and that was to be observed in our Mr. Jonathan Mitchel; for which cause, when his children were *sick*, his paternal bowels felt more than ordinary wounds; and when they were *dead*, his humiliations thereupon were extraordinary. He wrote whole pages of lamentations on these

occasions; and one of his infants particularly expiring before it could be brought forth to an orderly baptism, I cannot but recite a little of the meditations then written by him:

“It was a further sad hand of the Lord [says he] that it should dye unbaptized. Though I do not think they are orthodox, that hang salvation upon *baptism*, and not rather upon the *covenant*, yet as it is appointed to be a confirming sign, and as it is an ordinance of grace, so to be deprived of it is a great frown, and a sad intimation of the Lord’s anger: And though it may be well with the child notwithstanding (that it becomes me to leave unto the Lord!) yet it is to us a token of displeasure. And what construction of thoughts tending to the Lord’s dishonour it may occasion, I know not: that after my labours in publick about *infant-baptism*, the Lord should take away *my* child without and before *baptism*! Hereby the Lord does again and again make me an example of his displeasure before all men, as if He did say openly, that he hath a special controversie with me; thus remarkably taking away one after another. The Lord brings me forth, and makes me go up and down, as one smitten of God: the Lord spits in my face by this thing. See 2 Sam. xii. 12. Numb. xii. 12. Deut. xxviii. 45, 46. 58, 59.”

Such and many more were the workings of his tender soul under his repeated afflictions. And such were the unsearchable dealings of God, that besides the children which he sent unto heaven before him, when he went unto heaven himself, he left behind three sons and two daughters, all of which lived unto somewhat of youth, yet they have all of them since dyed in their youth: except only a virtuous young gentlewoman, married unto Captain Stephen Sewal, of Salem; unto whom (with her offspring, the only posterity of this great man) may the Lord multiply all blessings of that covenant for which their progenitor proved so serviceable a pleader in his generation!

The last thing that ever he wrote in his reserved papers, after he had bitterly reproached “the sinful deadness, straitness, enmity, and unsavouriness [as he called it] upon his own heart;” upon which he added this pathetical expression, “I feel I shall fall and tumble down into the pit of hell, if left unto myself.” It was June 7, 1668. To quicken his cares of daily meditation—

“*First*, Far younger than I, some of them now got to heaven, have done much this way. *Nulla Dies sine Linea*.*

“*Secondly*, Meditation, yea, daily meditation, in general, is an indispensible duty.—Psal. i. 2, and Psal. exix. 97. And because it is so, there may be something of meditation in prayer, in reading the word; Josh. i. 8, with Deut. xvii. 19, and in occasional transient thoughts; yet surely some sett meditation daily besides these, is at least *to me* a duty, who am set apart for the holy work of the ministry, wherein it would be helpful, as well as to my own soul.

“*Thirdly*, Heaven is here begun upon earth: shall I be thinking on, and talking with, Christ, to all eternity, and not discourse with him one quarter of an hour in a day now?

“*Fourthly*, The great enemies of all good—flesh, Satan and world—do of all other things most oppose meditation, which shows that there is much good in it. Flesh, by awkness, giddiness; world, by distractions; Satan, by stirring up both. Lord, awaken me, and keep me awake!”

§ 16. But *what* and *when* was the end of this holy walk? The incongruities and inconsistencies of historians are not more notorious in any

* Not a day without a line [of writing].

one article, than in that of the deaths of the heroes whose lives they have *eternalized*. With what varieties are the deaths of Cyrus, of Antiochus, of Alexander, of Hannibal, of Romulus, of Scipio, of Plato, of Aristotle, reported? There is hardly any philosopher, but he dies twice or thrice over in Laertius; and there is hardly one of Plutarch's worthies, but he dies as many ways. The death of our MITCHEL remains now to be related with more of certainty. Though "bodily exercise does profit a little," as the Apostle concedes, namely, to the health of the body; and Mr. MITCHEL had, from a principle of godliness, used himself to bodily exercise; nevertheless he found it would not wholly free him from an ill habit of body. Of extream lean, he grew extream fat; and at last, in an extream hot season, a fever arrested him just after he had been preaching on those words: "I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and unto the house appointed for all the living." The fever did not seem to threaten his death; however, in his illness, to them that visited him, he said, "If the Lord Jesus Christ have any service for me to do for Him and His dear people, I am willing to do it; but if my work be done, His will be done!" But the distemper suddenly assaulting him with a more mortal malignity, and summoning him to the "house appointed for all the living," he fell to admiring the manifold grace of God unto him, and broke forth into these words: "Lord, thou callest me away to thee; I know not why, if I look to myself; but at thy bidding I come!" which were some of the last words which he spoke in the world: for his friends, who had not for many hours entertained the expectation of any such dismal event, were compelled in floods of tears to see him dye on July 9, 1668, in the forty-third year of his age: when (as one expresses that matter) he left his body to be dipped in the river Jordan, that afterwards, in its resurrection, passing into Canaan, it may, beyond the story of Achilles, become impenetrable and invulnerable. Wonderful were the lamentations which this deplorable death fill'd the churches of New-England withal; for as the Jewish Rabbies lamented the death of R. Jose, with saying, that after his death, *Cessarunt Botri, i. e. Viri tales, in quibus omnes, tum Eruditionis, cum Virtutis, cumuli erant*.* So, after the departure of our MITCHEL, it was fear'd there would be few more such *rich grapes* to be seen growing in this unthankful wilderness. Yea, they speak of this great man in their lamentations to this day; and what they speak is briefly the same that one of our most eminent persons has writ in those terms: "ALL New-England SHOOK WHEN THAT PILLAR FELL TO THE GROUND."

EPITAPH.

And now, reader, let us go to the best of poets in the English nation for those lines which may, without the least wrong to truth, be applied as an *Epitaph* to this best of preachers in our little New-English nation. The incomparable Dr. Blackmore's Orator TYLON shall now be our MITCHEL:

* The *Botri* (men in whom were accumulated all knowledge and all virtues) were extinct.

'Tis the great MITCHEL, whose immortal worth
 Raises to heav'n the Isle that gave him birth.
 A sacred man, a venerable priest,
 Who never spake, and admiration mist.
 Of good and kind, he the just standard seem'd,
 Dear to the best, and by the worst esteemed.
 A gen'rous love, diffused to human kind,
 Divine compassion, mercy unconfin'd,
 Still reign'd triumphant, in his godlike mind.
 Greatness and modesty their wars compose,
 Between them here a perfect friendship grows.
 His wit, his judgment, learning, equal rise;
 Divinely humble, yet divinely wise:
 He seem'd express on heav'n's high errand sent,
 As Moses meek, as Aaron eloquent.

Nectar divine flows from his heav'nly tongue,
 And on his lips charming perswasion hung.
 When he the sacred oracles reveal'd,
 Our ravish'd souls, in blest enchantments held,
 Seem'd lost in transports of immortal bliss;
 No simple man could ever speak like this!
 Arm'd with celestial fire, his sacred darts
 Glide thro' our breasts, and melt our yielding hearts.
 So southern breezes, and the spring's mild ray,
 Unbind the Glebe, and thaw the frozen clay.
 He triumph'd o'er our souls, and at his will,
 Bid this touch'd passion rise, and that be still.
 Lord of our passions, he, with wondrous art,
 Could strike the secret movements of our heart;
 Release our souls, and make them soar above,
 Wing'd with divine desires, and flames of heav'nly love.

But what need I travel as far as Europe for an Elegy upon this worthy man? Let it be known, that America can *embalm* great persons, as well as *produce* them, and New-England can bestow an *elegy* as well as an *education* upon its heroes. When our Mitchel was dying, he let fall such a speech as this unto a young gentleman that lodg'd in his house, and now stood by his bed: "My friend, as a dying man, I now charge you that you don't meet me out of Christ in the day of Christ." The speech had a marvellous impression upon the soul of that young gentleman, who *then* compos'd the ensuing lines:

TO THE MEMORY OF THE REVEREND JONATHAN MITCHEL.

*Quicquid Agimus, quicquid Patimur, venit ex Alto.**

THE country's tears, be ye my spring; my hill
 A general grave; let groans inspire my quill.
 By a warm sympathy, let feaverish heat
 Roam thro' my verse unseen: and a cold sweat,
 Linning despair, attend me: sighs diffuse
 Convulsions through my language, such as use
 To type a gasping fancy; lastly, shroud
 Religion's splendor in a mourning cloud,
 Replete with vengeance, for succeeding times,
 Fertile in woes, more fertile in their crimes.
 These are my muses; these inspire the sails
 Of fancy with their sighs, instead of gales.

Reader, read reverend MITCHEL's life, and then
 Confess the world a gordian knot agen.
 Read his tear-delug'd grave, and then decree,
 Our present woe, and future misery.
 Stars falling speak a storm; when Samuel dies,
 Saul may expect Philistia's cruelties;
 So when Jehovah's brighter glory fled
 The Temple, Israel soon was captive led.
 Geneva's triple light made one divine:
 But here that vast triumvirate combine
 By a blest metempsychosis to take
 One person for their larger zodiack.
 In sacred censures Farel's dreadful scroll
 Of words, broke from the pulpit to the soul.
 In balmy comforts Viret's genius came
 From th' wrinkled Alps to wooe the western dame;
 And courting Cambridge, quickly took from thence
 Her last degrees of rhetoric and sense.
 Calvin's laconicks thro' his doctrine spred,
 And children's children with their manna fed.
 His exposition Genesis begun,
 And fata Exodus eclips'd his sun.

Some say, that souls oft sad presages give:
 Death-breathing sermons taught us last to live.
 His system of religion, half unheard,
 Full double, in his preaching life appear'd.
 He's gone, to whom his country owes a love,
 Worthy the prudent serpent, and the dove.
 Religion's panoply, the sinner's terror,
 Death summon'd hence; sure by a writ of error
 The Quaker, trembling at his thunder, fled;
 And with Caligula resum'd his bed.
 He, by the motions of a nobler spirit,
 Clear'd men, and made their notions Swine inherit.
 The Munster goblin, by his holy flood
 Exorcis'd, like a thin phantasma stood.
 Brown's Babel shatter'd by his lightning fell,
 And with confused horror pack'd to hell.
 The Scripture, with a commentary bound,
 (Like a lost Calais) in his heart was found.
 When he was sic^k the air a feaver took,
 And thirsty Phœbus quaff'd the silver-brook:
 When dead, the spheres in thunder, clouds, and rain,
 Groan'd his elegium, mourn'd and wept our pain.
 Let not the brazen schismatick aspire;
 Lot's leaving Sodom left them to the fire.
 'Tis true, the Bee's now dead; but yet his sting
 Deaths to their dronish doctrines yet may bring.

EPITAPHIUM.

Here lies within this comprehensive span,
 The church's, court's, and country's JONATHAN.
 He that speaks MITCHEL gives the schools the lie;
 Friendship in him gain'd an ubiquity.

F. DRAKE.

* All that we do and suffer cometh from on high.

CHAPTER V.

DRUSIUS NOV-ANGLICANUS.*—THE LIFE OF MR. URIAN OAKES

*O Utinam plures similes tibi pectore nossem,
Aut in Doctrinâ, aut Sedulitate pares.†*

§ 1. I REMEMBER 'tis the report given by Sylvius concerning Rhodes, "that it is blessed with a perpetual shine of the sun;" imagine that there passes not a day in the year wherein the sun shines not upon it. And methinks our Cambridge had not been much otherwise privileged for more than forty years together; being shined upon by a successive *triumvirate* of such eminent and heavenly lights, as, first, Shepard, then Mitchel; and lastly our excellent URIAN OAKES. Those three *golden men* and very Chrysostoms, have given to Cambridge its *golden age*. The church of Cambridge had a succession in some sort like that in the church of Ephesus—a Paul, a Timothy, and a Tychicus.

§ 2. 'Tis remarkable that, in the sacred story, at least forty Dukes of Edom have their whole story crouded into one short piece of a chapter; three or four of them are jostled into a line, seven or eight of them into two; all but their meer name is buried in a dark vault of eternal oblivion: while above a dozen chapters are employ'd in describing the vertues and relating the actions of one younger son of Israel, the son of a "plain man who dwelt in tents." If the greatest persons of Edom [that is to say, of Rome] have their history lost, the church of God would have no great loss in it; a son of Israel may more worthily and more usefully have his memory preserved in church-history with the most extended paragraphs: yea, the son of a "plain man, who dwelt in tents," may deserve an everlasting remembrance among them who most consider what they have most reason to remember. Make room, then, for Urian Oakes, ye records of New-England. He was born in England, and now in his childhood brought over to New-England by his pious parents, who were blessed with several worthy sons, the effects of whose liberal education in our Colledge have rendered the family not the least in our little Israel. While he was yet a child, he was delivered from an extream Hazard of drowning by a *miracle*, I had almost said, a *miracle* of divine providence; God reserving him to be a Moses among his people. And the sweet nature, which accompanied him all his days, did now so remarkably recommend him, that observers have made this reflection: "If good nature could ever carry one to heaven, this youth hath enough to carry him thither."

§ 3. His prompt parts adorned and advanced with the grace of God at such a rate, as to make the considerate say of him, as they said of young

* The New-England Oak.

† Would there were more like thee! like thee in sense,
In learning, and unwearied diligence.

Ambrose, "To what will this child grow?" were improved in our Collodge; where he took his two degrees. Being here yet a lad of *small*, as he never was of *great* stature, he published a little parcel of astronomical calculations with this apposite verse in the title page:

*Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua Gratia parvis.**

But here, being furnished with the *armour* and the *treasure* of the schools, he went from hence unto the work of building the Temple of God; preaching his first sermon at Roxbury.

§ 4. Returning back to England, he there "grew in favor with God and man." After he had been a while chaplain to one of the most noted persons then in the nation, Titchfield was the place where this bright star became *fixed*; there 'twas that he settled in the charge of souls, which he discharged in such lively preaching and such holy living, as became a minister of the New Testament: there 'twas that, like a silkworm, he spent his own *bowels* or *spirits* to procure the "garments of righteousness for his hearers;" there 'twas that he might challenge the device and motto of the famous Dr. Sibbs, a wasting *lamp* with this inscription, *Præluendo pereor*,† or, "My light is my death."

§ 5. But the expensive labours of his ministry did not so hasten a *natural death* upon him, as to anticipate a *civil death* by the persecution, that silenced the Non-conformist ministers throughout the nation. A *civil death*, I say; because, although the authors of that act, XIV. Car. 2, would not be reckoned among "the slayers of our Lord's witnesses," yet it may surprize the most attentive consideration to read how much oftener than *twice* or *thrice* in that act, the silenced ministers are pronounced *as dead*, and, *as if naturally dead*! This act slew the ministry of this "faithful witness" to the truths of the gospel, whereof he was a minister; but that worthy and well-known Colonel Norton, proved the Obadiah who then gave this good man a residence in his house; where his presence and prayers produced a blessing, like that on the house of Obed-Edom. Nevertheless, when the heat of the persecution was a little abated, he returned unto the exercise of his ministry, in a congregation where Mr. Symmons was his colleague.

§ 6. Our Cambridge, deprived of their incomparable Mitchel, and lamenting that, "of all her sons, there were so few to take her by the hand;" after solemn addresses unto the "great *Shepard* of the sheep" for his direction, sent over their agents into England, with a invitation to Mr. Oakes, to "come over and help them." A council, upon that occasion called, approving of the invitation, the good *Stork* flew over the Atlantick Ocean to feed his *dam*. Whereupon one wrote,

Welcome, great prophet, to New-England shore,
The fam'd Utopia of more famous More,
Unfabled, for New-England is by thee,

Now Twisse's guess too must accomplish be:
That for the New Jerusalem there may
A seat be found in wide America.

* Little things become little men; yet little things have a grace peculiar to themselves.

† It is by giving light that I waste away.

§ 7. The church of Cambridge could now show this orient jewel for divers years before the Almighty would have it made up "among his jewels;" though the troubles and sorrows of a quartan ague often diverted him from his publick services. And here he had the opportunity for which Dr. Preston chose rather to preach at Cambridge than any other place, *Dolare non tantum Lapides sed artifices*.^{*} Of the divine favour to them, in their enjoyment of such a pastor, the church was now so sensible, that they kept a day of publick thanksgiving for it. At this thanksgiving a sermon being expected from himself, he took for his text those words in 2 Cor. xii. 11: "I be nothing." And the holy endeavours that he used in the sermon to take off the thoughts of the faithful from any thing in *man* to every thing in *Christ*, were very agreeable to a man whom Christ had made *something* among the people. But the Colledge in Cambridge languishing under somewhat worse than an *ague* by the want of a President, this accomplished man was invited unto that place: For divers years, he would admit no other title to this place but that of *pro tempore*, which indeed seems to have been a little *proleptical* and *prophetical*. From this time, and but for a time, he was the Jerom of our Bethlehem!

§ 8. Soon after he had accepted his Presidentship, he was arrested with a malignant fever, which presently put an end unto his days in this world. The prayer of some great saints has been contrary to that in the Litany for a sudden death; and such was the death, of this desirable person, if any *death* may be accounted *sudden* to him that was *always prepared* for it. When he had lain sick about a day or two, and not so long as to give the people of God opportunity to pray for his recovery, his church coming together with expectation to have the Lord's Supper on the Lord's Day administered unto them, to their horror found the *pangs of death* seizing their pastor, that should have broken to them the *bread of life*. And, indeed, I have often seen the Lord of heaven taking off his ministers, perhaps to heaven, at that season when the Eucharist should have been celebrated! which is a thing that might admit of some useful reflections.

§ 9. He was upon all accounts truly an admirable person. Consider'd as a Christian, he was "full of all goodness," and like a *full* ear of corn, he stoop'd with a most profound humility, adorning all his other graces; but though he were *low* in his own opinion of himself, yet he was *high* in his attainments; *high* in his principles. He carried heaven in his *name* URIANUS, [q. *εὐριανός*,] but much more in his heavenly mind. Considered as a scholar, he was a notable critick in all the points of learning; and well versed in every point of the great circle. Vast the treasures lodged in the soul of such a scholar! Considered as a preacher, he was an Orpheus that would have drawn the very stones to discipline; had Austin been here, he might now have seen "Paul in the pulpit:" indeed, he was, as one

^{*} To model out, not statues, but artists.

said, "an uncomfortable preacher;" why? he drove us to *despair*, namely, of seeing such another. Finally, I cannot speak more comprehensively of him than Mr. Increase Mather does in his preface to a discourse of this renowned man's, published just after his decease:

"There have been several of the same name, heretofore renowned for their rare accomplishments in some particular faculty, wherein they have excelled. Josephus Quercetanus was a learned and famous physician. Johannes Drusias (the *Greek* word for *Oakes*) was a great divine, and eminent for his critical genius. But an age doth seldom produce one so many ways as this author was. If we consider him as a *divine*, as a *scholar*, as a *Christian*, it is hard to say in which he did most excel. I have often, in my thoughts, compared him unto Samuel among the prophets of old; in as much as he did truly "fear God from his youth," and was *betimes* improved in holy ministrations, and was at last called to the *head* of the "sons of the prophets" in this New-English Israel, as Samuel was President of the College of Najoth. And in many other particulars, I might enlarge upon the parallel, but that it is inconvenient to extend such instances beyond their proportion.

" ————— *Heu, tua nobis*
Morte simul tecum Solatia rapta!"*

It may without reflection upon any be said, that 'he was one of the greatest lights that ever shone in this part of the world, or that is ever like to arise in our Horizon.' He is now become a 'royal diadem in the hand of the Lord?' being, as one speaks concerning a great worthy, 'an ornament unto heaven itself.'"

§ 10. As for his works, 'tis an exceeding pity that the press has given to the light no more of them; for *Quicquid tam Docta condidit Manus Caelum est*:† nevertheless, four or five of his published composures are carried about among us, like Paul's handkerchiefs, for the healing of our *sick land*. We may read something of what he was, in a sermon, called "*The Conquering and Unconquerable Christian Soldier*," on Rom. viii. 37, preached unto the Artillery Company in Boston, on their election; and in a sermon preached on the like occasion in Cambridge, from Eccles. ix. 11, showing, that *chance* is infallibly determined by God; and in a sermon upon a Fast, which, from Isa. xliii. 22, presses for sincerity and delight in the service of God: but most of all in a sermon on Deut. xxxii. 22, preached unto the General Court of the Massachusetts-colony; wherein, he pleaded with his country, to consider what would be the *latter end* of the evils then growing in the country; after a manner, so faithful, so solemn, so affectionate, as was hardly to be equalled. Now, that the reader may see some account of this learned man's judgment in the matters of church-discipline, without which we may not say that we have written his *life*, we will from that sermon only transcribe the few following lines:

"I profess I look upon the settlement of the Congregational *way* as the boon, the gratuity, the largess of *divine bounty*, which the Lord graciously bestow'd upon his people, that followed him into this wilderness; and a great part of the blessing on the head of Joseph, and of them that were 'separate from their brethren.' Those good people that came over hither shewed more love and zeal, and affectionate desire of communion with God in pure worship and ordinances, and did more in order to it than others, and the Lord did more for them

* In losing thee, we lost our comfort too.

† The work of a hand so skilled must be divine.

than for any people in the world, in shewing them the 'pattern of his house,' and the true *scriptural way* of church-government and administrations. I do not think that they were at a *ne plus ultra*,* and that nothing was left unto the discovery of after-times; but the *beginning-work* was substantially done by them; they were set in the right way, wherein we are now to *proceed*, and make a *progress*. It will be our wisdom, interest, and duty to follow them, as they followed the guidance of the spirit of Christ. The reformation in K. Edward's days was then a blessed work; and the reformation of Geneva and Scotland was a larger step, and in many respects purer than the other; and, for my part, I fully believe, that the Congregational-way far exceeds both, and is the highest step that has been taken towards *reformation*, and, for the substance of it, is the very way that was established and practised in the primitive times according to the institution of Jesus Christ. There is a sweet temperament in the Congregational-way; that the liberties of the people may not be overlaid and oppressed, as in the *classical-way*, nor the rule and authority of the elders rendered an insignificant thing, and trampled under foot, as in the way of the Brownists; but that there may be a *reconciliation*, or due concurrence in the balancing of the one justly with the other: and herein, the wisdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in the frame of church-government (for it is not any *politic* or *prudential* contrivance of man, but modell'd by the great Law-giver, the Lord Jesus) is greatly to be admired by us."

§ 11. The rest of the report that we will give of this memorable person, shall be but a transcript of the Epitaph on the tomb-stone in the *sleeping-place* at Cambridge, dedicated unto his memory. And know, reader, that though the *stones* in this wilderness are already grown so *witty* as to *speak*, they never yet, that I could hear of, grew so *wicked* as to *lye*.

URIANI OAKESII,

*Cujns, Quod Reliquum est, clauditur hoc Tumulo ;
Exploratâ Integritate, summâ Morum Gravitate,
Omniumque meliorum Artium insigni Peritiâ,
Spectatissimi, Clarissimique omnibus Modis Viri,
Theologi, merito suo, celeberrimi,
Concionatoris verè Melliflui,
Cantabrigiensis Ecclesiæ, Doctissimi et Orthodoxi Pastoris
In Collegio Harvardino Præsidis Vigilantissimi,
Maximam Pietatis, Eruditionis, Facundiæ, Laudem Adepti ;
Qui, Repentinâ Morte subito correptus,
In JESU sinum efflavit Animam,
Julii XXV. A. D. M. DC. LXXXI.*

MEMORIÆ.

Ætatis suæ L.

*Plurima quid Referam, satis est si dixeris Unum,
Hoc Dictu satis est, Hic jacit OAKESIUS.†*

* Point of perfection.

† To the memory of Urian Oakes, whose remains are enclosed in this grave: a man of tried integrity, consummate dignity of character, remarkable acquirements in all the better kinds of knowledge, most conspicuous and distinguished in every respect; as a theologian, deservedly famous; a truly charming orator; a learned and orthodox pastor of a church at Cambridge; a most sagacious president of Harvard College; a recipient of the highest commendations for piety, learning and eloquence, smitten by a sudden and deadly disease, he breathed out his life into the bosom of his Saviour, July 25th, A. D. 1681, at the age of fifty.

What need of epithets? one name most dear
Expresses all, and tells that OAKES lies here.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS SHEPARD.

§ 1. WHEN we find that passage in the oracles of Heaven, "Behold, Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia; this man was born there;" it follows, "and of Sion, it shall be said this and that man was born in her:" and the meaning and the reason of this different expression hath been a matter of some enquiry. It seems, that of Rahab, Babylon, Philistia, Tyre and Ethiopia, it was said, "Behold [as being almost a wonder!] that this man," some one single man of eminency—a *rara avis in terris*,* was born there. But of Zion it might be said, [איש ואיש] man and man, "this and that man," that is to say, very many eminent men, *Multi pietate, Doctrinâ Ingenio, Rerum Bellicarum Gloriâ aliquibusque Virtutibus Insignes*,† were "born in her." That little spot of ground, where God planted his church, affording more excellent men for holiness and other noble accomplishments, in proportion, than all the world besides. I will now make no odious comparisons between Harvard-Colledge and other Universities, for the proportion of worthy men therein educated: but New-England, compared with other parts of America, may certainly boast of having brought forth very many eminent men; in proportion, more than any of them; and of Harvard-Colledge (herein truly a Sion-Colledge) it may be said, "this and that man were bred there;" of whom, not the least was Mr. Thomas Shepard.

§ 2. Reader, esteem it not *preposterous*, if I *begin* the life of this worthy man with relating that his *death* fell out on December 22, 1677. When the pestilence raged so much in Alexandria of old, that "there was not an house, wherein there were not many dead," it was the observation of mankind, that while the *Pagans* cast off all humanity, and inhumanly forsook their dearest friends in the distresses of their sickness, the *Christians*, without any regard unto their own life, boldly ventured into the sick-chambers, and cheerfully assisted and relieved their infected brethren, and very often dyed that they might preserve others from death, or attend them in it. Mr. Thomas Shepard had in him that spirit of the primitive Christians. He was the pastor of the church in Charlestown; and the small-pox growing as epidemically mortal as a great plague in that place, this excellent man, who had for many years most faithfully done all the duties of a pastor unto his flock, apprehended it now his duty to visit one of his flock, who, lying sick of this distemper, desired a visit from him. He went with "his life in his hand," and (which he courageously and undauntedly expected) the contagious distemper arresting of him, did put

* A rare bird.

† Many men, remarkable for piety, learning, genius, the glory of warlike achievements and other excellences.

an end unto his life, and therein, surely, after some sort entitle him unto the crown of martyrdom. Thus, as an Elegy upon his death expressed it:

Rather than run from 's work, he chose to dye,
Running on death, sooner than duty fly.

Behold, a Shepherd, who was (as the emperor Probus had it said of him)
*Vir sui Nominis!**

§ 3. And now, that the pourtraiture of this person, who was "as great a blessing and glory as ever Charlestown had," may be drawn to the life, it is fit that other pencils than such poor ones as mine should be employ'd; for indeed it was very truly confessed, in an Elegy made upon him,

Here's worth enough to overmatch the skill
Of the most stately Poet Laureat's quill.

We will therefore employ *three* other testimonies and descriptions to give posterity the knowledge of him; whereof the first shall be the Epitaph engraved on his tomb-stone, in such terms as these:

D. O. M. S.

*Repositæ sunt hîc Reliquiæ Thomæ Shepardi,
Viri Sanctissimi,*

*Eruditione, Virtute, Omnigenâ Moribusque suavissimis Ornatissimi;
Theologi Consultissimi,
Concionatoris Eximii:*

*Qui Filius fuit Thomæ Shepardi Clarissimus,
Memoratisimi Pastoris olim Ecclesiæ Cantabrigiænsis;*

Et in Ecclesia Caroliensi Presbyter docens;

Fide ac Vitâ Versus Episcopus;

Optimè de Re Literariâ Meritus:

Quâ Curator Collegii Harvardini vigilantissimus;

Quâ Municipii Academici Socius Primarius.

Ta ἵς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς σωτῆρος Ζηλώτου

In D. Jesu placidè obdormivit, Anno 1677, Dec. 22.

Ætatis suæ 43.

Totius Novangliæ Lachrymis Defletus;

Usque et Usque Deflendus.†

Let Fame no longer boast her antique things,
Huge Pyramids and Monuments of kings:
This cabinet that locks up a rare gem,
Without presumption may compare with them.
The sacred reliques of that matchless one
Great Shepard, are enshrin'd below this stone.
Here lies entomb'd an heavenly orator,
To the great King of Kings ambassador:
Mirror of virtues, magazine of arts,
Crown to our heads and Loadstone to our hearts:

Harvard's great son, and father too beside,
Charlestown's just glory and New-England's pride:
The church's jewel, Colledge's overseer,
The clergy's diadem without a peer:
The poor man's ready friend, the blind man's eyes,
The wandering, wildred soul's conductor wise:
The widow's solace, and the orphan's father,
The sick man's visitant, or cordial rather:
The general benefactor, and yet rare
Engrosser of all good; the man of prayer:

* A man of his own name.

† Sacred to the all-good and Omnipotent God. Here repose the remains of THOMAS SHEPARD, a most godly man, possessed of learning, excellence in every virtue, and most charming manners; a sagacious theologian, an admirable preacher. He was the distinguished son of Thomas Shepard, formerly a well-known pastor of a church at Cambridge; he was also a teaching elder in the church at Charlestown, a true bishop both in faith and in life; a writer of divine literary merit; a very prudent steward of Harvard College; a fellow of the academical corporation. "Seeking not his own, but the things of Jesus Christ," he slept peacefully in Jesus, December 22, A. D. 1677, aged forty-three: mourned and to be mourned yet more with the tears of all New England.

The constant friend, and the most cheerful giver,
Most orthodox divine and pious liver:
An oracle in any doubtful case,
A master-piece of nature, art and grace.

In this bed lye repos'd his weary limbs;
His soul's good company for Seraphims.
If men be dumb in praising of his worth,
This stone shall cry, for shame! and set it forth.

*Si, Sheparde, tuo nisi quæ sint digna sepulchro
Carmina nulla forent, carmina nulla forent.**

§ 4. The whole country was fill'd with lamentations upon the decease of the person thus entomb'd, and many bestowed their elegies upon him with resentments like those, which one of them thus uttered:

Next to the tears our sins do need and crave,
I would bestow my tears on Shepard's grave.

But there was none who found a deeper wound at this decease than the reverend president of the colledge, Mr. Urian Oakes; who was his particular friend. For, as Austin had his Alipius, as Basil had his Nazianzen, as Jerom had his Heliodorus, as Eusebius had his Pamphilus, or, if you will, as Paul had his Barnabas; even such was the friendship that *unanimated* our Oakes and our Shepard. He, besides other ways of expressing his value for this his departed Jonathan, took the opportunity of the next Commencement, with no small part of his elegant oration, thus to embalm his memory:

“Referunt historici Caium Caligulam, monstrum illud hominis, queri palam de conditione temporum suorum esse solitum, quod nullis calamitatibus publicis insignirentur. Quod si nunc in vivis, apud nos ageret, nihil esset illi querelæ loci relictum, adeo calamitosa sunt omnia, et fœlicitates bonas nobis adversas habemus. Ecquid verò calamitosius, quàm quod morbus ille variolum in vicinis oppidis passim grassatus fuerit. Heu! Quæ funera dedit! Quas strages edidit! Miserum me! Hæreo, stupeo, vehementer perturbor animo; neque mens, neque vox, neque lingua consistit, quoties subit animum, quàm grave vulnus, vel ex unius viri, interritu, non ità pridem accepimus. Video me, necessitate coactum, officii, auditores, infandum renovare dolorem, vulnusque recens acceptum refricando, retractandoque exacerbare. Amisimus, amisimus memoratissimum illum virum, reverendissimum Thomam Shepardum: respublica civem optimum; ecclesia theologum clarissimum: academia non filium tantum et alumnum clarissimum, sed curatorem etiam vigilantissimum; municipium scholasticum, socium suum primarium amiserunt; amicum ego singularem et integerrimum. Heu pietas! Heu prisca fides! Obiit, proh dolor! ornatissimus Shepardus, vir dignus, si quis alius, qui nunquam ægrotaret, nunquam moriretur. Dabitis veniam, auditores, ut mæsti nos Harvadinates, etiam in ipsis feriis academicis, pientissimi Thomæ Shepardi manibus, alieno quidem, uti videri potest tempore, et exequalia justa, paremus. Dolemus tanto reipublicæ vulnere; mortemque tanti viri, jure optimo, luctu publico esse honorandam, existimamus; qui fatalis morbi vi ereptus, non ecclesiam solùm Caroliniensem, sed totam etiam Novangliam, orbam ac debilitatam reliquit; quocum defuncto, respublica, academia vacillare certè, si non corruisse videantur. Cum Caius Cæsar satis se diu, vel naturæ vixisse, vel gloriæ dixisset; satis, inquit Cicero, si ita vis, naturæ fortasse; addo etiam, si

* Were no songs breathed, save such as match thy praise,
For ever hushed had been the minstrel's lays.

placet gloriæ; at quod maximum est, patriæ certe parum: multò profecto verius et sincerius a me dici potest, clarissimum Shepardum, satis diu vixisse sibi metipsi, et gloriæ suæ, cum piè adeo vixerit, ut ad cælestem verè vitalem vitam sincerâ fide, virtutum christianarum exercitio, viam aditumque sibi munierit, nomen suum immortalitati consecravit; at reipublicæ, non satis diu, at ecclesiæ, at academiæ, parum certè vixit; quocum occubente, titubare ac nutare videntur omnia. Est et illud iræ divinæ vehementer in nos excandescentis argumentum et indicium insigne, quòd gravissimis reipublicæ temporibus, academiæ necessitatibus, ecclesiarum precibus et lachrymis hujus eximii viri vitam noluerit Deus condonare. Amisimus Shepardum, alienissimo reipublicæ tempore extinctum: at quem et qualem virum! theologum profectò non unum è multis, sed inter multos propè singularem; neminem cum illo conferendum non ausim dicere: neque detrachere quidquam ab aliis necesse habeo, cum encomia defuncto Shepardo debita persolvo. At verò inter Gregarios theologos (quod sine cujusquam injuria dici velim) tantum caput extulit

Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi.

“Certabat in eo, cum pietate minimè fucatâ, eruditio minimè vulgaris; cum eruditione verò prudentia modestia, humanitas et industria singularis. Quanta gravitas in vultu? Quantum pondus in verbis? Quam nihil non consideratum exibat ex ore? Quam nihil in gestu affectatum, aut indecorum? Fuit quidem ὁ μακαριστός, animo sedatissimo, candidissimo pectore, felicissimo ingenio, acerrimo judicio, suavissimis denique temperatissimisque moribus ornatissimus. Sic autem universam vitam traduxit, ut aliis illustre quoddam veræ pietatis ac virtutis exemplar, ad imitandum propositum; in eoque quasi exempli causa, antiqui officii vestigia remanebant. Non ille inanem occupatus est rumorem, neque ullus umbra falsæ gloriæ consecratus est, aut insolentius extulit se; sed a supercilio, fastuque omni longè longèque abfuit. In summis ejus dotibus, propter quas, honoribus auctoritate, gratiâ floruit, summa animi demissio et modestia singularis emicuerunt; et rara quidem (ut dici solet) virtus est humilitas honorata. Vetus est verbum, “Εἷς Ἀνὴρ εἰδὲς Ἀνὴρ, unus vir, nullus vir. Ego vero non minus vere possum dicere “Εἷς ἑμοὶ μὴ γινώσκων. Unus mihi fuit instar decem millium. Prorsus assentior Nazianzeno dicenti φιλεπνευστὲς καὶ εἰμαί’ Ἀνταλλαγμα τῶν ὄντων ἔδεν. Amicitiam unicum esse vitæ condimentum. Miserum me! Quam triste nobis sui desiderium reliquit! Qui mihi ità charus, ita jucundus fuit, ut ejus aspectu dolor omnis fuerit abstersus, et omnis, quæ me angebat, cura planè consederit. Probè memini, quam me olim frons ejus tranquilla, vultusque (ut Ovidius loquitur) plenus gravitate serenâ, inter dicendum animadvertit. Ille horum comitiorum (ut mea tulit opinio) pars adeo magna fuit, ut quemadmodum (autore Cicerone) Antomachus Clarius poeta, cum convocatis auditoribus recitaret iis ingens volumen, quod conscripserat, eumque legentem, omnes præter Platonem reliquissent, Legam, inquit, Nihilominus; Plato enim mihi unus, instar est omnium: Ità profectò, alter Plato (absit verbo invidia) fuit mihi Shepardus et instar omnium. Dicit non potest, quàm me perorantem, in comitiis, conspectus ejus, multò jucundissimus recreârît, et refecrit. At non comparet hodie Shepardus in his comitiis: oculos huc illuc torquco; quocunque tamen inciderint, Platonem meum in tanta virorum illustrium frequentiâ requirunt; nusquam amicum et pernecessarium meum, in hac solenni panegyri, inter hosce reverendos theologos, academiæ curatores, reperire aut oculis vestigare possum. Amisimus virum illum sanctissimum strenuum,

*orthodoxæ fidei propugnatorem, non hominibus solùm gratum et acceptum, sed, et Deo ipsi charissimum; divinæ familiaritatis virum, sicuti Tertullianus nuncupat Abrahamum. Quamobrem, honoratissimi viri, lugete amissum civem plane τετραγωνον, optimarum semper, in republica, partium et in rebus optimis, constantissimum virum; columen atque ornamentum reipublicæ vestræ; cujus unius funere, propè dixeram, elatam esse rempublicam. Lugete, reverendissimi presbyteri, amissum charissimum fratrem et symmistam; ordinis vestri decus et lumen singulare. Lugete, carolinenses, sublatum, ex oculis vestris, eximium episcopum vestrum, delicias olim et amores vestros. Lugete, academici amissum curatorem vigilantissimum, cujus interritu, collegii dignitatem, immane quantum diminutam, salutem ipsam periclitatam esse, quis non intelligit? Lugete, quotquot adestis, auditores, amissum illum virum, consummatissimum, currum et equites Israelis, dignissimum profectò, qui Nov-Angliæ lachrymis usque et usque defleatur. Quòd si nimius in hoc argumento, et longius, quam par est propectus esse videor, quæso obtestorque ut veniam aliquam dolori meo et mæroris animi tribuendam putetis. Videtis me, in amplissimas charissimi Shepardi laudes, tanquam in oceanum descendisse, et difficile quidem esse, cùm laudandì, tùm lugendì finem reperire.**

* Historians say of Caius Caligula,—that monster in human shape,—that he used to deplore the condition of his age, because it was signalized by no public calamities. But if he lived in these times and among us, he would find no more room for such a complaint, so abounding are our misfortunes, and to such an extent does even our happiness turn into poignant sorrow. What more fearful calamity can be conceived of than the prevalence of the small-pox through all this region? How death and destruction have followed its march! Alas! I shudder—nay, am stunned, as I contemplate it: I seem to lose intelligence, voice and language, whenever my mind recurs to that terrible stroke, which we all experienced in the death of one man. I find myself compelled, my hearers, by the very necessity of my position, to

“Renew the grief no words can e’er express,”

and tear open afresh the wound which we have all so lately felt. We have lost—we have lost that praiseworthy man, the revered THOMAS SHEPARD; in whom the state loses an excellent citizen; the church, a distinguished theologian; the college, not only a beloved son and *alumnus*, but also a watchful steward; the academic board, its own chief fellow; myself, a special and sincere friend.

“Alas! for piety and faith well-tried.”

How dreadful is it to be reminded, that the accomplished SHEPARD has left us—a man too good, if mortal could be so, ever to sicken—ever to die! Pardon me, my hearers, if even on so happy an occasion as a college anniversary, we sorrowing sons of Harvard offer a funereal tribute to the shade of the pious SHEPARD; we grieve over the wound inflicted on the state; and we believe that public mourning may, with unquestionable propriety, signalize the decease of so great a man. Torn from us by the force of a mortal disease, he has left, not only his church at Charlestown, but all New England, in a bereaved and disabled condition. By reason of his departure, the commonwealth, the church, the college, seem to shake almost to their fall. Caius Cæsar once said, that he had lived long enough to satisfy nature, and long enough for his fame. Cicero adds: “long enough, if you will, to satisfy his nature, and long enough (if you require me to think so) for his fame; and yet (alas! a matter far more important) not long enough for his country.” Surely, I can say, with superior truth and sincerity, that the renowned SHEPARD had lived long enough for himself and for his fame. For he led a life so religious, that the practice of Christian virtues had, through the power of an unfeigned faith, opened heaven itself before him, while it secured to his name immortality on earth. And yet he did not live long enough for the state, for the church, and for the college. His death seemed to threaten every thing with downfall, and to be a signal proof and demonstration of the severity of the divine wrath against us: inasmuch as neither the crisis of the republic, the necessities of the college, nor the prayers and tears of the church, could prevail with Heaven to spare him. We have lost our SHEPARD—torn from us at a time most unpropitious to the state—and such a man! He was a theologian, not one out of many, but among many almost alone—incomparably superior to almost all others; although I have no wish, in saying so, to detract any thing from the merits of others in order to render due honors to the departed SHEPARD. Among the common mass of theologians, (I speak without malice) he reared his lofty head

“As ‘mid the reeds the cypress lifts its crest.”

In him unfeigned piety was matched by no mean share of learning; and with his learning were blended prudence, modesty, generosity, and remarkable diligence. How much dignity in his countenance! how much weight in his words! to what an extent was it true, that nothing ill-considered escaped his lips—that nothing affected or ungraceful appeared in his gesture! He was indeed *blest*—with a calm spirit, a clear conscience, a fine intellect, keen judgment, and gentle and chastened manners. Such was the tenor of his whole life, that it was held up to others for

This was one paragraph in a commencement-oration pronounced by the Lactantius of New-England. And that stroke, which this very person had in an elegy, by him composed on the death of his dearest Shepard.

They that can Shepard's goodness well display,
Must be as good as he: but who are they?

He did himself make a near essay towards the doing of it, and in my thought, he was, according to his own rule, well qualified for the doing of it.

§ 5. But if the reader must have one in all things, as good as he, to display his goodness, behold then he shall effectually, and not improperly do it himself. Let the reader peruse his elaborate sermon, preached at the anniversary election of the governour and magistrates in Boston, May 5, 1672, and afterwards printed; and he will there see constellated so much learning, wisdom, holiness and faithfulness, that he will pronounce the author to have been a person of more than common talents for the service of our churches.

imitation, as an illustrious pattern of true piety and virtue: in him, as for example's sake, remained the imprint of his ancient office. He did not follow empty applause, or permit himself to be led astray by a delusive phantom of glory, or insolently magnify himself. Far, far was he from all pride and disdain of others. With all his wonderful gifts, which yielded him so much honor, authority and favor, he yet shed around him the soft light of extreme humility: and a rare virtue (it is claimed) is honored lowliness. It is an ancient saying, that "one man is no man." With no less truth can I assert, that to me "one man was ten thousand men." I assent in full to the testimony of Nazianzen, that "apart from friendship, there is no zest to life." Alas for me! how melancholy a void has he left me! He was so dear to me—so pleasant—that at the sight of him every grief was forgotten, and every care that touched me utterly dissipated. Well do I remember how, in the midst of his discourse, that calm face and mien, "so full (to quote Ovid's expression) of serene dignity," would fix its gaze on me! In my view, he appeared so great a feature in these college festivals, that he brought to my mind what Cicero states of Antomachus Clavius, the poet; who recited to his assembled auditory from a large volume which he had composed, until all left him in the midst of his reading except Plato. "I will still read on," said the poet, "for Plato alone is to me equal to them all." In like manner was Shepard (I would speak without offence) to me another Plato—the equal of all the rest. Letters cannot describe how, at Commencement, his pleasant countenance cheered and refreshed me, toiling through my concluding remarks. But Shepard will not appear to-day to grace this occasion. I turn my eyes hither and thither; wherever they fall, they still search, even amid this reverend assembly, for my Plato: yet no where can I trace out, on this solemn occasion, among these venerable theologians, these supervisors of the college, my friend and intimate. We have lost that most saintly man and ardent defender of the orthodox faith, who was not only pleasing and acceptable to men, but dear to God; "a man intimate with his Maker," as Tertullian describes Abraham. Wherefore, most honored friends, mourn the loss of a citizen who was always true to the best party and the best measures; the crown and ornament of your commonwealth; by whose death, I might almost say, your commonwealth itself is swept away. Mourn, reverend elders, the loss of a dear brother and fellow, the honor and chief light of your order. Mourn, citizens of Charlestown, for your excellent bishop, once your delight and love, ravished from your gaze. Mourn, sons of Harvard, your most watchful supervisor, by whose decease, as all understand, the dignity of this institution is immensely diminished and its safety endangered. Mourn, all who hear me, for the loss of a perfect man—"the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof"—most worthy to be mourned evermore with the tears of New England. If I seem to dwell too long and be carried too far in discussing this theme, bear me witness that you think some license should be granted to grief like mine. You see me plunge into the praises of our dear Shepard as into an ocean, and that it is hard for me to find bounds either for praise or for sorrow.

CHAPTER VII.

ST. STEPHEN'S RELIQUES.

MEDITATIONS, AWAKENED BY THE DEATH OF THE REVEREND MR. JOSHUA MOODEY;

WITH SOME SHORT CHARACTER OF THAT EMINENT PERSON:

Who slept in Jesus 4d. 5m., 1697, in the 65th Year of his Age.

BY COTTON MATHER.—THE SECOND EDITION.

Josh. xxiv. 22, 23, 29.—JOSHUA said unto the people, ye have chosen you the Lord, to serve Him. Now therefore, incline your heart unto the Lord. And it came to pass, after these things, that Joshua, the servant of the Lord, died.

READER, tell me not that the people's being taken with Publicola's funeral oration in praise of the dead Brutus, or the decree of the Roman Senate, that it should be lawful to make a funeral oration on such as deserved well of the commonwealth, made Polydore Virgil say, *Hinc mortuos laudandi mos fluxit, quem nos hodie servamus*.* The book of Lamentations, on the death of Josiah, is of an elder date; the Roll of Lamentations on the death of Jonathan, is of yet an elder; and certainly to be imitated among the faithful people of God. Tell me not that some eminent Non-conformists have therefore scrupled the preaching of any *funeral sermons*: that in some Reformed churches, the practice of them is wholly omitted; that in the Primitive churches they were not practiced until the apostacy began; and that there have been decrees of councils against them. I readily grant that the custom of praising the dead, has been scandalously abused; but I cannot grant that the abuse is best corrected by taking away all publick meditations on the funerals of those in whose *deaths* God from heaven speaks great things unto the *living*. We do but wisely fulfil our ministry by watching, to suit the *words* of God unto those *works* of his, which occur to our notice when men of note are taken away. Behold, according to the laudable usage in the churches of New-England, the meditations which have been *awakened* by the falling *asleep* of an eminent person, who was "a memorable servant of those churches!" I am out of measure astonished, when I read in an author as old and as great as Austin, the wonderful effects which the pretended reliques of the Martyr Stephen had upon those who repaired thereunto for the cure of maladies. Howbeit, when I find that great man, in his epistle to the clergy of Hippo, denying that any *miracles* were then done in Africa, (which he also again said in his book, (*De Utilitate Credendi*,†) and in his book of *True Religion*, affirming that God permitted not miracles to continue until *then*, lest the minds of men should be too much taken up with visible matters, I persuade myself, that the story of the reliques of Stephen was foisted into his

* Hence originated the custom of eulogizing the dead, which we still observe. † On the Utility of Faith.

book, *De Civitate Dei*,* by some later hand. The best sort of *reliques*, after all, are those which we have here preserved and proposed; and it will be no superstition to hope, that a cure of spiritual maladies too generally prevailing, may be promoted by repairing unto them. And I do not more question the opinion of a very learned man concerning the angels, whom we find mentioned in the Scriptures as doing very humane actions, *Veros homines fuisse, qui a Spiritu Messice, et a spiritibus angelicis agebantur: et movebantur ad ea agenda, quæ ipsi non intelligebant, phantasia eorum obsessa, et a cogitationibus consuetis abducta: Qui homines, negotio peracto, ad quod fuerant à Deo adhibiti, discusso velerno, et cessante ecstasi, ad consuetum munera reversi sunt, immemores eorum, quæ impulsore Spiritu Divino aut angelico egerant.*† than I do believe that, in our actions, there is an imitation of the holy angels to be endeavoured, by which a man may become another Stephen.

THE WAY TO EXCEL.

Acts vi. 15.—Looking steadfastly on him, they saw his face, as it had been the face of an ANGEL.

SINCE the oracles of Heaven have (with a most significant admonition!) allowed a well-served church to call its pastor by the name of its *angel*, we may now say, “the angel of the church of Portsmouth has newly taken wing!” Yea, not the least of the “angelical chariots and horsemen” of New-England, have departed from us, in the withdrawing of one, after whom that bereaved church is crying, “My Father, My Father!”

To preserve the idea and memory of his face, as far as the infirmities of this mortal state permitted any approaches to the angelical character in it, is that whereto not only nature does invite us: ’Twill be but a compliance with that edict of heaven, “Remember them who have spoken to you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.”

’Tis well known, that among the chief works of the Most High, created by the Son of God, at the first beginning of time, there were his “good angels:” Angels, which are spiritual and rational substances, created by the Lord for his own immediate service and honour. None deny, none dispute, the existence of those *good* angels, but men that are under a more than ordinary possession of *evil* ones.

Our Lord Jesus Christ has given it, as a description of that future state, wherein he will make us happy for ever, (Mat. xxii. 30,) “They are as the angels of God in heaven.” And if we hope to be happy in that future state, we must endeavour to anticipate it, by being very holy in our pres-

* Concerning the City of God.

† These have been real living men, who were acted upon by the spirit of the Messiah and by angelic intelligences; and also were moved to actions, which they did not themselves comprehend, originating in a sort of hallucination, and apart from their usual course of thought. Those men, when they have fulfilled the special mission to which God has called them, have shaken off their lethargy, come out of their ecstatic state, and returned to their ordinary duties; entirely unconscious of what they had done, while under the influence of the Divine Spirit and the angelic agency.

ent state. But the way for us to be very holy, is to resemble and imitate the "angels of God in heaven," while we are on earth, as far as we are able. Every holy man does a *little* of this: and how much of it was done by that holy man who is now gone to live and praise, and see CHRIST among the angels for ever, may be proposed with some advantage unto the *exhortation*, wherein I have a "few things to preach unto the people."

But my exhortation must be introduced with a report of that glory, which the Martyr Stephen, while he was yet on earth, attained unto.

There being occasion to choose deacons in the primitive church, that so they who were to give themselves continually unto the "ministry of the word" might be released, by the faithful cares of those deacons, from secular encumbrances; one of them was the blessed Stephen; who being the first that arrived unto the "crown of martyrdom" for our Lord Jesus in the New-Testament, had in the name of *Stephen*, which signifies, *a crown*, a notable specification of the event and reward which will attend all our sufferings for the Lord.

It was then an age of many *miracles* wrought by the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; and such a measure of that Spirit possessed this excellent man, that by the *impulse* of that Spirit, he could with all assurance perceive when the Spirit was going to work miracles, and apply himself to accompany the miracles of the Spirit, by some wonderful *actions* of his own. This illustrious worker of miracles was accused before the Council at Jerusalem for saying that it was the design of Jesus to destroy the temple and the city, and alter the rites which Moses had from God commanded unto Israel. When he appeared before the Council to answer this accusation, 'tis here said: "They saw his face, as it had been the face of an angel."

Concerning the "face of an angel," we have a remarkable account in what we read about one of the angels in Mat. xxviii. 3: His "countenance was like lightning." And we read concerning a great man, who had got the "face of an angel" by being much with the angels, in Exod. xxxiv. 10: "Behold, the skin of his face shone." If we carry the passage now before us unto the highest sense which it would lay claim unto, we are to suppose, that such a *splendor* was discernible upon the face of Stephen: And surely, if they who discerned it had not the *heart* of a devil in them, they durst not have gone on to abuse a man that appeared before them with the "face of an angel." Alas, the more of an angel there is in any man, the more *stones* will the devil procure to be thrown at such a man! But behold the agreeableness of the matter: Stephen was persecuted for villifying of Moses; and, behold, at this very time, he is vindicated with a *shine* upon his face, like that once upon the face of Moses. The *things* here spoken by Stephen, were those very things which the angel Gabriel had formerly spoken unto the prophet Daniel; and, behold, the aspect of an angel adorns him in his discourse.

We may from hence take leave to observe, "that a *saint on earth*, may arrive to those attainments that shall make him look like an *angel of heaven*."

There are *angelical excellencies*, a degree whereof, poor man, sorry man, sinful man, even while such, may very much attain unto.

But now, this CASE calls for our attention: "What are those excellencies that would make a *saint* look like an ANGEL?"

And the general answer hereunto is, "the excellencies of holiness." For—

First, The angels of God have many excellencies, the imitation whereof cannot by men, in this life, be reasonably proposed. The angelical majesty, as a mortal eye would not be able steadily to behold it, much less, in this mortal state may we affect it. A man may not wish to *shine* like Stephen in this world, and have a *face* that may dazzle the spectators. Or, what would it avail, if a man could make a glare on his face, by smearing it with some of the *noctiluca's* invented by the modern chymistry? A *devil* has, before now, pretended unto such a *face*. 'Tis not the face, but the *grace* of an angel, which is here to be aspired after. It were a foolish and a faulty thing for any man to be ambitious of wearing in this world such a figure as that in Dan. x. 6: "His body like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire." Immortality itself is one of the angelical excellencies. But, while we are among *mortals* here, we must submit unto the laws of *mortality*, and be willing to dye when and how the Sovereign God shall order it. There are also those flights of *wisdom*, and those heights of *power* among the angelical excellencies, wherein 'tis not for us to dream of being *like* them, until we are become "the children of the resurrection." It was the ruine of our first parents to imagine in Gen. iii. 5, they "might be as Elohim!" No, this cannot be, until our Lord Jesus Christ has by a *new birth* brought us into that *world to come*, where the "wise converters of many to righteousness," will be those who shall "shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever!" Our Lord Jesus Christ will make *us* the angels of the new world. Indeed, the angels now turn and move all the *wheels* of the "kingdoms of this world," but *we* are they that shall "receive the kingdom that cannot be moved."

But, secondly, The excellencies of holiness [for, the saints are the excellencies!] These are they, wherein the imitation of the angels by men, may be very far proceeded in. The angels of God, are styled in Mat. xxv. 31, "The holy angels;" and in Dan. iv. 17, "The holy ones." 'Tis not as they are *mighty* angels, but as they are *holy* angels, that we must propound our coming to look like unto them. These holy angels never did and never will sin against their God; but are continually serving of him: "They serve him day and night in his temple!" And it may be the "bright garments," wherein these "angels of light" have appeared,

may be an emblem of their holiness and their purity. Now, it hath been the "will of God in our Lord Jesus Christ concerning us," that there should be set before us the greatest examples of holiness for our imitation. And hence, as we have the greater *example* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST himself given unto us, to direct and excite and promote our *holiness*, with a charge, "to be holy, as he that hath called us is holy;" so we have also the example of the holy angels given unto us, that we may strive, as far as may be, to be like unto them in their holiness. Hence, when the Psalmist of old saw the angels praising of God, he cried out, "O, my soul, do thou so too." Yea, some interpreters judge, that when the *face* of Stephen looked like an angel, it was no more than what you and I may, "through Christ who strengthens us," reach unto; *q. d.*, the *consolations* of the Holy Spirit of God so filled him, that he discovered not the least *convulsions* in his face: His face was as joyful and serene as if he had stood free from all the sorrows of this world, among the angels of God.

I remember the apostle enjoins the woman in the church to have a covering on her head in token of subjection to her husband: "because of the angels," (2 Cor. xi. 10.) Why, if you turn to the beginning of the sixth chapter of Isaiah, you'll find the angels before their superiour, the Lord Jesus Christ, in the temple, assuming a *covering*, out of the reverence which they pay unto him. Hence then, says the apostle, it becomes women to take example by the angels; let them consider, how the angels behave themselves in the presence of the Son of God, who is the grand representative of the image and glory of God; and let them in their habit show some analogy to the habit of the angels, betokening their subjection to the man, who is under the Lord Jesus Christ, the image and glory of God, while they, the women, are so of the man. But I only touch on this gloss by the by. What I insist on is, that the angelical example is to be imitated.

Indeed, we shall, as long as we live in this world, come far short of the original, when we go to write after the angelical example. In this present evil world, we cannot approach near to the holiness of the good angels: Much of sin, and fault, and folly, will unavoidably cleave unto us: That leprosie will never wholly out of the walls, until the clay-house be utterly demolished; There will be as much distance between the blessed spirits and us, as between giants and children, as between stars and glowworms, as between the cedars of Lebanon and the hysop that grows out of the wall: Thus it will be, until we come at length to dwell (and, Oh! why do we no more long for it!) with the "innumerable company of angels," in another world.

However, to attempt the imitation, is the ready way to be excellent. Particularly in the ensuing instances:

I. If a man could have his *eye* upon the *face* of God continually, would not that procure the face of an angel for him? It would make a man look

like an angel, if he were looking unto God, in the Lord Jesus Christ continually. Of the angels, there is that account given, in Mat. xviii. 10: "In the heavens, they do always behold the face of my Father which is in the heavens." The angels do converse with God continually. And why may not we press after a converse with God, a little emulating the angelical? To be heavenly-minded, by having the God of heaven almost always in our minds, and by being "in the fear of God all the day long," *this* were to be as the angels are! Oh! that we were thus "filled with the fullness of God."

First, We may have a continual *apprehension* of God in our minds. In every place, we may apprehend God. Wherever we are, we may subscribe to that article of the ancient faith, in Psal. cxxxix. 7: Lord, "Whither shall I flee from thy presence?" What if we should never be from under the awe of such a thought as that, "The omnipresent God observes all my ways." And we may apprehend God in every thing. We need not stay at any second causes; but we may, with a spiritualized soul, soar up to some notice of God in all. Upon all the works of creation, we may say, "the finger of God is here!" And we may make the positions of the Pauline philosophy, in Acts xvii. 24. 28, "God made the world, and all things therein: In Him we live, and move, and have our being." Upon all the works of Providence, we may say, "this comes from that God whose kingdom ruleth over all." And we may make the conclusions once taught by our Lord, no doubt alluding to the two birds, whereof one was to be killed, the other to be let loose into the open field, at the cleansing of the leper, in Mat. x. 29, "Two sparrows, one of them shall not fall to the ground without our Father." To be led into some notice of God continually, this, O this, it is angelical. 'Tis godliness. What is *holiness*, but *godliness*? This were a little of the angelical holiness.

Secondly, Our continual *apprehension* of God may bring a continual *dedication* to God upon all that we have and all that we do. If we *glance* at inferior ends, yet we may not *stop* there: All our ends are to be swallowed up in God. We should not, with any patience, consent unto it, that any but God should have our strength, our time, our all. Whatever possessions are bestowed upon us, we may put them under that consideration which the house of David had, in Psal. xxx. Tit. "Dedicated things." All our possessions, all the powers of our spirits, all the members of our bodies, our estates, our credit, our desirable friends; we may contrive with our selves, "What acknowledgments may God have out of these things!" And improve them no farther, than as instruments, whereby God may be acknowledged. Yea, and our daily actions; may we not be driving a trade for God in all? As 'tis said in 1 Cor. x. 31, "Whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God:" So, our eating, our drinking, our sleeping, what is it for? We may distinctly say, "I do this, that I may be supported in the service of God:" thus, our labours, our travels, our visits, and our

exercises of religion, we may thus ennoble them, "I do this, I will do it carefully and cheerfully, because God hath commanded my doing of it." A dedication to God, is the proper meaning of holiness: And very angelical would be our holiness, if we could be frequent and constant in such acts of dedication.

Thirdly, Our continual *apprehension* of God, may produce our continual *satisfaction* in God, under all His *dispensations*. Whatever enjoyments are by God conferred upon us, where lies the relish, where the sweetness of them? Truly, we may come to relish our enjoyments, only so far as we have something of God in them. It was required in Psal. xxxvii. 4, "Delight thyself in the Lord." Yea, and what if we should have no delight but the Lord? Let us ponder with ourselves over our enjoyments: "In these enjoyments I see God, and by these enjoyments, I serve God!" And now, let all our delight in, and all our value and fondness for our enjoyments, be *only*, or *mainly*, upon such a divine score as this. As far as any of our enjoyments lead us unto God, so far let us relish it, affect it, embrace it, and rejoyce in it: "O taste, and feed upon God in all;" and ask for nothing, no, not for life itself, any further than as it may help us, in our *seeing* and our *serving* of our God. And then, whatever afflictions do lay fetters upon us, let us not only remember that we are concerned with God therein, but let our concernment with God procure a very profound submission in our souls. Be able to say with him in Psal. xxxix. 9, "I open not my mouth, because thou didst it." In all our afflictions, let us remark the *justice* of that God, before whom, "why should a living man complain for the punishment of his sin?" The *wisdom* of that God, "whose judgments are right:" the *goodness* of that God, who "punishes us less than our iniquities do deserve." Let us behave ourselves, as having to do with none but God in our afflictions: And let our afflictions make us more conformable unto God: which conformity being effected, let us then say, "'Tis good for me that I have been afflicted." Sirs, what were this, but a pitch of holiness, almost angelical! Oh! Mount up, as with the wings of eagles, of angels: be not a sorry, puny, mechanick sort of Christians any longer; but reach forth unto these things that are thus before you.

But, in fine, 'tis our Lord Jesus Christ, who is *the face of God*. That is his *name*, frequently in the Old Testament; and in this hint, I have given you a golden key to come at the sense of many passages in the sacred pages, about "the face of God," and "the light of that face." 'Twas the Messiah. 'Tis then our Lord Jesus Christ, who is to be the more immediate object of our apprehensions when we would become angelical: 'tis God in our Lord Jesus Christ: Whenever we entertain any thing of God in our minds, it should be with a Christ, and through a Christ. Those who do all they can to forge a Christianity without a Christ, are so far from being like *angels* of the Lord, that they are *traitors* to the King of heaven.

II. We may render our selves angelical, by our endeavours of a *present*, and a *pleasant*, and an *universal obedience* unto the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of angels. Whose are the angels, but the angels of the Lord! And (in 1 Kings xviii. 12, and Acts viii. 39,) "the spirits of the Lord." Our Lord Jesus Christ is the Lord General of all the angels: He is the Lord of hosts; and all those hosts of heaven are under his command; we read in Psal. ciii. 20, 21, "They do his commandments, hearkening unto the voice of his word: They are his ministers, which do his pleasure." The very highest angel in heaven desires and studies to be a *servant* of the Lord Jesus Christ: The great God would soon strike him down from heaven with hot thunder-bolts if he did not so. Even Michael the archangel has received that charge from God, concerning our Lord Redeemer: "do thou worship him!" Gabriel himself must give this account of himself, "I stand in the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ," namely, as a servant standing in the presence of his Master.

Come, then; let every one of us become the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ. By consenting to the methods of grace in the new covenant, let us yield our selves unto our Lord Jesus Christ, as unto our Lord; and say with him in Psal. i. 19. 38, "Lord, I am thy servant, devoted unto thy fear." Let us reckon it the *highest pleasure* unto our selves to be always *pleasing* of our Lord Jesus Christ: Let us esteem it the highest *honour* unto our selves, to be always *honouring* of him. To be a man of God, is to be like an angel: an angel was called in Judg. xiii. 8, "The man of God." We are men of God, when we become the devoted servants of our Lord Jesus Christ. Sirs, the bright angels of heaven invite us to become their fellow servants, by giving our selves up unto the work of witnessing to the truth and ways of their heavenly Lord. When we have solemnly consecrated ourselves unto this work, then whatever commands our Lord Jesus Christ lays upon us, let us readily, joyfully, universally yield obedience there unto. Be upon the wing as the angels, to do every thing that our Lord Jesus Christ would have to be done. Delay none, despise none, refuse none of the *commandments* which our Lord Jesus Christ shall give unto us; but say, as in 1 John v. 3, "His commandments are not grievous." And whatever we shall know to be acceptable unto our Lord Jesus Christ, let us immediately do what we know: Let this be argument enough unto us for any thing, though flesh and blood [body and soul] be never so much against it: "My Lord Jesus Christ would have me to do this thing!" Thus our labour should be according to our prayer, that "the will of God may be done on earth as it is in heaven."

III. To be very serviceable is to be angelical: To *do good*, is the disposition of a good angel. Those men, whose perpetual business 'tis, "to go about for the doing of good," as they are like the Lord Jesus Christ, (Acts x. 38,) so they are like the angels that wait upon our Lord Jesus

Christ. The angels are always employ'd in some service for our Lord Jesus Christ, and for those that belong unto him. 'Tis said in Heb. i. 14, "Are they not all ministering spirits?" Oh! let it, in like sort, be our ambition to minister some way or other for the good of them that are to be the "heirs of salvation;" and let us be much and oft in studying with our selves, "What good may I do with those talents, wherewith my Lord Jesus Christ has betruſted me?" How many good offices does the Bible report, as done by the angels of God for the people of God? And how many such good offices are still done for the people of God by the angels of God, which "encamp as a host about them that fear him?" Christians, if we are advised of any *opportunity* to do good, let us be as ready to do as the angel that came down to the pool of Bethesda was to help the miserables assembled there. Yea, though they should be never so poor, never so small, never so mean people, that we may do good unto, let us be ready to do it with all our hearts. The first apparition of an angel that we read in Scripture, was to relieve a poor maid in trouble of spirit. The Martyr Bradford, that man had the face of an angel, concerning whom it was noted, "he was always, either with purse or tongue, or pen, doing of good." Whatever company we fall into, 'tis easie for us ordinarily to think, "What good may I do in this company before I leave it?" That man "speaks with the tongue of angels," who will never dismiss his company without some conscientious essay to speak what shall be profitable unto them. And *inventions* to do good, and be benefactors to all that are about us, the more upright we are, the more we shall "seek out many such inventions." There is an angelical air upon them!

IV. Near approaches to God in devotions and communions, full of intimacy with him, will give a man, if not the *face*, yet the *heart* of an angel. —When was it that the face of Moses had an angelical, and an extraordinary *lustre* upon it? It was when he had been with "God in the mount." We read in Exod. xxxiv. 29, "When Moses came down from Mount Sinai, with the two tables of testimony, the skin of his face shone." They that are very much with God in those exercises, wherein the "power of godliness" does mainly consist, will contract a lustre therefrom, and be somewhat like the angels, made "partakers of the divine nature." To be often in secret prayers and secret praises, with raised strains of heavenly zeal before the Lord, this is to be as it were of the angelical fraternity! Yea, 'tis a golden passage of Chrysostom, that "the very angels themselves cannot but honour the man whom they see familiarly and frequently admitted unto the audience, and as it were discourse with the divine Majesty." Truly, whether the angels may reverence these men or no, these men do resemble the angels. It becomes more notably thus, when men do often set apart whole days for their prayers and their praises, and are with God in the mount for whole days together. Great things did the angels do for Moses, great things for Elias, who often spent whole days alone with the

Lord; and what said an angel unto Daniel, when he had been spending whole days at such a rate?—"Thou art a man of desires, and an angel thinks not much to fly down from heaven unto thy conversation!" Such days do leave an angelical savour upon the souls of men; they leave our souls, for many days afterward, under such a gracious, and generous, and serious, and watchful, and useful *bias*, as has the face of an angel thereupon. And therefore the Lord's days; let us keep them with a peculiar solicitude—a singular elevation of sanctity. It was the privilege of John in Rev. i. 10, "to be in the spirit on the Lord's day." Sirs, if we are so, we shall be with the angels on the Lord's day, and if with them, then like them. To be wholly under the *confinement* [I mistook the word, I should say *liberty*!] of religious applications, throughout our whole Christian Sabbath, let us not count it, as a ceremonious person once call'd it, "a being on the rack an whole day together." Angels have strangely visited and comforted some on the rack, but never such as complain'd that a strict Lord's day put 'em on a rack. During the whole day let our thoughts be full of God, and Christ, and heaven: during the whole day let our words be few, and fit, and savoury, and such as may "minister grace unto the hearers:" during the whole day let our earthly defilements be banished from us; let our hearts be every hour sallying forth with numberless ejaculations to the Lord. Such Lord's days will ripen men into angels at the last! But on the Lord's day there sometimes does recur a most special and signal opportunity to "draw near unto God," namely, the Lord's Supper; an ordinance of the nearest fellowship with heaven; an ordinance wherein a Christ suffering for us is, by the symbols of bread and wine, so tendered unto the faithful, that in their obeying his appointment thereof, they do with ineffable advantage partake of him. Well, then, let our *preparations* for this great ordinance be with as much of solemnity, as if we were to *dye* ourselves at the time when we do annunciate here the death of our Lord. Let us *examine* ourselves, and supplicate our God before we come to the table of the Lord, as if we were to dye when we come. And at this holy table, where "man eats angels' food," let us *fix* our meditations on our Lord Jesus Christ, with all possible attention, with all suitable affection. Thus, "beholding, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, we shall be changed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord." Now, 'tis that *glory* that makes an *angel*!

V. An *heart* much affected with the Lord JESUS CHRIST will procure the "face of an angel" unto the *man* who hath an heart so affected. Unto the angels there is nothing so precious, and nothing so glorious, as the Lord JESUS CHRIST; yea, 'tis our CHRIST that makes the best part of their heaven for them. Our Lord JESUS CHRIST is, as the Apostle enumerates it among the mysteries and evidences of our faith, in 1 Tim. iii. 16, "Seen of angels." But how seen? Truly, seen with wonders, and seen with raptures, and seen with endless hallelujahs. Would we be like the angels?

Then let our Lord Jesus Christ be seen by us, as the *best thing* in heaven and earth, and as infinitely *better* than the very angels themselves. At the incarnation of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, what were the songs of angels? In Luke ii. 14, "There was a multitude of the heavenly host, praising of God, and saying, glory to God in the highest!" Would we be like the angels? Let us then join in a concert with those "morning stars," and "sons of God." It was with "joy unspeakable and full of glory," that the angels attended upon our Lord Jesus Christ, first throughout his *humiliation*, and then unto his *exaltation*. Let the whole of *that* be the most ravishing subject of our contemplation; let us love to see our Lord Jesus Christ, first suffering, and then entering into his glory. And let our acclamations be like those of the angels upon those marvellous dispensations of the grace of God! When the angels do look on Jesus Christ, they are covered with astonishment, and cry out, "O, holy, holy, holy Lord of hosts," all "heaven is full of thy glory!" And shall not *we* so look on that our "Lord of glory?" When the angels do *speak* of our Lord Jesus Christ, they make a most reverent mention of his holy and reverend name, and say, "Oh! there is none among the sons of the Mighty, that may be compared unto this Lord." And shall not we so speak of that great King, with a "tongue like the pen of a ready writer?" Something of Christ the angels must have: they would think themselves to be starved, if they had not this *manna* to feed upon! Sirs, let the *meat* of our souls be the *fruit* growing on this *tree of life*; and let the *drink* of our souls be, the *honey of this rock*: this is the daily repast of angels; this nourishment will *angelifie* us in a little while. What shall I say? The mystery of CHRIST is the most grateful contemplation of the angels: Those cherubims about the ark of God, we are told in 1 Pet. i. 12, "They desire to look into these things." I say then, "go and do likewise."

VI. If we would always behave ourselves as before the face of angels, we should at length obtain the face of an angel by the exactness, the circumspection, the accuracy of our behaviour. It was a good *memento*, written upon a study wall, *angeli adstant*; or "the angels of God stand by!" Did men remember the eye of the invisible angels upon them in all their ways, how grave, how cautious, how pious would they be? and at last, how like unto those angels? If a man were as bad as Balaam himself, yet the bare suspicion of having the eye of some angel upon him would be enough to stop him from rushing on to sin. "Why shouldest thou sin," says the wise man, in Eccl. v. 6, "before the angels?" If we are *wise*, we should often think, "I am now before some angel!" and that thought would make us wise. The aged Apostle said unto a younger minister, "I charge thee before the elect angels:" from whence 'tis infallibly sure that the elect angels take notice how we acquit ourselves, each one, in his charge. Said the Psalmist, in Psal. cxxxviii. 1, "Before the gods I will sing praise unto thee:" The LXX. translate it, "I will sing praise unto thee, before

the angels." Christians, the angels take notice of us in all our employments; yea, in our closest retirements. We give no *praises* to God, we perform no *duties*, we endure no *troubles*, we resist no *temptations*, but the angels of God are the witnesses of what we do; we are a spectacle to angels in all our encounters. Well, now let our deportment be mightily under the influence of this consideration: "the angels take notice; what report will the angels of God give of my behaviour?" It has been propounded as a *rule of prudence* for a man, wherever he comes, to imagine that there is present some eminent, wise, and good man, to see and hear all that passes. Man, there is an angel to see and hear all that passes, wherever thou comest; this is no meer imagination. Could we, like the servant of the prophet in the mount, see the unseen regiment of the world by the subordinate government of angels, what an *awe* would it strike us with! The angels of the Lord see how men are disposed and employed for the service of their Lord, and gladly contribute their unknown assistances unto that service. But it cannot be any other than a grief unto those angels to see enormities in those for whose welfare they are concerned. If they have *joy* over a penitent, they must needs have some sort of *grief* over a transgressor. Yea, in all probability, the miscarriages of such offenders work in them a sort of distaste, which inclines them, on many accounts, to withdraw from the offenders, until they have washed themselves over again, in the fountain set open for sin and for uncleanness. Now, let this consideration accompany us in all our walk; and let the *eye* of an *angel* be more to us, than the *eye* of a *Cato* could be to any Roman. The "face of angels" will at last be gain'd by such a consideration.

VII. Let us beware of every sin; for *sin* will turn a *man* into a *devil*. Oh! vile *SIN*, horrid *SIN*, cursed *SIN*! or, to speak a more pungent word than all of that, Oh, *SINFUL* sin! how pernicious art thou unto the souls of men! 'Tis said, in 1 John iii. 8, "He that committeth sin, is of the devil." Holiness will make men incarnate angels; but wickedness will make them devils incarnate. An impenitent sinner, hath he the face of an angel? No, but the heart of a devil in him. Let your *zeal* against all sin then be like that of the seraphim. The angels are seraphims, or burning ones; they *burn* (and so let us!) against all sin, because of its being so contrary and provoking to their most holy Lord. Sirs, mark it: if any of you wittingly and willingly sin against God, you do as the devils do, and as the devils would have you to do, and as our Lord Jesus Christ speaks, in John viii. 44, "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." Dreadful words! There is the *image* of the devil, and there is the *practice* of the devil in every *SIN*. To commit *SIN*, is *humane*; to indulge it, will be *diabolical*. But especially there is much of the devil in *apostacy* from good beginnings. Of the devils, we find, in Jude vi. "They kept not their first estate:" they once joined, it seems, in

praising of God with the angels of the blessed regions; but they *left* it all. You that have left the societies, and the exercises of Christianity, wherein you were *at first* engaged, behold, who your leader is! The first and great apostate, the devil, is your leader in this desertion; and, alas! whither will he *lead* you? There is much of the devil also in *hypocrisy* under good professions. When there was a secret, rotten hypocrite among the disciples of our Lord, our Lord said, in John vi. 70, "He is a devil." Indeed, the devil is never so much a devil, as when *transformed* into an angel of light. When strict pretenders and pleaders, and, it may be, preachers of the gospel, shall yet cloak "some hidden practices of dishonesty" under their fair pretences, behold, men playing the devil horribly. What shall I say more? The devil is an *unclean* spirit, a *lying* spirit, a *proud* spirit, a spirit full of *envy*. Oh! take heed lest you be of such a spirit, and so, lest you perish "with the devil and his angels" throughout eternal ages.

Thus, the *rules* of becoming *angelical* have been set before us.

But if we do now humbly reflect upon ourselves, for our not living up to these rules, we cannot easily be more humble in such reflections, than was that MAN OF GOD, the Reverend JOSHUA MOODEY, who from his essays to obtain the face of angels, is now gone unto the place of angels.

All the churches of New-England considered him as a person whom an eminency, both in *sense* and in *grace*, had made considerable. All the churches of BOSTON enjoy'd and admired his accomplishments for the evangelical ministry many years together. The church of Portsmouth (a part of the country that very much ow'd its *life* unto him!) cries out of a *deadly wound* in his *death*; and is ready to cry out "Our breach is great like the sea; who can heal it?" His labours in the gospel were frequent and fervent; whereof the *press* hath given some *lasting*, as the *pulpit* gave many *lively* testimonies: yea, if it were counted one of the most memorable things in St. Francis de Sales, that he made *four thousand* sermons to the people, I can relate as memorable a thing of our Moodey: at the beginning of his sermons he still wrote in his notes (which were fairly and largely written) how the number of them advanced; and before he died, he had numbered some hundreds more than four thousand of them. And unto his cares to edifie his flock by *sermons*, he added more than ordinary cares to do it by *visits*: no man perhaps being a kinder visitant. He was not only ready to *do good*, but also to *suffer* for doing it; and as he was exemplarily zealous for a scriptural *purity* in the worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, so he cheerfully submitted unto an *imprisonment*, for that "cause of God and this country;" wherein, like Stephen, he had the honour to be the *first* that suffered in that way for that *cause* in these parts of the world. Briefly, for *piety*, for *charity*, and for *faithfulness* to the main interests of our churches, all that knew him, and know the worth of these things, wish that among the *survivors* he may have many *followers*.

He was of a very robust and hardy constitution, and a notable exception to the general remark, *raro solent ingenia insigniter felicia, robusta sortiri corpora*;* and, it may be, too *prodigal* of his athletick strength, in doing the service whereto a good Master called him. Nevertheless, when a complication of distempers was divers months before his dissolution brought thereby upon him, he exceedingly lamented "his neglect [as he accounted it] of his past opportunities to be serviceable." At length, coming to Boston for advice about the recovery of his lost health, his distempers here so grew upon him, as to threaten a quick period unto his pilgrimage. His distressed church at Portsmouth now importunately made their prayer with fasting before the "Great Shepard of the sheep," that they might not be deprived of so rich a blessing; and he was himself exceedingly desirous to have returned unto Portsmouth, that he might establish his flock yet further against all temptations to forsake the "right ways of the Lord." But Heaven determined otherwise.

When the last summons of death came to be served upon him, he had neither *time* nor *strength* to speak very much; and they that have spoken much while they *live*, sometimes must not speak very much at their *death*. His discourses were generally full of self-condemnation; and, indeed, that man knows not how to *dye*, who thinks to dye otherwise than *condemning of himself* exceedingly. The most of what he said was, I suppose, unto a minister who visited him the day before his expiration. Unto that minister he signified, that he was "rejoycing in the hope of the glory of God;" that he was "longing to go to the precious Christ, whom he had chose and serv'd;" that "the Spirit of Christ had comfortably taken away from him the fear of DEATH." When that minister urged him to leave with him any special desire that he should judge proper to be mentioned, he said, "The life of the churches! the life of the churches! and the dying power of godliness in them; I beseech you to look after that;" the minister at last said, "The Lord Jesus Christ is now, sir, going to do for you, as once for Joshua (your namesake!) He is just going to take from you you old, sorry, ragged garments, those of your flesh, and cloath you with change of raiment, with the garments of heavenly glory, and give you a place among his angels:" whereto he replied, with some transport, "I believe it! I believe it!" After this, he said little, but lay in an uneasie drowsiness until the afternoon of the day following; which was the Lord's-day; and then, even on the day whereon he had so often been "in the spirit," he went unto the blessed "world of spirits;" on the day, which he had so often sanctified in a *sacred rest*, he went unto his *eternal rest*. A fatal day was this unto our land! It is an omen of a sad fate to a land, when the angels do say, *migremus hinc*—"let us be gone!" How far he had the face of an angel while he sojourned here, no doubt envy may cavil; and I have sometimes with wonder seen it, in the poor *Energumens*

* Extraordinary mental endowments are seldom associated with a robust frame.

among us, that when the minister, who might be the most likely to do them good, came unto them, the fiends that possessed them would make the minister's *face* look so dirty and swarthy, that they must by no means acknowledge him. This I may venture to say without flattery: it is long ago that, in another sense than Aquinas, we call'd him "an angelical doctor;" and he has now attained the "face of an angel," without the least *wrinkle* in it. He is, with Stephen, and the angels of God, gone to behold the glory of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and bear a part with the "many angels round about the throne, saying, 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain!'" I cannot but recommend him to you, as one that was, "a candidate of the angelical life;" and solicit you to remember, not only the *lessons*, and *counsels*, and *warnings*, which you have had from him, in private or publick dispensations, but also his *example*, to follow him wherein he followed (and in many things he followed!) the Lord JESUS CHRIST.

FINIS.

CHAPTER VIII.

GEMINI.*—THE LIFE OF THE COLLINS'S.

§ 1. WHEN several sons of Diagoras had so acquitted themselves as to merit and obtain applause in their publick actions, he that brought the old man the report of it, gave him that salutation, "Dye quickly, or, I am going to tell you that which will keep you out of heaven!" There was a good old man, called COLLINS, the deacon of the church at Cambridge, who is now gone to heaven; but before he went thither, had the satisfaction to see several most worthy sons become very famous persons in their generation; sons that, having worthily served their generation, are now gone thither as well as he; two of them are found among the graduates of Harvard-Colledge.

§ 2. Mr. JOHN COLLINS in his youth received a wound by a fall, which had like to have cost him his life; but whilst he lay gasping, the renowned Mr. Thomas Shepard came to him with this consolation: "I have just now been wrestling with the Lord for thy life, and God hath granted me my desire; young man, thou shalt not dye, but live; but remember, that now the Lord says, surely, thou wilt now fear him, and receive instruction." The *life* then continued unto that young man, afterwards proved so very considerable among the congregational divines of Great Britain, and especially in the great city of London, where he mostly spent his days of publick service, that it well deserves a room in our account of *worthies*.

* Twins.

His abilities as he was a preacher, did chiefly signalize him; for such *was* the life and charm which accompanied his exercises in the pulpit, that none but persons of the same humour with him who wrote certain things like *books* to prove that "Cicero wanted eloquence," went away *unmoved* or *unpleased* from them. Nevertheless, being under disadvantages to come at the more perfect story of his *life*, my reader shall have only the *contracted report* which his epitaph has thus given of it. Reader, the *stones* will *speak*, if his friends do not celebrate him!

JOHANNES COLLINS.

*Indolis optima puerulus, patrem pietate insignem,
Castiorem Dei cultum, et limatiorem
Ecclesiæ disciplinam, anhelantem,
In Americanum Anglorum secutus est colonium.
Ubi quæ gymnasiis, quæ Cantabrigiensi isthio Collegio,
(Deo indefessis adspirante studiis)
Scriba factus ad regnum calorū instructissimus,
Antiquæ cum senore rependitur Angliæ.
Scotia etiam celeberrimæ ministrorum gens fertilis,
Et audiuit, et mirata est concionantem.*

*Utrobique multos Christo lucrificet;
Plures in Christo edificavit.
Præsertim hac in Metropoli, gregis gratissimi pastor,
Nil segnis otii gnavo indulgens animo,
Nec laboribus morbisque fracto parcens corpori;
Meditando, prædicando, conferendo, vota que faciendo,
Vitam insumpsit fragilem,
Ut æternæ aliorum vitæ consuleret;
Quo ecclesiarum vitæque nulla pastore optimum,
Aut vivum magis venerata est,
Aut magis indoluit morienti.*

M. Dris Die III^o. Anno Ære Christianæ M DC LXXXVII.*

This is the language of the epitaph, the *truth-speaker*.

And as I have thus found the *story* of his *life*, so I can, in a yet more unsuspected quarter, now find a *sermon* on his *death*. In the third volume of the "*Morning-Exercises*," published by that good man, the very Barnabas of London, that very reverend and excellent man, Dr. Annesly; there is a sermon, wearing the name of no other author, but N. N. on that case, "how the religious of a nation are the strength of it?" Now, the author of that sermon was this Mr. John Collins, who tho' he thus reckoned himself a *no body*, yet was by others esteemed so considerable a part of the "strength of the nation," that at the affectionate prayer of the reverend Mr. Mead, poured out before God for his recovery when he lay sick, I have been told there was hardly one dry eye to be seen in the great congregation of the lecture at Pinner's-Hall, where he also had been a lecturer. Let the reader but make the application of that sermon to the author of it; and read this as the running title, "*The English nation weakened by the death of Mr. John Collins*:" thus a funeral sermon upon him will not be wanting!

§ 3. A younger brother, but yet a *brother* to him, was Mr. Nathaniel Collins, at whose death, December 28, 1684, in the forty-third year of his age (wherein he got the start for heaven!) there were more wounds given

* JOHN COLLINS; while yet an ingenuous boy, he followed to England's American colonies his pious father, who was then panting for a purer worship of God and a more exact church discipline. Here the youth, burning with undiminished zeal for God's service, became fitted, at school and at Harvard College to be a shining light in the kingdom of heaven, and was then given back with usury to Old England. Scotland, though prolific in eminent divines, heard and wondered at his public ministrations. Every where he gained many to Christ; more he built up in Christ. Especially in this metropolis, did he, as a pastor of a loving flock, refrain from indulging his great intellect in sluggishness or ease, and bore up against toil, disease, and a shattered frame. In meditation, in preaching, in personal remonstrance and in prayer, he spent his own frail existence, that he might secure the eternal life of his fellow-mortals. No pastor, however great his excellences, ever called forth from the living church more veneration in life or deeper grief for his death.

He died December 3d, in the one thousand six hundred and eighty-seventh year of the Christian Era.

to the whole colony of Connecticut in our New-England, than the body of Cæsar did receive, when he fell wounded in the senate-house. Reader, I would have made an essay to have lamented the fate of this our Collins in *verse*, were it not for two discouragements: not because Annatus the Jesuite reckon'd it a thing worthy of a scoff in our Dr. Twiss, to be guilty of a little flight at poetry—for the noblest hands have scann'd poetical measures on their fingers—but because my mean faculties would not carry me beyond the performances, whereof the gentleman in Thuanus was afraid, when he made it a clause in his last will, that “they should not burden his hearse with bad funeral verses;” and because that sacred thing, *verse*, hath been by the licentious part of mankind so prostituted, that now the *truth* of whatever is therein offered, *therefore* thus becomes suspected. Nevertheless, his merits were such, that his *life* must be written, or at least so much of it as this, that he merited highly to have his life written. But our *history* of him is to be abridged into this brief account, that the church of Middletown upon Connecticut-river, was the golden *candlestick* from whence this excellent person illuminated more than that whole colony; and that all the qualities of most exemplary piety, extraordinary ingenuity, obliging affability, join'd with the accomplishments of an extraordinary preacher, did render him truly excellent. In saying this of him, I may confirm what I say, in words like those of Jerom on a like occasion, *Testor, Christianum de Christiano, vera proferre*.* and for his character add this epitaph:

*Ille pius pastor, quo non præstantior unus,
Qui faciendo docet, quæ facienda docet.†*

But indeed, as the mother of Brasidas bravely comforted herself upon the death of her much lamented son, *Vir bonus est Brasidas et fortis, sed habet multos Sparta similes*.‡ even such was the consolation of Connecticut, by the special favour of Heaven to the colony; “that though in the death of Collins, they lost an excellent man, yet he was not the only excellent man they had among them.” In the acknowledgments of worth, there may come in for a great share with him several most worthy men, wherewith the Connecticut colony has been singularly favoured, Whiting of Hartford, Woodbridge of Wethersfield, Wakeman of Fairfield, will never be forgotten, till Connecticut colony do forget itself and all religion.

* I bear witness, that a Christian is telling the true story of a Christian's life.

† The pastoral work with holy zeal he wrought; | Teaching by doing—doing what he taught.

‡ Brasidas is a good and brave man, but Sparta has many such.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS SHEPARD.

*Cur præmaturam, Mortemque queramus Acerbam?**Mors Matura Venit, cum Bona Vita fuit.**

§ 1. IF it were accounted a great honor to the family of the Curii in Rome, that there arose from that stock "three excellent orators," one succeeding another; we may account it a greater honor signalizing the family of the Shepards of New-England, that no less than "three excellent ministers" have successively issued from it. The eldest son of Mr. Thomas Shepard, the ever memorable pastor to the church of Cambridge, was Mr. Thomas Shepard, the pastor of the church of Charlestown; and the only son of Mr. Thomas Shepard, that pastor of Charlestown, was our last Mr. Thomas Shepard, *Paternæ Virtutis ex asse Hæres*,† his grandfather's and his father's genuine *off-spring*. The lives of those his predecessors make a figure in our Church-history, and though this our third Mr. Thomas Shepard must have it said of him, "that he did not attain to the days of the years of the life of his fathers in the days of their pilgrimage;" nevertheless his life had that in it which may justly render it *observable* and *exemplary*. Yea, such a *similitude* of spirit, there was descending from the father to the son, and from the son to the grandson in this holy generation, that albeit, they were all of them severally short-lived, the two first not living much more than *forty*, and the last not so much as *thirty* years in the world, yet there might a sort of *jointed longevity* be ascribed unto the generation; for when the father went away, *Non totus recessit*,‡ we had him still surviving to the life in the posterity. As the name of Abner may be taken both ways, either *Pater Lucerna*, or *Lucerna Patris*; either the *father* was the *brightness* of the *son*, or the *son* was the *brightness* of the *father*: such a lustre did father, and son, and grandson mutually reflect upon one another in this happy family. It might be said of them as Nazianzen, I remember, speaks about the family of a Basil; the parents were such that, if they had not such blessed *children*, they had been of themselves renowned; and the children were such, that, if the parents had not been so of themselves, yet for the sake of *these* they had been famous in the church of God. Or, they may make us think of the *glory* with which the most illustrious family in the oracles of God is usually set off when Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, are so often together introduced, where the *root* gives a verdure to the *branches*, and the flourishing *branches* again commend the root.

* Why should untimely death evoke our grief?

Death must be timely, though the life be brief,
Whene'er the life is holy.

† Heir to the entirety of his father's virtues.

‡ He did not wholly depart.

§ 2. When Mr. Thomas Shepard, the second of New-England, and the first of Charlestown, died, he left behind him such a *picture* as that which Tully mentions of Sextus Sulpicius: *Nullum unquam Monumentum clarius, S. Sulpicius relinquere potuit, quam Effigiem Morum suorum, Virtutis, Constantiæ, Pietatis, Ingenii Filium*;* a son that was the *lively picture* of his virtues. And now that son also is dead without any male off-spring, we will make an essay at the drawing of his *picture* after another manner; even by such a narrative of his *life*, as may be indeed his *picture to the life*: in the doing whereof perhaps the children of Godly and worthy ancestors may find the encouragement of a confirmation to that observation, that as the *snow-ball*, the *further* it rolls, the *greater* it grows, thus the further that the grace of God is continued, and received, and valued in any family, the *greater effects* of that grace will be still appearing. For there were some singular circumstances of early blessedness, attending this our youngest and latest Shepard, wherein it might be said of him, as it was of the well-known grandson, of whom this was indeed a *true son*, "His blessings exceeded the blessings of his progenitors." And we may the rather take notice of this matter, because there was hardly one *consideration* which oftner possessed the mind of this our Shepard, or more powerfully operated upon him to make him *eminent*, than "the obligations laid upon him from his ancestors to do worthily." As the famous Boleslaus always carried about with him the picture of his father in his bosom, upon which often looking, he would say, "Let me never do any thing unworthy the son of such a father!" this was the very spirit of our Shepard, who always bore about with him the image of his father, and as often as perhaps almost any one thing, thought on this, "how he might approve himself the son of such a father."

§ 3. Descended from such ancestors, our Thomas Shepard was born at Charlestown in New-England on July 5, 1658. How he was in his earliest years disposed, I choose to relate by reciting some of the words, afterwards used by himself, when he addressed the church of Charlestown for admission to their sacred communion:

"As to the *thing* of that which is commonly called 'first conversion' or 'regeneration,' I have had many thoughts about it; but have been afraid, and am still, to determine it unto this or that particular. What I have found by myself, hath made me oftentimes to question whether the former operations of the spirit of God about me, were any more than *common*; or whether such and such *sins* were consistent with *saving grace*; that which hath helped me in this case, hath been partly what I have heard from a reverend man of God, 'that such as are from time to time disquieted with such thoughts, the *best*, if not the *only* way to put it out of doubt that they have *true* faith, is by *exercising* faith, to *convert again* unto God. And putting my soul in the way of the breathings of God's spirit, and then observing the actings thereof, I have, by the help of the same spirit, found something of relief under those doubts. On my childhood and youth, I have too much cause to say (as Solomon of the

* Sestus Sulpicius could not leave any more notable monument, than that image of his character, his virtues. his fidelity and his piety—his own son.

things of this world) 'vanity of vanities, all is vanity!' Yet, by the blessing of God on the faithful endeavours and fervent prayers of my religious parents; especially on my honoured, blessed, and most exemplary father, who, of all, as the most *able* to further, so was most *solicitous*, studious, and tenderly careful, always about the everlasting well-being of a son, from the very beginning of *my* days, to the end of *his*, I do think I was, by *precept* and holy *example*, imbued with a *natural* love and liking to the word and ways of God; though not saving, yet such as whereby a *prejudice* against religion was prevented."

Now, as God blessed the religious cares of his father to tinge him with such a savour of religion in his *childhood*; and he would not only on the Lord's days, while he was yet a boy, so notably repeat by heart in his father's family, all the heads of the longest sermons preached in the publick, that it might have served for a sufficient repetition, instead of using the notes usually produced on such occasions, but also his virtuous carriage on the week days, he show'd that the sermons had indeed their impressions on his heart: so his childhood was remarkable for the diligence of it and his love of his book. And such was the effect of this *diligence*, that though he had not in his attainments the *præcocity* of Jacobus Martini, the Venetian boy, who not many years agoe, when he was but *seven* year's old, publickly disputed at Rome on Theses which he published of theology, law, physick and the other disciplines, unto the astonishment of all the orders there, yet he did attain unto such learning, as gave him an early admission into the Colledge, and rais'd great hopes in good men concerning him.

§ 4. Being admitted into the Colledge, never was father more careful of his Ascanius, than the father of this our Shepard was of this his only son. And the care of his father for his welfare caused him *then*, in imitation of what the grandfather had once done for him, to give him, in writing, a paper of golden *instructions*, directing his behaviour while he should continue a student in that society. The sum of those instructions was—

"I. To remember the great end of his life, even the glorifying of God through Christ, and the end of this turn of his life, even the fitting him for the most glorious work of the holy ministry. For this end (wrote that excellent man) your father hath set you apart with many tears, and hath given you up to God that He might delight in you. And (he proceeded) I had rather see you buried in your grave, than grow light, loose, wanton or profane: God's secrets in the holy Scriptures are never made known to common and profane spirits; and (added he) therefore be sure you begin and end every day, wherein you study, with earnest prayer to God: reading some part of the Scripture daily, and setting apart some time ev'ry day (though but one quarter of an hour) for meditation of the things of God.

"II. To remember that these are times of much *knowledge*, and therefore one had almost as good be *no scholar*, as not to *excel* in knowledge; wherefore (said he) abhor one hour of idleness, as you would be ashamed of one hour of drunkenness. Though (as he also said) I would not have you neglect seasons for recreation a little before and after meals, and though I would not have you study late in the night usually, yet know that God will curse your soul, while the sin of idleness is nourished, which hath spoiled so many hopeful youths in first blossoming in the Colledge. Hence (he said likewise) don't content yourself to do as much as your Tutor sets you about, but know that you will never excel in learning, unless you do somewhat else in private hours, wherein his care cannot reach you.

"III. To make his studies as *pleasant*, and as *fruitful* as could be, first by singling out two or three scholars, the most godly, learned, and studious, and such as he could *love best*, and such as would most *love him*, of any that he could find among his *equals*, as also some that were *superiours*, and often manage *discourses* with them on all subjects which he had before him; and mark diligently what occurred remarkable in every one's conferences, disputations and other exercises, but, by no means letting too much leak away in *visits*. Next, by having a *variety* of studies before him, that when he should be weary of one book or theme, he might have recourse to another. Then, by prosecuting of studies in some *order* and *method*; and therefore, every year at least, if not oftener, fixing the *course* thereof, so as he might not allow himself to be ordinarily therein interrupted. Fourthly, by giving of difficult studies the flower of his thoughts, and not suffering any *difficulty* to pass him, till by *industry* or *inquiry*, he had mastered it. Fifthly, by keeping an *appetite* for studies, by intermixing *meditation*, and at fit seasons *recreation*, but by such as might moderately stir the *body*, and render the *spirit* more lively for its duties. Sixthly, by making of choice collections from what authors he perused, and having proper *indices* to his *collections*; and therewithal contriving still how to reduce all unto his own more peculiar service in his exercises or otherwise. Seventhly, by taking pains in *preparing* for his recitations, declamations, disputations, and not upon any pretence whatever hurry them off indigestedly. (Said he,) reading without meditation will be useless; meditation without reading will be barren. But here I would not have you forget a speech of your blessed grandfather to a scholar that complained to him of a bad memory, which discouraged him from reading, *Lege, lege, aliquid hærebit.** That sentence [he added] in Prov. xiv. 23, deserves to be written in letters of gold on your study-table, 'In all labour, there is profit.' But, lastly, by praying much not only for *heavenly*, but also *humane* learning; For (said he) remember that prayer at Christ's feet, for all the learning you want, shall fetch you in more in an hour, than possibly you may get by all the books and helps you have otherwise in many years.

"IV. To be grave and kind in his carriage towards all the scholars; but be watchful against the two great sins of many scholars. Whereof his words were these: 'The first is youthful lusts, speculative wantonness, and secret filthiness, for which God hardens and blinds young men's hearts, his Holy Spirit departing from such unclean styes. The second is, malignancy and secret distaste of holiness, and the power of godliness, and the professors of it.' Both of these sins (said he) you will quickly fall into, unto your own perdition, if you be not careful of your company: For there are and will be such in every scholastical society, for the most part, as will teach you how to be filthy, and how to jest, and scoff, and scorn at godliness, and at the professors thereof; whose company, I charge you to fly as from the devil, and abhor: And that you may be kept from these, read often that scripture, Prov. ii. 10, 11, 12. 16.

"V. Remember (so wrote he) to intreat God with tears before you come to hear any sermon, that thereby God would powerfully speak to your heart, and make his truth precious to you. Neglect not to *write* after the preacher always in handsom books, and be careful always to preserve and peruse the same. And upon Sabbath days make exceeding conscience of sanctification; mix not your other studies, much less vain and carnal discourses, with the duties of that holy day, but remember that command, Lev. xix. 30: 'Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary, I am the Lord.'

"VI. Remember (so likewise wrote he) that whensoever you hear, read, or conceive any divine truth, you study to affect your heart with it, and the goodness of it. Take heed of receiving truth into your *head*, without the love of it in your *heart*, lest God give you to strong delusions. If God reveal any truth to you, be sure you be humbly and deeply thankful."

These excellent instructions his father concluded with these words: "My son, if thine heart be wise, my heart shall rejoyce even mine."

* Read, read! something will remain in the memory.

And I may now abridge the whole accademical life of our young Shepard, even until he proceeded Master of Arts, into this brief account of him, that he did make the heart of his worthy father to rejoice by his conscientious and exemplary attendance unto these instructions. Yea, when he had occasion to mention them, it was in these terms: "My, next to Christ, most beloved father's advice." Nor was there any one part of his character more conscientious than this, "A reverence for the person and advice of his father."

§ 5. But before he could proceed Master of Arts, a terrible hand of God upon (more than) Charlstown, put an end unto the days of his father in the world. And albeit that very considerable church, under this bereavement, had now a prospect of a supply from several quarters, yet, after much praying and fasting before the "Great Shepherd of the sheep" for his direction, they could fix no where but upon this hopeful *son* of their former pastor. Indeed, for the most part, "a prophet is without honour in his own country;" nevertheless, in this country, as well as among some of the primitive churches, there have been more than two or three instances of *sons* that have happily *succeeded* (yea, and *assisted*) their *fathers* in the evangelical prophesie. And Charlstown particularly (not altogether unlike the magistrates of Basil, who, from their esteem of the excellent Buxtorf, chose his very young son to succeed him in the Hebrew Professorship) knowing the prayers, the tears, the faith, which their first Shepard had used for this *only son*, concluded that, like the son of Monica, "it was impossible that he should not be blessed, and made a blessing;" and seeing also the early disposition of our young Shepard, in all things to imitate his excellent father, they believed that nothing would more continue "day-light after sunset" unto them, than for them here to make their choice. Accordingly, at their desire, he preached his first sermon among them, while he was yet little more than twenty years of age; and with a very charming, solid and serious gravity, he discoursed on Exod. xv. 2: "He is my father's God, and I will exalt him." Upon this, and other such experiments of his abilities, his father's flock were at no rest until they had obtained his establishment, with ordination, to be their *feeder*; which was consummated on May 5, 1680, and the last words used in the sermon by a reverend person, who then preached on that passage in Ezek. xxxiii. 7, "Son of man, I have set thee a watchman," will, by being here transcrib'd, help to finish the *picture* which we have undertaken:

"Be much in prayer for your *watchmen*, and particularly for him who is this day to be established in the work of the Lord Jesus Christ among you; You have honoured yourselves in thus expressing the love and honour which you had for his excellent father; and as it was said in Ruth ii. 20, 'Blessed be he of the Lord, who hath not left off his kindness to the living and to the dead;' so I will say to you, 'Blessed be this church of the Lord, that you show kindness unto your dead pastor and to his living son.' As for him that is now to become your watchman, he needs your prayers; I may say of him, as David of Solomon, 'My son is young and tender, and the house is magnificent!' I know not whether any so *young*

as he, was ever left alone with such a *charge*. Now, though the 'work be great,' yet the Lord Jesus Christ is able to carry him well through it all; but it must be through the help of your prayers that he comes to have such a 'supply of the Spirit;' pray for him in particular, and that ev'ry day! Who knows what God may do for you, in him, and by him, as in and by his father before him? Let it be your prayer that he would take of the spirit that was in his father and his grandfather; who were both of them *great men* in their generation, and bestow thereof a double portion upon him. And let that word encourage you, 'My Spirit which is upon thee, and my word which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed; saith the Lord.'"

Thus did he become the pastor of Charlstown, and herein he did not *leap* from a vain, lewd and unsanctified *youth* into the pulpit, as into a *shop*, where to earn a *living*, and there suddenly put on just so much *external devotion* as may serve to recommend one's performances unto an auditory of the faithful. Evan, the heathen moralist, observed the great mischief done in the world by the *mercenary* masters of precept, who endeavoured more to *talk* just things, than to *do* them: *σα δίκαια μὲν λέγειν πρᾶττεν δὲ ὑδαμῶς*.^{*} Our Shepard was none of these. But after long preparations of a renewed *heart* and a religious *life*, and with awful apprehensions of the *account* which he was to give unto the "Lord of the flock," and of the *worth* and *charge* of the immortal souls in his flock, he was thrust forth into public labours. And the Lord encouraged his holy labours by making of such additions unto *his* church, as few churches in the country for the time had the like; but yet, as when Peter had a mighty draught of *fishes*, he cried out, "Lord! I am a sinful man!" thus the mighty draught of *souls*, which this young disciple found in his *gospel-net*, was indeed so far from lifting of him up, that he sensibly grew in his humility, and in his low and vile thoughts of his own attainments.

§ 6. Although he were a young man, yet might be applied unto him a stroke in the epitaph on one of Mr. Henries children: *Præterquam ætatem, nil puerile fuit*.[†] And he made the most judicious of his people pass this judgment on him, that he was no *novice*: And such an example was he in word, in conversation, in civility, in spirit, in faith, in purity, that he did "let no man despise his youth." Such indeed was his whole conduct of him, that he made one think of those words of Origen: *Senum est prophetare; etiamsi videas aliquando juvenem prophetantem, non dubites dicere de eo, quia secundum interiorem hominem senuit, propterea propheta est*.[‡] By the *gravity* of his deportment he kept up his *authority* among all sorts of persons, and by the *courtesie* of it he won their *affection*. He set himself to *do good* unto all among his people, and the *charity* of his *purse*, as well as of his *tongue* and *heart*, was felt on all just occasions. But there were none dearer to him than the "good old people;" those holy, devout, aged souls, who had grown well towards "ripe for heaven" under his blessed

^{*} To say what is just, but by no means to do it. [†] There was nothing youthful in him, except his years.

[‡] It is for old men to prophecy; and yet you may at times see a youth, of whom you do not hesitate to say, that he is old inwardly, and therefore is a prophet.

father's ministry: He was much in their company, and he valued their prayers for him, and their serious and savoury and heavenly communications at no ordinary rate. Nor shall I ever forget the consolation which he told me he had received from the words which one of those plain old *saints* used unto him, when he was under discouraging *fears* how he should go through his work: "Sir (said he) if you'll give up yourself to do the work of the Lord Jesus Christ, never fear but he will help you to do yours." When he came to have a *family* of his own, it was a well-ordered one: He morning and evening read in it a portion of the Scripture, and then *pray'd* out of what he *read*: But on the Saturday nights, he chose to repeat a sermon, commonly what had been preached on some Lecture the foregoing week, or one of his deceased father's; and on Lord's-day nights he repeated the sermon of the day foregoing. And while he made his house a Bethel, for the devotion therein performed, he made it a Bethesda, for the hospitable entertainment which he gave unto those that repaired unto him: And *munerarius pauperum et egentium, candidatus sic festinavit ad cælum.** For all other things he so made the hundred and first Psalm the rule of his house, as to give therein a demonstration of his ability to "rule the church of God." From hence, if we follow him unto his beloved study, there we shall find him affording yet a more notable and eminent instance of an holy walk. Here, besides his daily supplications, he did *one thing* which had a mighty tendency to keep his own spirit in an healthy, vigorous, thriving temper, and bring down the manifold blessings of God upon all the weighty concerns, which he had in his hands; and a thing it was, without which he thought he could never prove either a *watchful Christian* or a very *useful minister*; this was that he scarce permitted *one month* to pass him, without spending at least *one day* in the exercises of a secret-fast before the Lord. It is remarkable that ev'ry one of those *three* who are famous in the book of God for *miraculous fasting*, were honoured by God with the *miraculous feeding* of other men. Our Shepard thought that he should never do any great things in *feeding* of his flock, if he did not great things in *fasting* by himself. The commendations given to fasting by Basil and Cyprian, in their orations about it, and by Ambrose in his book of Elias, were believed by our Shepard; his holy heart could subscribe unto the words of Chrysostom concerning this duty, who in his homily says: "Fasting is, as much as lies in us, an imitation of the angels, a contemning of things present, a school of prayer, a nourishment of the soul, a bridle of the mouth, an abatement of concupiscence: it mollifies rage, it appeases anger, it calms the tempests of nature, it excites reason, it clears the mind, it disburthens the flesh, it chases away night-pollutions, it frees from head-ach. By fasting, a man gets composed behaviour, free utterance of his tongue, right apprehensions of his mind." Wherefore he still would set apart a day

* Abounding in charity to the poor and needy, he became a fit candidate for the heaven to which he hastened.

every month, wherein he would strictly examine the *error* of his heart and life, and confess and bewail those errors, and obtain the "sealed pardon" thereof, by a "renewed faith" in the obedience of the Lord Jesus Christ; and then wrestle with Heaven for new supplies of grace, to carry him well through the whole service incumbent on him; and therewithal implore the smiles of Heaven on all the souls that were under his charge, and on the land and world. And this his piety was accompanied with proportionable industry, wherein he devoured books even to a degree of *learned gluttony*; insomuch that, if he might have changed his name, it must have been into *Bibliander*. Whence, tho' he had a fine, and large, and a continually growing library, yet, that he might avoid the disgrace of that salutation, *salvete, libri sine doctore*,* he took a very particular course, to make himself master of the learning, which was lodg'd in so rich a treasury: for so little did he deserve to be numbered among the chaplains of K. Lewis XI. the French king, who, seeing their *learning* to bear no proportion unto their *libraries*, wittily said of them, "they were like such as had crooked backs, carrying a burden about with them, which they never saw in their lives," that he had hardly left a book of consequence to be so used, in his *library* (shall I now call it, or his *laboratory*) which he had not so perused as to leave with it an *inserted paper*, a brief *idea* of the whole book, with memorandums of more notable passages occurring in it, written with his own diligent and so enriching hand. He might say, with Seneca, *Nullus mihi per otium exiit dies; partem etiam noctium studiis vindico*;† and it is well if he were not a little too much of a Seneca, in hurting of his *health* by so spending his *life*.

§ 7. He faithfully set himself to discharge the whole duty of a pastor; and as he walked humbly under the awe of that word in Heb. xiii. 17, "They watch for your souls, as those that must give an account;" so, methinks, I hear him give up this account unto the Judge of all:

"Gracious Lord, *I watch'd*, that I might see what *special truths*, from time to time, were most proper to be inculcated on my flock, and I thoroughly preached those truths. I watch'd, that I might see what sort of *temptations* did most threaten my flock, and I set myself to strengthen them against those temptations. I watch'd, that I might see what sort of *afflictions* did most assault my flock, and I set myself to comfort them under those afflictions. I did watch, to learn what sort of *duties* were most *seasonable* to be recommended to my flock, and I vigorously recommended them in the seasons thereof. I did watch, to see what *souls* of my flock did call for my more particular addresses, and I often address'd one or other of them. 'Yet not I, but the grace which was with me!'"

But if we consider him yet more particularly as a *preacher*, he did thus acquit himself. In the writing of his discourses for the pulpit, he did, as they say Aristotle did when he wrote one of his famous books, "dip his pen into his very soul!" When he was going to compose a sermon, he began with prayer; thinking, *benè orasse est benè studuisse*.‡ He then read over

* All hail, books without a master!

† I lose not a day in indolence; I even devote a portion of the night to my studies.

‡ To have prayed well, is to have studied well.

his text in the *original*, and *weigh'd* the language of the Holy Ghost. If any difficulty occur'd in the *interpretation*, he was wary how he ran against the stream of the most solid interpreters, whom he still consulted. He was then desirous to draw forth his *doctrines*, and perhaps other *heads* of his discourse in the beginning of the week, that so his *occasional thoughts* might be useful thereunto. And he would ordinarily improve his own meditations to shape his discourse, before he would consult any other authors who treated on the subjects, that so their notions might serve only to *adorn* or *correct* his own. Lastly, having finished his composure, he concluded with a thanksgiving to the Lord, his helper. And then for the *utterance* of the sermons thus prepared, though his *pronunciation* were not set off with all the advantages that "itching ears" would have asked for, yet he had the divine rhetorick, recommended by Dr. Stoughton in that speech of his, "this I know and dare avouch, that the highest mystery in divine rhetorick is, to feel what a man speaks, and then to speak what he felt." In thus "fulfilling his ministry," he went through a variety of subjects; but there were especially *two* subjects that were singled out by him towards the close of it: *First*, it being a time when a conjunction of *iniquity* and *calamity* made but an *ill aspect* upon the countrey, he did in one part of the Lord's day choose to insist upon the prayer of Jonas; which he handled in forty-five sermons, whereof the last was uttered about a month before his end. *Secondly*, a synod of churches having discovered and condemned a number of provoking evils, by degenerating whereinto the land was exposed unto the judgments of Heaven, he did on the other part of the Lord's days insist on those *provocations*; and having dispatch'd what he intended hereof also, he took two texts; the one to awaken the *obstinate*—namely, that in Jer. xiii. 17: "If you will not hear, my soul shall weep in secret places for your pride." The other to encourage the *penitent*—namely, that in Mat. xi. 28: "Come to me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." And he was never after heard speaking in the name of the Lord.

§ 8. A while before his death, he preached *thirteen* sermons on that passage, Eccles. xii. 5, "Man goeth to his long home." And he had a strange and strong *præ sage* on his own mind, that he was himself to be not *long* from that *home*.

I find the patriarch Isaac, in Gen. xxvii. 2, fill'd with many thoughts about "the day of his death" at hand; and enquiring after some special reason for it, I find that Isaac was now come to that age at which his brother Ishmael died, fourteen years before. *This* probably *now*, above any other time, awakened him to think of his own death as near unto him. It may be, the *præ sage* of our Shepard, that he should not outlive the age of *twenty seven*, might be somewhat excited by his calling to mind the age at which his uncle expired.

Our first Shepard of Cambridge had three sons, whereof, if the eldest—

namely, Thomas (the father of our Thomas of Charlestown)—were one singularly *enlarged* in his endowments and improvements, I am sure the second was one whose *heart* was a *tent* in which the Lord remarkably chose to dwell: it was Mr. Samuel Shepard, of whose holy life and death I may here interweave a distinct account, by but reciting the words which I find written in a private manuscript of our excellent Mr. Mitchel concerning him. His words are these:

“On April 7, 1668, dyed Mr. Samuel Shepard, pastor of the church of Rowly (just two months after his wife), a very precious, holy, meditating, able and choice young man; *one of the first three*. His attainments in communion with God, and in daily meditation and close walking, may shame those that are elder than he. He was but twenty six years of age in October last. He was an excellent preacher, most dearly beloved at Rowly, and of all that knew him; but just settled among them. The people would have ‘plucked out their eyes’ for him, to have saved his life. But he was ripe for heaven, and God took him thither; a *gain* to him, but an invaluable *loss* to us.”

Now this our Thomas had an almost unaccountable apprehension that, in his early death, he should be like his uncle Samuel; and under the influence of this apprehension, he so liv’d, and so preach’d, as to avoid the danger of a *sudden* death, by being always prepared for it. Accordingly, it came to pass that about June 5, 1685, on Friday, being indisposed in his bowels, he yet continued his *pains* and *hopes*, all the Saturday following, to be ready for the exercises of the Lord’s day, when the Lord’s-Supper also was to have been administred. But on the Saturday night his illness grew so much upon him, that he said unto his wife, “I would gladly have been, once more, at the table of the Lord; but I now see that I shall no more partake thereof until I do it after a new manner in the kingdom of heaven.” On Lord’s day noon I visited him, and at my parting with him, he said, “My hopes are built on the free mercy of God and the rich merit of Christ, and I do believe that, if I am taken out of the world, I shall only change my *place*; I shall neither change my *company*, nor change my *communion*: And as for you, sir, I beg the Lord Jesus to be with you unto the end of the world!” After this, he spoke little to his attendants; but was often over-heard pouring out prayers, especially for the *widow-church* (as he often expressed it) which he was to leave behind him. And in the night following, to the extream surprize of his friends on earth, he went away to those in heaven! If his *age* be now enquired after, it is remarked that, altho’ the Scripture doth mention the particular age of many heroes eternized in its oracles, yet after the Lord Jesus Christ came, and continued in this lower world no longer than thirty two years and a half, the Scripture does not mention the age of any one person whatsoever, as if the time of any one’s continuance in this world, more or less, were not worth minding, since the Son of the Most High *tabernacled* so little a while among us. However, we will here mention the age of our Shepard: it was a month short of twenty-seven. But,

*An miserum dices, citò quòd terrena reliquit!
Fœlicem certè, quòd meliorem tenet.**

§ 9. "Wisdom, gravity, prudence, temperance (as one speaks) are not always confined unto them that have wrinkled faces, furrowed brows, dim eyes, and palsey hands, leaning on a staff;" nor is a *young man* incapable of being a *divine*. Although our Shepard had not *outlived* the *years* of *youth*, when he went from hence, yet he had *outgrown* the *airs* of it; and among all the vertues of an *old man* which adorn'd him, not the least of his ornaments was, his being well established in the study of divinity. To accomplish himself in that study, he did not apply himself unto the reading of those authors who, pretending to describe unto us, "the whole duty of man," and the "condition of our obtaining the benefit purchased by Christ," are careful to insist on any thing rather than that a reliance on the *righteousness* of the obedience, yielded by the Lord Jesus Christ as our *surety* unto God for us, which is the "one thing needful," or that *faith*, whereby we come to have the *union* with our Lord Jesus Christ, from which alone all good works arise: and those who, amidst their voluminous harangues upon *moral virtue*, are very careful to avoid the least insinuation that a man cannot *be* truly virtuous, until the Spirit of God, by a supernatural operation, infusing a *new principle* into him, hath *regenerated* him, and that a man can do nothing truly virtuous without the supernatural aids of that spirit. He look'd upon many late books, written to undermine the orthodox "articles of the church of England," in these matters, by persons who perhaps had got into preferment by subscribing those very articles, as books that indeed *betray'd* the Christian religion, under the pretence of *upholding* it. And the mercy of God having preserved the mind of this our young student from the wrong schemes which might have afterwards entailed such an eternal *unsuccessfulness* upon his ministry, as uses to attend the ministry wherein the "grace of the gospel" is not acknowledged, he chose to read those authors which have the truer "spirit of the gospel" in them. I find therefore, under his own hand, a list of such authors as these, to be considered by him, as indeed worthy to be perused and considered: Mr. Perkins, Dr. Preston, Dr. Usher, Dr. Manton, Mr. Jeans, Mr. Strong, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Swinnoek, Dr. Jacomb, Dr. Owen, Mr. Polbill. And however he saw a Sherlock, after a very *unevangelical* manner, abusing the writings of his grandfather Shepard, his value for those writings, and the writings of such men as Mr. Hooker or Dr. Goodwin, was thereby not abated; but his detestation of the *new-divinity*, wherein he saw the mysteries of "union with Christ" confounded, "acquaintance with Christ" reproached, and "living by faith" and "coming to Christ with nothing for all things," made a ridicule, was more than a little augmented. And as it was a principal endeavour with him to settle himself in the true "protestant, New-English Anti-Arminian points of truth," so on all occasions he prov'd himself one

* Call him not wretched; though he thus resign | These earthly things—to speed to joys divine.

able to maintain the *truth* against all opposers: Whence the immature death of so accomplish'd a divine, cannot but be a sensible wound unto our churches. But he that "holds the stars in his right hand," can, if we address him for it, upon the *setting* of *some*, cause *others* to *rise*; yea, it is *possible*, and it is indeed *proposed*, that by writing the lines of some such, others may be excited and assisted, in *shining* like unto them.

This was the *short life* of my dear Shepard. I confess my affection unto him to have been such, that, if I might use the poet's expression of his friend, *animæ dimidium meæ*, I must say, "I am half buried, since he is dead," or, "he is but half dead, since I am alive." Nevertheless, this *affection* hath not bribed my *veracity* in any part of the character which I have given of him; for as, on the one side, I count it base to throw *dirt* on the face which *dust* hath been cast upon; so, on the other side, I think, that *painting* becomes *dead* people worse than *living*.

A line or two of Emanuel Thesaurus, upon that first and young Shepard ABEL, we may now leave upon him for his

EPITAPH.

*Conditur sub hoc cespite, virgineus PASTOR,
Qui mortem, omnibus, vitam nemini flendam transegit.**

OR THIS:

*Great minds must, like new stars, but look about,
Be wondred at a little, and go out.*

| Dear Shepard, sure we dare not call thee *dead*:
Tho' *gone*, thou'rt but unto thy *kindred* fled.

CHAPTER X.

EARLY PIETY,

EXEMPLIFIED IN THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MR. NATHANIEL MATHER;

WHO HAVING BECOME, AT THE AGE OF NINETEEN, AN INSTANCE OF MORE THAN COMMON LEARNING AND VIRTUE, CHANGED EARTH FOR HEAVEN, OCTOBER 17, 1688.

*Si spectes Annos, Annis Puer ille videtur:
Si Mores spectes, Moribus esse Senex.†*

THE FOURTH EDITION.—WITH A PREFATORY EPISTLE BY MATTHEW MEAD.

TO THE READER.

OF all reading, history hath in it a most taking delight, and no history more delightful than the lives of good men, it being not only pleasant, but profitable; and so while other pleasures become a *bait* to vice, this becomes a *motive* to virtue. It may be said of such lives, as that excellent Mr. Herbert said of Verses,

A life may find him who a sermon flies,
And turn delight into a sacrifice.

Thou hast here a rare history of a youth, that may be of great use and advantage both to old and young; that the aged, seeing themselves out-done by green years, may "gird up

* Here the young Shepherd lies, with life o'erworn:
Whose death, we all—whose life, not one can mourn.

† Look at his face; 'tis childhood's, young and fair:
Look at his soul; and manhood's strength is there.

their loins," and mend their pace for heaven; and that young ones may be so wrought into the love of religion, as it is exemplified in this holy person, as to endeavour with all diligence to write after his excellent copy.

It is a great work to *dye*, and to *dye well* is a greater; and no work calls for greater diligence than this, because the errors of the first work can never be corrected in a second. One great reason why this duty is seldom well done, is because we grudge time to do it in, and leave it to be done at once. It is never like to be well done, unless it be always doing; and therefore we should, in conformity to that great Apostle, die daily.

This was the practice of this young disciple, who among all his other learning (wherein for his time he excelled most) had in *nineteen* years so perfectly learned his lesson, that the wise God saw it fit he should *take out*.

About *fourteen* years old he did dedicate himself wholly to God and his service, and entered into a solemn covenant with God to that purpose; which as he did not begin *rashly*, and without great *deliberation*, so he did not transact it slightly, but with great *sense* and *seriousness*; the matter and form of which *covenant* you have in this ensuing narrative, signed with his own hand, according to that word of the prophet, (Isa. xlv. 5,) "One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob, and another shall subscribe with his hand to the Lord." And with what care and conscience he performed this covenant in fasting, in prayer, in watchings, in self-examination, in meditation, in thanksgiving, in walking with God in all, is fully witnessed in what follows, which shows that he is a true Nathanael, "an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." Not like those Israelites which the prophet reproveth, for that "they flattered God with their mouth,—lied to him with their tongues, their hearts not being right with him, nor stedfast in his covenant." For having once given up himself to God, "he kept the ways of the Lord, and did not wickedly depart from his God."

When his worthy father (my dear friend) was pleased to send this narrative to me, I confess I could not read it without great reflection and shame: thought I, God will not gather his fruit till it is ripe, and therefore I live so long; nor will he let it hang till it is rotten, therefore Nathanael dyed so soon. We are not sent into the world merely to fill up a number of years, but to fill up our measures of grace, and whenever that is done, our time is done, and we have lived to maturity, and so did this youth, and therefore "came to his grave in a full age [though at nineteen] like as a shock of corn comes in his season."

The following history is written by his own brother, (a worthy minister) the fittest of any for such a province, the nearness of relation occasioning that intimacy which others could not easily have. In what he hath done herein, he hath deserved highly of all who love goodness and virtue, having used great faithfulness and great modesty: great faithfulness, and that both to the dead and to the living; to the dead, in raising up the name of such a brother; and to the living, in giving us a *narration* of his life, without an *oration* in his praise; which indeed was altogether needless, when it was so fairly written by himself, for his own works praise him in the gates. And he hath used great modesty, in speaking for the most part out of the Journal of the deceased, so that it is the *dead* who speaks while the *living* writes. And since his end is more to provoke to imitation than to bespeak admiration, how greatly doth it concern them in whose hands this *narrative* shall happily fall, to joyn earnest prayer and diligent endeavour together in following this great example; otherwise he that gave it, and he that writes it, will both rise up in judgment against an unteachable generation.

MATTHEW MEAD.

TO THE READER.

It is not for me to say much of the person who is the subject of the ensuing history, for that I am his younger brother. I have read a letter (dated October 25, 1688,) written to *his* and *my* ever honoured father, wherein are these expressions:

"Never could parent have cause of more comfort in a child, than you have in that son of yours. I have seen his private papers, and in them such an instance of a walk with God, as few ancient ministers perhaps have experience of, especially for the three last years of his life. I find that he maintained a course of wonderful devotion, supplication and meditation every day; that solemn humiliations and thanksgiving in secret, were no strangers to his practice; that he would be often thinking with himself, 'what shall I do for God?' And, in a word, that Dr. Owen's book about 'spiritual mindedness,' has been in a very rare manner transcribed into his conversation.

"He has bin for his years a great scholar, but a better Christian. The life of the famous young Janeway, I think, has not more of holiness illustrious in it, than that of your dear Nathanael's.

"I write these things, because I judge you have no greater joy. Some eminent ministers here, have maintained a pleasant, intimate, familiar conversation with him, and the character which they gave him, is very extraordinary."

Thus that letter.—I have likewise heard my father say, that he was more grieved for the loss which the church of God has sustained in the death of that my brother, than for his own loss thereby.

When I parted from him, not a year ago, I hoped that would not have been my *Ultimum Vale*;* but I now lament my unhappiness, in that I gain'd no more by him: and yet must acknowledge, that the little understanding which God has given me in the Hebrew or Greek tongues was by that my brother as the instrument: so that I have cause whilst I shall live to honour his memory. His death makes me remember the poet's words:

Ὁν φιλεῖ Θεὸς ὑποθήσκει νέος.†

I cannot but know, that if I should not fear and serve the God of my brothers, and of my fathers, and of my grand-fathers, the nearest relations I ever had in the world will be witnesses against me at the last day. The Lord give us a joyful meeting in the day of Christ!

LONDON, February 5th, 1689.

SAMUEL MATHER.

THE INTRODUCTION.

My reader will quickly discern *what* it is that I attempt the doing of; and I suppose he will then see no occasion of enquiring *why*. The apology's wherewith writers usually fill the prefaces of their books, "do come of evil;" either the vanity of the *composers* is discovered, or the candor of the *perusers* questioned in them. That I write the *life* of a Christian, cannot be faulted by any one who considers, that the *lives* of pious men have been justly esteemed among the most useful histories which the church of God enjoys; or that the best pens in the world have been employ'd in thus helping the *just* unto eternal memory. Our Lord will have as mean a thing as one act of devotion and charity, in a poor woman, to be mentioned wherever his gospel comes. That I write the *life* of a *brother*, will not be reckoned absurd by them who understand what *patterns* I have, both ancient and modern, for my doing so. James Janeway, among the rest, has had our thanks for what an account he has given of his brother John. Indeed, if I should not thus raise up for my departed brother a name in Israel, I were not worthy to "wear a shoo," or to have a "face unspit upon." My *natural relation* to him doth oblige me to bestow an Epitaph upon his grave, that the survivors may not forget whose dust they tread upon: but I am by (that which Ambrose calls) a "greater and better fraternity," concerned to embalm the memory of one who maintained such a "walk with God," as he did until God took him to himself. It has been observed, that they who

* Last farewell.

† "Whom the gods love, die young."

"live in heaven while they are on earth," often "live on earth after they are in heaven." It were lawful for me to desire and study such a thing on the behalf of my brother, whose early piety is at once my own *shame* and *joy*: but I pursue an higher end than this, designing rather to procure *followers*, than to bespeak *admirers*, of this good example: that this is my *main scope*, in what I am now doing of, I declare sincerely and very solemnly. And hence I have not here made an *oration* in his *praise*, but given barely a narrative of his life, and this mostly by transcribing of his own memorials, in all affecting the plain style of a just historian. I do therefore address this exemplary life unto the young people of New-England, and especially unto those of North-Boston, who are the *lambs* that I have received a peculiar charge from the Lord Jesus about the *feeding* of. To you do I present this *Mirroure*, wherein you may see the exercises of a virtuous youth, not only *prescribed*, but also *practised* before your eyes: you shall see, as what *should* be done, so what *may* be done by a young person, in order to everlasting felicity; see him and hear him as "one come from the dead," saying, "Do as I have done." The father of him whom I describe has laboured exceedingly for the "conversion of the rising generation in New-England;" and his *call* to them has been printed and reprinted here among us. Though the news of a *son's* death must needs be afflictive to him, when he shall have the report of it arriving to him in the other England, yet I make no doubt but his parental griefs will be not a little mitigated, when he shall behold *that son* thus renewing his *call* by *speaking* after he is dead. This young man did pray much for you while he was alive, that you might be truly converted unto God; he does preach now to you from the grave, or rather from the sky, that you would "remember your Creator in the days of your youth." I wish that he may (to use Chrysostom's phrase) become a *brother* to you by *faith*, as he is to me by *blood*: and I extend this my wish with a most affectionate application to the young gentlemen who belong to the Colledge which he was a member of. As you have had in his father a rector, whose generous and expensive cares have not been for your disadvantage, so you have in his *diligence* and his *devotion*, a *copy* which is not altogether unworthy of your imitation: I am setting before you the exercises and accomplishments of a scholar, whose chief study it was, "to be wise unto salvation;" a scholar, which laboured while he was learning all other things, not to be ignorant of Him, "whom to know was life eternal." I am not without hope, that some of you will now resolve, as Jerom did when he had read the life of Hilarion, shutting up the book, and saying, "Well, here shall be the champion whom I will follow!" When you come to dye, you will certainly commend such a *life* as his; God grant that none of you may then have cause to sigh, *Qualis Artifex pereoit*;* or to complain, *Surgunt Indocti et rapiunt Cælum; Nos cum nostris Doctrinis mergimur in Infernum*.† That great man, Hugo Grotius, near his end, professed that he would gladly give all his learning and honor for the integrity of a poor man in his neighbourhood, that spent *eight hours* of his time in *prayer*, eight in *labour*, and eight in *sleep* and other necessities; and unto some that applauded his marvellous *industry*, he said, *Ah, Vitam perdidit operose nihil Agendo*!‡ But unto some that asked the best counsel which a man of his attainment could give, he said, "Be serious." 'Tis with this *counsel* that I humbly offer you the ensuing history."

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MR. NATHANIEL MATHER.

I WRITE the life and death of a young man, whose ornaments will awaken in the reader an enquiry like that which the achievements of David produced concerning him, "Whose son is this youth?"

To anticipate that enquiry:

Nathaniel Mather had for his grandfathers two of New-England's fathers, the famous Richard Mather, and the not less famous John Cotton; whose *names* have been in the church of God, as an "ointment poured forth," and whose *lives* bear no little figure in the ecclesiastical histories of our English Israel. His parents being yet living, it's too soon to give them their char-

* Of such talents possessed, I must yet perish.

† The ignorant ascend and lay hold on heaven: we, with our learning, sink into hell.

‡ Alas! I have lost my life in laboriously doing nothing.

acter; yet I may venture to say, it's no disgrace unto him, in the opinion of men that love learning and virtue, that he was the son of Increase Mather, the well-known teacher of a church in Boston, and rector of Harvard-Colledge in New-England. What Gregory Nazianzen judged not improper to be said about his yet surviving *father*, in his funeral oration upon his deceased *brother*, I may without any culpable adulation on this occasion, say of him, "He is another Aaron or Moses in the house of his God."

Our Nathaniel was born on July 6th, 1669, which I find him recording in his diary, when he was fourteen years old, with such an humble reflection thereupon: "How little have I improved this time to the honour of God as I should have done!" He wanted not the cares of his father to bestow a good *education* on him, which God blessed for the *restraining* him from the lewd and wild courses by which too many children are betimes resigned up to the possession of the devil, and for the *furnishing* him with such accomplishments as give an "ornament of grace unto the head of youth." He did *live* where he might learn, and under the continual prayers and pains of some that looked after him, he became an instance of unusual *industry* and no common *piety*; so that when he dyed, which was October 17th, 1688, he was become in less than twenty years, "an old man without gray hairs upon him."

To those *two* heads, with a sorrowful addition of a *third*, I shall confine my account of this young man; in which the *picture* to be now drawn, has nothing but the *truth*, and at least so much of *life* in it, as to look upon every reader—yea, speak unto every young reader—saying, "Go and do likewise."

I.—HIS INDUSTRY.

He was an hard student, and quickly became a good scholar. From his very childhood, his *book* was perhaps as dear to him as his *play*, and hence he grew particularly acquainted with church history, at a rate not usual in those that were above thrise as old as he. But when he came to somewhat more of youth, his tutor (who now writes) was forced often to chide him *to* his recreations, but never that I remember *for* them. To be *bookish* was natural unto him, and to be *plodding*, easie and pleasant rather than the contrary. Indeed, he afforded not so much a *pattern* as a *caution* to young students; for it may be truly written on his grave, "Study kill'd him." When one told the excellent Mr. Charnock, that if he *studied* so much it would cost him his life, he replied, "Why, it cost Christ his life to save, and what if it cost me my life to study for him?" Our studious Nathaniel was of this disposition. The *marks* and *works* of a studious mind were to be discerned in him, even as he walked in the streets; and his candle would burn after midnight, until, as his own phrase for it was, "he thought his bones would all fall asunder." This was among the passages once noted in his diary:

"10 M. 26 D. three quarters of an hour after 12 at night. After the many wearisome hours, days, months, nay, years that I have spent in humane literature; and after my many toilsome studies in those hours, when the *general silence* of every house in town proclaimed it high time for me to put a stop unto my working mind, and urged me to afford some rest unto my eyes, which have been almost put out by my intenseness on my studies; after these, I say, and when I am ready to do it, O! how unwilling am I to do it, considering 'how little have I served God in the day!'"

While he thus *devoured books*, it came to pass that *books devoured him*. His weak body would not bear the toils and hours which he used himself unto; and his neglect of moderate exercise, joyned with his excess of immoderate lucubration, soon destroyed the digestion which his blood should have had in the last elaboration of it; by that time sixteen winters had snow'd upon him, he began to be distempered, with many pains and ails, especially in some of his joynts, which at last were the "gates of death" unto him; not without such very afflictive touches of melancholy, too, as made him sometimes to write himself *deodatus melancholicus*.* This was his way of—*living*, shall I say, or of *dying*? And the *success* of this diligence was according to the *temper* of it, *great*. When he was but twelve years old he was admitted into the Colledge, by strict examiners: and many months after this passed not, before he had accurately gone over all the *Old Testament* in Hebrew, as well as the *New* in Greek, besides his going through all the *liberal sciences*, before many other designers for philosophy do so much as begin to look into them. He commenced bachelor of arts at the age of sixteen, and in the *act* entertained the auditory with an Hebrew oration, which gave a good account of the academical affairs among the ancient Jews. Indeed, the Hebrew language was become so familiar with him, as if (to use the expression which one had in an ingenious elegy upon his death) he had apprehended it should quickly become the *only* language which he should have occasion for. His *second* degree, after seven years being in the Colledge, he took just before death gave him a *third*, which last was a promotion infinitely beyond either of the former. He then maintained for his position, *datur vacuum*; and by his discourses upon it (as well as by other memorials and experiments left behind him in manuscripts) he gave a specimen of his intimate acquaintance with the Corpuscularian (and only right) philosophy. By this time he had informed himself like another *Mirandula*, and was admirably capable of arguing about almost every subject that fell within the concernments of a learned man. The difficulties of the mathematicks he had particularly overcome, and the abstruse parts both of arithmetick and astronomy were grasped in his knowledge.

His early *almanacks* and *calculations* do something, but the *MSS. adversaria*, left behind him in his closet, much more speak such attainments in him. His *chronology* was exact unto a wonder, and the state of *learning*, with the *names* and *works* of learned men in the world, this American

* Doomed to melancholy.

wilderness hath few that understand as well as he. Besides all this, for the vast field of theology, both didactick and polemick, it is hardly credible how little of it his travel had left unknown. Rabbinick learning he had likewise no small measure of; and the questions referring unto the Scriptures which philology is conversant about, came under a very critical notice with him. Indeed, he was a person of but few words, and his words with his looks made the treasure in him wholly unsuspected by strangers to him; yet they that were intimately acquainted with him, can attest unto the veracity of him that giveth this description; and there are no mean persons who will profess with admiration, "that they could scarce encounter him in any theme of discourse, which he was not very notably acquainted with."

But the *bark* is now split in which all these riches were stowed. A Spanish wrack hath not more *silver* than the grave of such a young man hath *learning* buried in it. Indeed, these things, *Mortis Erunt*,* perhaps they dyed with him: but there is a more *immortal* thing to be observed in him; and that is,

II.—HIS PIETY.

Tho' a *fine carriage* was the least thing that ever he affected, yet a *good nature* made him dear to those that were familiar with him. He was always very obliging and officious, and more ready to *do*, than others could be to *ask* a good turn at his hands: but he was above all *happy*, by being *early*, in pure religion.

The common effect of such a pious education as the family in which he lived afforded unto him, were seen even in his childhood; and secret prayer became very betimes one of his infant exercises. He does in his MSS. particularly take notice of a *Scripture copy* set for him when he learned to *write*, as a thing that had much efficacy on him; but when he was twelve (or more) years old, more powerful conviction did the spirit of God set home upon him than he had been used unto; some records therefore I find in his papers, with this clause in the head of the account, "rejoyce, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee." Now it was that he allowed his pen to write these, among other expressions of his trouble about his estate:

"FEB. 19, 1682.—What shall I do? 'What shall I do to be sav'd?' Without a Christ I am undone, undone, undone for evermore! O Lord, let me have Christ, tho' I lye in the mire for ever! O for a Christ! O for a Christ! a Christ! Lord, give me a Christ or I dye!"

It was now another of his registered meditations:

"I have been in great hesitancy, whether I should choose Jesus Christ for my prophet, priest and king, with all his *inconveniences*, to take up my cross and follow him: wherefore I do now take him as mine; my whole Christ, and my only Christ; and I am resolved to seek him. All that I have shall be at his service, and all my members, and all my powers, shall endeavour his glory."

* Will all belong to Death.

And yet again there were these considerations in his mind:

"Had I not better seek the Lord Christ, while I have a time of prosperity and peace, while he offers himself to me saying, 'Come unto me, and I will save thee, and lay all thy burdens upon me, and I will sustain thee,' than in affliction to cry and not be heard? when he stretches forth his hand and says, 'Believe on me, and thou shalt be saved:' and now *to-day* he offers himself, shall I refuse, and say, 'Lord, *to-morrow*?' No, surely."

And these pathetic *groans* then likewise got a room in his papers:

"O that I had a Christ! O that I had him who is the delight of my soul! Then, O then I should be perfectly blessed, and want no food that would make me so!"

This is a copy of the passages then recorded in this young believer's diary. Thus did he now labour to affect his own soul with his own state, and leave things no more at *peradventures* between God and him. He read many savoury books about faith, and repentance, and conversion, and he transcribed many notes therefrom, not resting satisfied within himself until he had had some experience of a true regeneration. Among other workings of his heart at this age, his papers have such things as these:

"REASONS FOR MY SPEEDY CLOSING WITH JESUS CHRIST.—*First*, It's the *command* of Jesus Christ, that I should come unto him. *Secondly*, Jesus Christ *invites me* also in Mat. xi. 28, 'Come unto me.' *Thirdly*, He that laid me under many *obligations* to turn unto him, in that he hath recover'd me from sickness so often, and now given me a curious *study* *Fourthly*, In that I have vow'd unto the Lord, if he would do so and so for me, I would make a solemn covenant with him, and endeavour to serve him."

And again elsewhere:

"O that God would help me to seek him while I am young! O that he would give unto me his grace! However, I will lay myself down at his feet. If he *save* me, I shall be happy for ever; if he *damn* me, I must justify him. 'O thou Son of God, have mercy on me!' I know not what to say, but I will take thee at thy word: Thou sayst, 'Come unto me;' my soul answers, 'Lord, at thy command I will come.'"

He thus continued "following hard after God," enjoying and answering many *strivings* of his Holy Spirit, until he was about fourteen years old.

In this time he did not a little acquaint himself with profitable godliness, being frequent and fervent in his prayers to God upon all occasions, and careful not only to *hear* sermons, but also consider after them "what improvement he should make of what he heard." Not only his prayers, but his praises, too, now took notice of even the smallest affairs before him. I know not whether you can see any thing *childish*, I am sure I see something serious, in a passage or two that I shall fetch out of his diary, written when he was about thirteen years old: On March 13 he wrote, "This day I received of my father that famous work, the *Biblia Polyglotta*, for which I desire to praise the name of God:" Again, on June 29 he wrote, "This day my brother gave me *Schindler's Lexicon*, a book for which I had not only longed much, but also prayed unto God; blessed be the Lord's name for it." The thoughts of *death* also now found a lodging in

his heart, and he rebuked himself because he had been so much without them; tho' at this age for the most part, persons think of *any* thing, *every* thing more than of their dying day. And his writings discovered him to be peculiarly affected with that ancient history (or *apologue*) of him who, after a dissolute and ungodly youth, going to repent in age, heard that voice from heaven to him, *Des illi Furfurem cui dedisti Farinam*: "the devil had thy *flower*, and thou shalt not bring thy *bran* to me."

Self-examination was also become one of his employments; and once particularly in one of his diaries, he does thus express himself:

"APRIL 8, 1683.—This morning I was much cast down with the sense of my vileness. I examin'd—

"I. What *sins* I had that were not mortified: 1, My sin of *pride*; 2, My sin of *unthankfulness*; 3, My not improving the *means of grace* as I ought to do.

"II. What *graces* I find need of: 1, Converting and regenerating grace; 2, Humiliation for my many sins against such a good God as the Lord is.

"III. What *mercies* I had received, for which I desire to bless the Lord's name: 1, He hath given me to be born of godly parents; 2, I have always had the means of grace lengthened out unto me; 3, The Lord hath graciously pleased to give me some answers of prayer. —1, As to the lengthening out of my health; 2, As to the increase of my library, 'what shall I render to the Lord' for all his loving kindness towards me? I resolved to *dedicate* myself wholly to God and his service."

And he did accordingly.—This year did not roll about, before he had in a manner very solemn entred into covenant with God. This weighty and awful thing was not rashly done by him, or in a sudden *flash* and *pang* of devotion: he *thought*, he *read*, he *wrote*, and he *prayed* not a little before this glorious transaction between God and him, and, upon mature deliberation, he judged it most advisable for him to make his covenant with God as *explicit* as *writing* and *signing* could render it; that so it might leave the more impression upon his heart and life, and be an evidence likewise, which in temptation or desertion he might have recourse unto: wherefore he set apart a *time* for (I think) secret fasting and prayer before the Lord, and then behold how this young man, counting it high time for him to be *bound* out unto some service, took a course for it: he subscribed an holy covenant, of which this was the *matter*, this the *form*:

"THE COVENANT BETWEEN GOD AND MY SOUL, RENEWED, CONFIRMED AND SIGNED, NOV. 22, 1683.—Whereas not only the commands of God who hath often called upon me, by his word preached, to give up myself, both body and soul, to be at his disposal, which calls by the public ministry were enough to engage me unto this, but also the Christian religion which I profess, and my baptism, in which I took the Lord to be my God, and promised to renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, and to dedicate myself unto the service, work and will of God, to bind me hereunto; *in that* God is such a God as deserves this, yea, infinitely more than this, at my hands; my creator, the fountain of my being; my preserver, my benefactor, my Lord, my sovereign, my judge; he in whose hands my life, my breath, and all my concerns are; he that doth protect me from all dangers, and supply me in all wants, support me under all burdens, and direct me in all streights; he alone that can make me happy or miserable; he alone that can save me or damn me; he alone that can give inward peace and joy,

that is my friend, my God; *in that*, self-dedication is the creature's advancement; these first fruits, if in sincerity, putting upon me a gloriousness and excellency.

"*In that* felicity hereafter depends upon my dedicating of myself unto God now.

"*In that* this is the highest piece of gratitude I am capable of expressing unto God, and I know no better way to obey the *will* of God, than first to give up my *self* unto him.

"And whereas the mercies which the Lord hath been pleased graciously to bestow upon me, are so many, that even bare morality doth shew me that I can never enough requite one that hath done so much for me, except by giving up myself wholly to him.

[1669.]"Whereas God has given me a godly father and mother.

[1674.]"*In that* when I was like to dye, being twice sick of a fever, God was pleased to bless means for my recovery, and lengthen out the thread of my life.

[1675.]"Whereas, when I by an accident fell down, and had like to have been deprived of the use of my tongue, God was in his good providence graciously pleased to give me the use of it.

[1678.]"Whereas, when I was sick of the small-pox, God was pleased to bless means for my recovery.

"Whereas, then I made promises unto God, that if he would give me my *health*, I would endeavour to become a *new creature*, and he hath done so for these five years: and whereas God hath of late been bestowing many and wonderful mercies upon me, what can I do less than give up myself wholly to him?

"WHICH NOW I DO.

"And, O Lord God, I beseech thee to accept of thy poor *prodigal*, now prostrating of himself before thee. I confess, O Lord, I have fallen from thee by my iniquity, and am by nature a 'son of hell;' but of thy infinite grace thou hast promised mercy to me in Christ, if I will but turn unto thee with all my heart: therefore, upon the call of thy gospel, I come in, and from the bottom of my heart I renounce all thy enemies; with whom I confess I have wickedly sided against thee, firmly covenanting with thee not to allow myself in any known sin, but conscientiously to use all means which I know thou hast prescribed for the utter destruction of all my corruptions. And whereas I have inordinately let out my affections upon the world, I here resign my heart unto thee that made it; humbly protesting before thy glorious Majesty, that it is the firm *resolution* of my heart (and that I do unfeignedly desire *grace* from thee, that when thou shalt call me thereunto, I may put in *practice* my resolution) through thine assistance, to forsake all that is dear unto me in the world, rather than to turn from thee to the 'ways of sin;' and that I will watch against all its *temptations*, whether of *prosperity* or *adversity*, lest they should withdraw my heart from thee, beseeching thee to help me.

"I renounce all my own righteousness, and acknowledge that of myself I am helpless and undone, and without righteousness.

"And whereas, of thy bottomless mercy, thou hast offer'd to accept of me, and to be reconciled to me, and to be my God 'through Christ,' if I would accept of thee, I do this day 'avouch thee to be the Lord my God.' I do here take the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, for my portion and chief good, and do give up myself *body* and *soul* for thy servant, promising to endeavour to serve thee in righteousness and holiness. I do here also, on the bended knees of my soul, accept of the Lord Jesus Christ as the only and living *way* by which sinners may have access to thee, and do here joyn myself in a *marriage-covenant* with him. O Lord Jesus, I come to thee, hungry, poor, miserable, blind and naked, and a most loathsome creature, a condemned malefactor. 'Who am I, that I should be married unto the King of Glory!'

"I do accept of thee for my *head* and *husband*, and embrace thee in all thy offices. I renounce my own *worthiness*, and do choose thee the 'Lord my righteousness.' I do renounce my own *wisdom*, and do take thine for my guide. I take thy *will* for my will, and thy *word* for my law. I do here willingly put my neck under thy yoke; I do subscribe to all thy laws as holy, just and good; and do promise to take them as the *rule* of my thoughts, words and

actions; but because I am subject to many *failings* through frailty, I do here protest, here before thee, that *unhallowed miscarriages*, contrary to the constant bent of my heart, shall not disannull this everlasting covenant.

NATHANIEL MATHER."

It may justly be taken for granted, that such a work as this would have an influence into his conversation afterwards; and so it had, producing in him a "conversation which became the gospel of Christ." He kept waiting upon God, not only in the *family*, but also under the *ministry* of two that were a-kin unto him; namely, his *father* and his *brother*, whereby the grace thus begun in him was not little cherished and promoted: and unto all known sins he now kept saying, as I find once in short hand written by him:

"TO MY LUSTS.—I have had communion with you all this while, but I dare not have so any longer: wherefore I renounce all communion with you any more; I will cleave to the God that made me."

But a year or two after this, it was with him, as I have observed it is too commonly with such as are *converted betimes* unto God. An unhappy gradual *apostacy* carried him aside from those degrees of seriousness and intenseness in divine things, which he had been used unto: 'tis possible an entanglement in a familiarity with some that were no better than they should be, did abate of the *good savour* which had been upon him, and decoy him by *insensible steps* to some vanities (tho' not to any scandalous immoralities) that were disadvantageous to him. For divers months he seemed somewhat, yet not *totally*, much less *finally*, forsaken of that wisdom and virtue which he had before been an example of; but the good spirit of God will not let go his *interest* in a soul of which he hath taken a saving hold. This young man soon entertained just resentments of his own declensions, and it was impossible for the most "badger-tooth'd malice" in the world to aggravate any of his errors half so much as he did himself in his own repentance for them. In the year 1685 God visited him with sore terrors and horrors in his wounded soul, the anguish whereof he thought intollerable; yet he made not his condition known to any body all the while. He could say, "My complaint is not to man," but he made it unto the Lord; "this poor man cryed, and the Lord heard, and delivered him out of distresses." He arrived in time unto settlement and renewal of his peace with God: he confessed and bewailed his own sins before the Lord, and declared his detestation of them, and applied himself unto the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation from them all. Good terms being thus establish'd between the Almighty Lord and this immortal soul, he maintained, I think, a constant and an even "walk with God" until he dyed. I find now that language in his MSS.: "Let me be as active a servant of Christ, as I was of Satan heretofore." For more than the three last years of his life, he lived at a strange rate for holiness and gravity, and retired devotions. He read Mr. Scudder's *Christian's "Daily Walk,"* and Dr. Owen

of "*Spiritual Mindedness*," and had a restless, raging agony in his mind until the methods of religion advised by those worthy men, were exemplified in his own behaviour. 'Tis a note in one of his diaries —

"O my great unprofitableness under the means of grace! I have cause to bless God for ever for the writings of that never enough to be admired and loved by me, Dr. Reynolds, and for the light I have received thereby, concerning the *sinfulness of sin*; as also that excellent book of him whom I shall always honour, Dr. Owen of *Spiritual Mindedness*, and Mr. Scudder's Christian's *Daily Walk*, by which three books I have profited more than by any other (*S. Scripturis exceptis*)* in the world."

He was at first surprized at the measure of spiritual mindedness, without which that great saint, Dr. Owen, apprehends the *life* and *peace* of souls to labour under prejudices; and he thought a mind swallowed up in such heavenly frames and works as were needful thereunto, almost wholly to be despair'd of; until (as himself a few hours before he dyed said unto me) he deemed he saw an instance of such a "walk with God," not very far from the place of his abode: to which purpose his reserv'd papers have a large discourse, of which this is in the conclusion:

"There might be a greater progress in religion than is commonly thought for. What have I examples for, but to imitate them? Abraham is fan'd for believing so strongly, when he had no example before him: Let me try and see whether I, having such opportunities, may not arrive to as high a pitch in Christianity as any that I have known."

He then, in the strength and through the love of God, set himself into a way of strict, secret, laborious devotion; whereby, tho' none but *God* and *he* fill'd the theatre which he acted upon, he would be "in the fear of the Lord all the day long." He withdrew from the delights of this world, and gave himself up to an assiduous *contemplation* of God and Christ, and a sedulous endeavour after utmost conformity unto him: thus he kept "abounding in the work of the Lord," until three years of wonderful *holiness* had ripened him for eternal *happiness*.

My account of him will be an unfinished piece, unless all the ensuing strokes go to make it up. These things he was exemplary for:

First, He was one that *walked by RULE*. He was very studious to learn the *way* of conversing with God in every duty, and there was a *rule* which he attended still unto.

In his private papers, I find a wise collection of rules, by which he governed himself in the several duties of Christianity, and in all the *seasons* and stations of his life. He consulted the best authors for instruction in the affairs of practical religion, and not into *paper* only, but into *action*, to be transcribed what he most approved; in all which the will of God was the bright pole-star by which he steer'd his course.

The reader shall *enjoy* (and O that he would *follow*) two of this young man's *directories*. One of them was this:

* The Holy Scriptures excepted.

"I. O that I might lead a spiritual life! wherefore let me regulate my life by the *word* of God, and by such scriptures as these:

"1, For regulating my *thoughts*, Jer. iv. 14; Isa. lv. 7; Mal. iii. 17; Psal. civ. 34; Phil. iv. 8; Prov. xxiii. 26; Deut. xv. 9; Eccles. x. 20; Prov. xxiv. 9; Mat. ix. 4; Zec. viii. 17.

"2, For regulating my *affections*, Col. iii. 2. 5; Gal. v. 24.

"For my *delight*, Psal. i. 2; Psal. xxxvii. 5. For my *joy*, Phil. iv. 4; Psal. xliii. 4. My *desire*, Isa. xxvi. 8, 9; Ezek. vii. 16. My *love*, Mat. xxii. 37; Psal. cxix. 97. My *hatred*, Psal. xcvii. 10. My *fear*, Luke xii. 4, 5. My *hope*, Psal. xxxix. 7. My *trust*, Psal. lxii. 8; Isa. xxvi. 4.

"3, For regulating my *speech*, Eph. iv. 29; Col. iv. 6; Deut. vi. 6, 7; Psal. cxix. 56; Psal. lxxi. 8. 24; Prov. xxxi. 26.

"For regulating my *work*, Tit. iii. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 12; 1 Tim. v. 10; Titus ii. 14; Mat. v. 47; 1 Tim. vi. 8; Rev. iii. 2; Rom. xiii. 12; Acts xxvi. 20."

Another of them was form'd into an Hymn, the singing of which might produce fresher and stronger efforts of soul towards "the thing that is good." It shall be here inserted:

II. "LORD, what shall I return unto
Him from whom all mercies flow?

"(I.) To me to *live*, it Christ shall be,
For all I do I'll do for Thee.

"(II.) My question shall be oft beside,
'How thou may'st most be glorify'd?

"(III.) I will not any creature love,
But in the love of Thee above.

"(IV.) Thy *will* I will embrace for *mine*,
And every management of thine
Shall please me. (V.) A conformity
To thee shall be my *aim* and *eye*.

"(VI.) *Ejaculations* shall ascend
Not seldom from me. (VII.) I'll attend
Occasional reflections and
Turn all to *gold* that comes to hand.

"(VIII.) And in particular among
My cares, I'll try to make my *tongue*
A 'tree of life,' by speaking all
As be accountable who shall.

"(IX.) But *last*, nay *first* of all, I will
Thy Son my *surety* make, and still
Implore him that he would me bless
With strength as well as righteousness.

Besides these *rules*, which concerned his *whole walk*, he treasur'd up many more that referr'd to this and that *step* in it; and it was the predominant care and watch of his heart, not to tread *sluvery*! thus one might see a *skilful* Christian in him. And as he was desirous to live by *precept*, so he was to live by *promise* too.

He fell into a particular consideration how to improve the promises of God in all the occasions of life: which is indeed one of the most sanctifying exercises in the world. It was a proposal which I find he made unto himself.

"Let me salute these promises once a day.

"1, For supplying the *wants* of the day, Phil. iv. 19.

"2, For growth in *grace*, Hos. xiv. 5.

"3, For subduing my *sins*, Mic. vii. 19.

"4, For success in my undertakings, Psal. i. 3.

"5, For turning all the events of the day for *good*, Rom. viii. 28.

"6, For audience of my *prayers*, John xiv. 13, 14.

"7, For *strength* to manage all the work of the day, Zech. x. 12.

"8, For direction in *difficulty*, Psal. xxxii. 8.

"9, For *life eternal*, Luke xii. 31; Job iii. 16.

"Besides these two, Mat. xi. 28, and Isa. xlv. 3."

Certainly that man must quickly grow another Enoch, who does thus "walk with God."

Secondly, He was one that *lived* in PRAYER. He was oft and long in the "Mount with God:" it was his custom every day to "enter into his closet, and shut his door, and pray to his Father in secret." And I guess, from some of his writings, that he did thus no less than *thrice* a day, when he met with no obstruction in it: nor did he slubber over his prayers with hasty *amputations*, but wrestle in them for a good part of an hour together.

It was a most refreshing communion with God, which his devotions brought him sometimes into. Thus in one of his diaries:

In the margin he wrote, "remember." "DEC. 10.—I prayed earnestly unto God, earnestly petitioning that Jesus Christ might be my *complete* Redeemer. There was immediately something that did as it were persuade me it should be so."

Again, "AUG. 19.—My thoughts were some little while busied about the condescension of Christ, in taking of humane nature on him; but for the most part in ejaculations, and acts of faith on a crucified (ah! sweet word) Jesus. I saw I gained not much by those: wherefore I addressed myself to solemn prayer, and had some *assurance* in it."

Once more, "AUG. 20.—I was much affected in prayer, and exercised (I hope) many acts of *faith*, and *love*, and *delight* in God. I several times was breaking off, but I was as it were *constrain'd* to go on in the duty with much enlargement. Lord, answer me for the sake of Christ."

Thus under the fig-tree did our Lord Jesus often behold this Nathanael; yea, unto prayer he became so habituated, that while others can *sleep* in prayer, he sometimes would *pray* in *sleep*. He records it among his experiences, that upon assaults of "imagined temptations," when he has been asleep, he has quickly been at prayer; and so caused the *phantasms* to leave annoying him.

And extraordinary prayer was also with him not altogether *extraordinary*. Tho' he were a *booby* that seemed incapable of holding it, yet this *wine* agreed with him very well. As young as he was, he knew the mystery of a soul *fatning* by *fasting*, and *thriving* by "hungering and thirsting after righteousness." He was very inquisitive after the right way to manage a day of fasting and prayer, and he would sometimes keep such a day. On such a day it was his custom to make a very particular and penitent confession of all the sins that he could perceive himself guilty of; and renew his covenant with the Holy One of Israel; to this end, he had by him in writing a large *catalogue* of things forbidden and required in the commandments of God, which was the *glass* in which he then viewed his ways; and having found what Achans might procure *trouble* to him, he then fell to stoning of them. One may shape some conjecture at his humiliations, by the indignation with which he spoke and wrote of the *vanities* which his *childhood* had:

"I came into the world [saith he in one of the papers penn'd by him on a day of secret fasting and prayer, October the 17th, 1685,] without the image of the holy God on my soul: my understanding, my will, my affections, and my whole soul were altogether depraved, and wounded. When very young I went astray from God, and my mind was altogether taken with vanities and follies: such as the remembrance of them doth greatly abase my soul

within me. Of the manifold sins which then I was gully of, none so sticks upon me, as that, being very young, I was *whilling* on the Sabbath-day; and for fear of being seen, I did it behind the door. A great reproach of God! a specimen of that *atheism* that I brought into the world with me!"

Hence this I find among the records of his soul: (This was more than the more meagre and feeble sort of Christians, though much older than he, are us'd to do. But, *paulo majora!* There was a sublimer way of "drawing near to God," which he was not willing to leave unattempted. He understood that secret days of thanksgiving had not been unpractised by some whom he designed to imitate; and therefore he would make some *essays* for such an intimate *fruition* of God, and generous *devotion* to him, as would fill such days as these):

"Resolved, to set apart, every two months, a *day* for solemn examination and meditation, to humble myself; and every two months to keep a day of private thanksgiving."

But though his prayers were chiefly *in*, yet they were not confined to his closet. There were divers private praying meetings of younger people in North-Boston, which he visited as often as he could; and one of those might peculiarly be called *his*. Yea, it was his desire, though with as little aim "to be seen of men" as could be, to support all such opportunities of good among them, that were of the same age with him.

Wherefore I find this among the notes in his diary:

"*Quest.* What shall I do for God?"

"*Ans.* It was suggested to me, to get some of my acquaintance to spend some while every Friday night in prayer, for the success of the work of grace in New-England, especially in Boston, on the *souls* of the *rising generation*. Let me propound this to some serious, devout young persons."

Thus was his *prayer* as it were his *breath*, and thus he was always fetching of it, until at last it expir'd in eternal *praise*.

Thirdly, He was one that thought much of his GOD, and his END. There was a sort of heaven formed in the just soul of this young-man by the *thoughts* that were continually sparkling there. He had an unpacifiable dissatisfaction at himself until *good* thoughts were lodg'd in him, and *vain* ones were "forced to gnash their teeth and melt away:" nothing would content him but the bringing of his thoughts "into a subjection to the Lord Jesus Christ." Wherefore he chew'd much on the excellent sermon of Mr. Charnock about thoughts; which he wrote out not only with his *hand*, but in his *heart*, and made it the very *mould* of his gracious mind. There are none, but very *renew'd* souls, that are at great pains in a course of *meditation* on the things of God. Yet this young-man, like another Isaac, was grown very *expert* at it, and *frequent* in it. It was his manner in the morning to meditate very seriously and fixedly upon some truth, or some text, for a good part of an hour together. He had collected a good variety of subjects and scriptures to handle, in thus communing with

himself, and went over more than a little divinity in this transcendent exercise. Sometimes, when thus he "separated himself to intermeddle with all wisdom," I find him committing his thoughts, or some *breviate* of them, unto the durable custody of his papers; from which memoirs I will produce but an instance or two of many:

"AUGUST 16, 1685.—*Med.* about, the reason I have to love God; because of what he has been to me, and what he is in himself. And I thought, is not God the *best good*? Surely then he is worthy to be, my *last end*? Has he not been shewing many mercies to me? and, what! shall I not give up myself to *live* unto God, because of his goodness to me? *Much affected with the thoughts of these things*: and, I hope, I closed with the motion."

Again, "OCTOBER 1.—I meditated on that: 'if a man does intend to be truly religious, he must expect nothing but to save his soul.'—But how can this be true? Must I lose my *body* altogether? Must I be willing that the *union* between my *body* and *soul* should for evermore be loosed? Must I be willing to be for ever without a *body*?—No, no.

"All that the Lord requires of me, is, to have my *body* for a few days or years (a *few*, I say, for they cannot be *many*) to be wholly at the *service* of my *soul*, and to be willing that the union between those two *mates* then should be dissolved; the soul first taking its progress into everlasting bliss; the body being laid in the dust, to rise at the resurrection, accompanying the soul into its eternal felicity.

"My present notion of this thing is this:

"This *dissolution* of the union between the soul and body, is but a *dismissal* of the spirit into its happiness, after a wearisom conflict here. And as long as it shall be best for me to be here, here I shall continue. Infinite Wisdom is to be the orderer of this; and it will be a grievous and shameful reflection thereupon, for me to say, 'it will be better for me to live than to dye,' at such a time when I am called thereunto.

"With my *body* I must expect to lose all the pleasant enjoyments of this world—liberty, library, study and relations. But yet neither shall I lose those. As for my *liberty*, by true religion, and by dying for it too, when need requires, I shall gain the only liberty, even from the body of sin.

"As for my *library*, if I dye for Christ, or in the Lord, I shall have no need of it. My understanding shall be enough *enlarged*, and I shall not need to turn over books for learning. As for my *study*, (my Paradise), I shall have a better, a larger, and a more compleat than this.

"As for my *relations*, those of them that are truly pious, I shall only go before them; and if there should be any of them not pious, the longer I should stay with them here (if they continue impenitent) it would but make my grief more intolerable, to think, when I leave them, that 'I shall have no hopes to see them again for ever.'

"But this is not all neither.—My *body* must be used as the *soul's instrument*; and here all that strength and ease which I have, must be used for the soul: and truly there is reason enough for it, that so there may be eternal happiness for both together.

"In marriage, the husband and wife should have the same design. Would it not be inhuman for the one to have a design which tends to the ruine of the other? Just so my soul and body should have the same design; and the body being the more vile of the two, should be subordinate to the soul. And it is a necessary disjunction, either the body, the strength, and ease, and members of it, must be used for the *good* or for the *hurt* of the soul; for there is no *medium* here.

"Let me then herein make my body useful to my soul, in accomplishing all the good designs of it, which it is capable of being interested in.

"Nor is there any thing else worth speaking of, that must be foregone, except *health*, and the *momentaneousness* of all bodily torments, will make *them* very tolerable.

"MY RESOLUTIONS BE, That I will not expect, by devoting myself unto the fear of God, to gain any thing as to my *body* in this world.

‘That through the grace of Christ, I will use the strength, ease, and health of my body, yea, my whole body, in subordination to my soul, in the service of the Lord Jesus.’

With such meditations as these, he kept *mellowing* of his own soul, and preparing it for the state wherein *faith* is turned into *sight*.

But there was yet a more delightful and surprizing way of *thinking*, after which he did aspire. He considered that the whole creation was full of God; and that there was not a leaf of grass in the field, which might not make an observer to be sensible of the Lord. He apprehended that the *idle minutes* of our lives were many more than a short liver should allow: that the very filings of *gold* and of *time* were exceeding precious; and that there were little *fragments of hours* intervening between our more stated business, wherein thoughts of God might be no less pleasant than frequent with us.

The elegant and excellent meditations of Sir William Waller had particularly affected him unto a commendable emulation of them; and hence he did attempt to make even the more *common* and more *trivial* occurrents of humane life the occasions of *great thoughts* within him. He would, with the *chemistry* of *occasional reflections*, distill *sublime spirits* from *earthly bodies*; and from the view of mean things, fill his nobly employed mind with lessons and prayers, which only the “Father of spirits” was a witness to.

Some of these his occasional reflections I find in his private papers; and of one or two, for a *taste*, I will bespeak the reader’s acceptance:

“JAN. 8, A. M.—Being about to rise, I felt the cold in a manner extraordinary; which inclin’d me to seek more warmth in my bed before I rose; but so extream was the cold, that this was not feasible: wherefore I resolved to dress myself without any more ado; and so going to the fire in my cloaths, I soon became warm enough.

“Turn this, O my soul! into an useful meditation. There is a necessity of my *rising* out of my bed, the bed of *security* which I am under the power of, and to *live* unto Christ, and to *walk* in the light.

“In order hereunto, I must put on my poor soul the garments which are to be had from the Lord Jesus. To awaken me out of my sleep and my security, I am to set before me the *sun*: the gospel of the ‘sun of righteousness’ doth enlighten my mind, and tell me, that I was before muffled up in darkness; and that if I continued therein, I should starve and perish. I am also taught, that when men are *convinced* of their miserable condition, they will rather endeavour to ease, and comfort and cherish themselves by something *in themselves*, than put on the *spiritual garments* which the Lord Jesus Christ has provided for them. An evil to be by me avoided.”

Again, another time:

“Upon *water* taken from the *fire*, I saw a *lukewarmness* quickly seize; like the frame of spirit which many pretenders to religion have after a glorious and affectionate *profession* of it. Of this sort were some among the Laodiceans of old; which is exceedingly displeasing to the Lord Jesus Christ: Whence it is that he saith, ‘I will spew thee out of my mouth.’ Let me endeavour to beware of this hateful and odious frame of spirit; and let the contrary thereto be my desire—my endeavour.”

Once more:

"Among some gentlemen that were sitting in a room illuminated with a candle, one beginning to read unto us, there was another candle brought unto him, for his assistance in it. Which afforded me such a meditation as this:

"That those who are to be *teachers* of others, have need of *as much light again* as ordinary Christians have. They, if any, need a double portion of the *gifts* that are in other men; and the helps of knowledge that other persons have, they much more should be furnished withal.

"It was not because they had *better eyes* than him whose office it was to read, that they needed but *one* candle, when he had *two* provided for him; but the work incumbent on him and expected from him was the occasion of it."

But I design little more than a *confirmation* with an *illustration* of my history, for which a touch or two upon every article will serve. I am now to add, that this young man had a principal regard unto the Scriptures for the subjects of his meditations, and he was very expensive of his thoughts on the "*Book of God*." He was daily digging in the sacred mines, and with delight he fetched thence riches better than those of both the Indias; and he could say, "O how I love thy law! it is my meditation every day!"

Even in the time of his mortal sickness, he was very angry at himself, if he had not heard a portion of the Bible read unto him from day to day.

Once, when he was near his end, a good part of a day having pass'd before he had enjoyed his *meal* of Scripture, he said unto his sister, with some impatience, "Alas, what an ungodly life do I lead! Pray come and read my Bible to me; and read me the forty ninth Psalm." Indeed, he read the Scripture not *cursorily*, but very deliberately and considerately; and as an effect of his doing so, he could give such an account of the *difficulties* in it, as the most not only of Christians, but of divines too, would judge an attainment extraordinary. Not long before he dyed, he had read over all the large and great "Annotations" on the Bible, lately published by Mr. Pool and some other Non-conformist ministers; but having dispatched those two noble folio's, he said unto one that was intimate with him, "Thus have I read the Bible, but I have now learnt a better way!" And *that* way was this: He would oblige himself in reading to fetch a *note* and a *prayer* out of every *verse* in all the Bible; to dwell upon every verse until it had afforded at least one *observation* and one *ejaculation* to him.

He imagined that an incredible deal, both of *truth* and *grace*, would in this way make its impression upon his mind (besides what exercise of *wit* it must have call'd for) and so most certainly it would have done; but before he had made much progress in it, the "chariots of God" fetcht him away to that place in which Jesus is a Bible to the there "perfect spirits" of the righteous.

Such a *thinking* person was he; and yet, after so many kind of thoughts in the day, he could not rest a night quietly, unless he compos'd himself for *sleeping* by *thinking* a little more.

He knew that no better a man than one of the moral heathens pro-

pounded a nocturnal self-examination, as a *part* and *cause* of no little wisdom, and that much more a sober Christian should endeavour to maintain a good understanding of himself, by such nightly recollections. Wherefore, before the slumbers of the evening, this young man would put "three general questions" to himself, with divers *particular* ones that were subordinate thereunto. The questions were,

"QUESTION 1.—What has God's mercy to me been this day?"

Here he considered what *favours* God had newly smil'd upon his *inward* or his *outward* man withal.

"QUESTION 2.—What has my carriage to God been this day?"

Here he considered what *frames*, and *words*, and *works*, and what *snares* and *sins* he had newly been concerned with.

"QUESTION 3.—If I dye this night, is my immortal spirit safe?"

Of this he judged by his closure with God, as his best good and last end, and with Christ as his prophet, and his priest, and his king, and by his resolution always to be a *witness* for the Lord, and an *enemy* to every sin: Tho' sometimes he would with a more large and long attention *examine* his own hopes of eternal happiness, for which purpose he had in writing by him his bundles of *marks* and *signs* which testify a man to be born of God. When he had thought on these things, he was able to lay "himself down in peace and sleep;" but this was a way to keep a soul awake.

I begin to suspect that my reader's patience is almost expir'd; and therefore I shall cause the remainder of this narrative to *omit* where I cannot *contract* what is yet well worthy to be the matter of it.

Fourthly, He was one that *mortified* and *conquer'd* the *SINS* which were a *vexation* to him. There were some sins which gave to this young man a more violent and outrageous disturbance than he could without much passion bear: These did he contrive and conflict much in his oppositions to, and gave not over till he had a certain prospect of a victory.

Of all the things which ever troubled him, I know not whether any were more grievous than the "blasphemous injections" which, like *fiery* venomous darts, inflam'd sometimes his very soul within him.

It may be some testimony of *sincerity*, when persons are not a little *afflicted* for, as well as assaulted with, "blasphemous imaginations" about God; which rise within us in contradiction to all that reverence of him which we know not how to lay aside.

This person on his death-bed complained to me, that *Horrenda de Deo*, [horrible conceptions of God] buzzing about his mind, had been one of the bitterest of all his trials; and I find his private papers making sad lamentations over the miseries of this annoyance. You shall read how he did encounter these *fiends*, as one that was no stranger to the "wars of the Lord." Once in his diary, he says:

"Troubled exceedingly with *blasphemous suggestions*, my soul bleeds at the thoughts of them.

"O that Christ would deliver me from them! they make my life unpleasant. I do believe that Satan never struggled so hard to keep any one from Christ, as he has done to keep me!

"From hence I learn—1, My great enmity to; 2, My great need of, the Lord Jesus Christ."

At another time:

"Troubled with blasphemous thoughts, I learn from hence—

"1, Seeing these would have me to entertain a low esteem of Christ and God, I will endeavour to have a more high and eminent esteem of God and Christ.

"2, Seeing these do so perplex me continually, I learn that I am unable of my self to raise good thoughts, much less to perform good acts of obedience. I would be deeply humbled, that my soul should be thus defiled.

"*Seeing*, I have often so much experience and stirrings of enmity in my soul to God, I would be excited thereby more heartily to cleave unto him."

Once more:

"I hope I have now got strength over my blasphemous thoughts, after this manner:

"1, Humbling myself under a sense of my own vileness and wretchedness.

"2, Praying earnestly for the removal of the enmity that is in my soul to the things of God; especially as to this matter."

Thus discreetly did he manage the "shield of faith" against those barbed arrows of hell: Nor did his other corruptions escape the *offensive* as well as the *defensive* weapons of his soul.

Under the most furious of their assaults, I find this to be one of his honourable retreats:

"For the relief of my soul under the power of *corruption*, let me by *faith* apply these scriptures: *First*, Rom. vi. 14; *Secondly*, Ezek. xxxvi. 26; *Thirdly*, Mic. vii. 19; *Fourthly*, Zec. xiii. 1. Besides Zec. ix. 12; Mat. xvi. 18; John xii. 31; and Rom. xvi. 20; and these considerations:

"*First*, Christ is a *complete* Redeemer, Heb. vii. 25; 1 John i. 7; Heb. ix. 14.

"*Secondly*, God's *infinite power* is engaged on my behalf, if I be in covenant with him.

"*Thirdly*, God will perfect *holiness* where he hath begun it."

In such engagements as these against his "invisible adversaries" he continued, until he is now a "conqueror, and more than a conqueror."

Fifthly, He was one that wisely prepared for the *changes* that were before him. It is a remark in one of his papers: "I think it convenient for me to observe the temptations I am or shall be obnoxious unto, and get suitable remedies against them."

He seem'd indeed to have a strange *presage* of what he was to meet withal, and O how he laid in that he might not be *unprovided* for it! a prudence rarely seen among the children of men, whose misery is great upon them because they "know not their time."

There were especially two calamities which he had a fore-boding of, dismal *pain* and early *death*. As for his pain, he was it seems to undergo exquisite anguishes for many months before his dissolution; but before ever it came upon him, how strangely did he fortifie himself against it! He said in his diary, some years before he left the world—

"SEPT. 2.—I had not in the morning time enough for solemn meditation: Great deadness and dulness was in my heart, as to spiritual thoughts afterwards; the reason was, because I did not perform my solemn meditation as I should. *

"I had now apprehensions that I must undergo sore tryals and conflicts, and great afflictions.

"Wherefore it highly become me to get as great a measure of *grace* as the opportunities which I enjoy may afford, and therefore I purpose to be more serious in my meditations, not omitting other duties therewithal.

"I see my resolutions must *every day* be renewed, as to great diligence in my serving God.

"And since I must expect great *afflictions*, I must make it my daily work by solemn meditation to go over the whole body of Christianity, and particularly to have daily thoughts on the *condescension* of Jesus Christ: I must also endeavour to get a large measure of sanctified knowledge; wherefore,—*First*, There is need of *earnest prayer*; and *Secondly*, Of very *holy walking*. *Thirdly*, Of entertaining the *truth* with greatest affection; and *Fourthly*, Looking on it 'as it is in Jesus;' and *Fifthly*, Solemn *meditation*; and *Sixthly*, Much *reading*; and *Seventhly*, *Living* upon the truths which I know, and *thankfulness* for the knowledge which I have already."

And at another time there was this written in his diary:

"This morning I meditated about a part of *self-denial*; namely, the denial of bodily health, and of ease from torment.

"My *resolution* was, that it was better to part herewithal, than to *sin*. I hope there is a *thorough purpose* in my heart to perform accordingly, when I shall be call'd thereunto.

"I do feel the stirrings of *self* in my self this day: *It* would fain be in the throne of God within me; but I am resolved Christ shall be my King."

And as he thus "put on the whole armour of God," that he might be able to stand when he should be tryed, so he found the benefit of it when he came into the *field*. Few in the world ever bore such dolours with such a silent and a quiet and composed temper as he. Some that were intimate with him, would say, "He was one of an iron patience," and "they had rarely if ever seen such a patient *patient*." But his *death* he seem'd all along most careful to be ready for.

IN HIS PAPERS,

Meditations on the four last things, was a *title* mentioning a *subject* of his most solicitous contemplations. Above three years before his translation, his diary hath such a note as this:

"Speaking to day something concerning my 'commencement,' I was strangely surprized, and had many thoughts, yea, perswasions, that I should not live till then. In the margin he wrote, deceived.

"*Refl.* What may be the import hereof I cannot tell; yet I gather thus much: That it is incumbent on me, without further delay, to make my calling and election sure."

He hath also left behind him, "some meditations tending to the exercise of repentance, and faith, and preparation for death," as he hath himself intitled them; but the reader by this time will easily pardon my forbearing the communication of them.

Indeed, "preparation for death," in one word, contains the substance of what he had been doing divers years before the king of terrors took his *clay house* away.

And as he was desirous to prepare for what *passive obedience* he might be put upon, so he was loath to have his heart not well ordered or furnished, when *active obedience* might be called for at his hands. Tho' he never liv'd to preach any other than some *private* sermons, yet he was not unthoughtful of the time when *publick* ones might be expected from him. It may not be unuseful for me to insert one of his meditations here; it runs in such terms as these:

“† WHETHER I SHOULD BE A MINISTER?

“I considered all objections which persons might make against it, and answered them every one. But one objection startled me more than the rest, to wit, personal unfitness, from my *hebetude*, or want of invention. To which I answer'd, with minding that promise in Exod. iii. 12, ‘Certainly I will be with thee.’ And the beginning of ver. 18, ‘They shall hearken to thy voice.’ And where God finds *work*, there he will give *strength*. I likewise considered 1 Chron. xxviii. 10. 20, and Mat. xxviii. 19, 20, and Josh. i. 9, and Judg vi. 12. 14.

“And then I thought with myself that, as for ‘living in a remote part of the country,’ I should be willing thereunto, if so I might do service for God, and bring glory to his name. And whilst I was musing on these things, I was melted into a frame that I thought heretofore I should never be in; namely, ‘humble submission to the good pleasure of God, however he should dispose of me.’ I knew that, though I were reproached for what meanness I should this way be exposed unto, there is an answer in Rom. i. 16, and in Mark viii. 38, and in Psal. xxxi. 19, and in Prov. xvi. 7, and in Psal. xxxvii. 5. 6. So we the Apostles, 1 Cor. iv. 3. 9. If I *serve* Christ, God will *honour* me—John xii. 26.”

Every one must own that, however such things as these, in an *old* man, may be below our admiration; yet, in a *young* man, that out-lived not the years which the *nodes* of the *moon* take to dispatch a revolution, they deserve a *memory* among them that may be edified by such exemplary practices. Indeed, he was himself extreamly unsensible of the least *worth* or *shine* adorning of him; and in his whole deportment he discovered a modest, an humble, and a reserved mien; which might be reck'ned to bear little *proportion* with his other accomplishments, were it not that the more *gracious* men are, the more humble they always are; and they are the *fullest* and *richest* ears of corn, which most hang down towards the ground. But while he in a sort wronged himself, to escape the bane and blame of pride; it is a piece of pure justice in the survivors, to embalm the name of a person thus desirable, since he is gone thither where he has no *chaff* to take fire at the sparks of our praises.

*Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat?**

Such a young man as this it is, that the church of God is now deprived of! What a blessing might his living have proved unto the world! But as the long-liv'd patriarchs, before the flood, have still that clause introduced of them, “and he dyed;” which clause awakened and converted a person of quality, who came in occasionally while the minister was reading the fifth chapter of Genesis to the congregation; so I must now say of the short-liv'd person whom we have been paying our last respect unto, he lived thus long in a little time, “and he dyed.”

* Such was his glance, his gesture, and his mien.

Before I break off, I must relate,

III.—HIS DEATH.

Too soon and too sad a thing for me to mention without sighing, "Ah, my brother!" in my lamentation over it. He had contracted an universal ill habit of body; which was attended with a particular generation of ill humours, where the *os ileon* and *os sacrum* joyn; from whence it fell into his thigh, until there was a very large collection of it there.

There was an incision, with mature advice, made into the tumour, about a month before his expiration, which gave good hopes of his recovery into a capacity of serving the church of God; but the circulation, which was now given unto the putrid juices which his blood, through his continual and sedentary studies, had been annoyed withal, soon enkindled a fever, which burnt asunder the thread of this pious life.

One might suppose that such a "walk with God" as the reader has newly had pourtrayed before him, should end in *raptures* and *extasies* of assurance; but I am to tell him, that this young person had them not. And there wanted not reason for it; for his natural distemper disposed him to what is contrary to joy; but his deep humility had a greater share in the *jealousies* and *suspensions* which he would still cherish of himself. He was indeed so afraid of being an hypocrite, that he would scarce allow himself to be called a Christian, and he did not care so much as to tell any of his own *experiences*, no, nor his *inclinations*, unless to one or two divines, who kindly refreshed him with their daily visits; and with them too he would uphold his discourse only in Latin, if any one else were by.

Never did I see more caution against hypocrisie, than what was in him: and a certain *self-aborrence* accompanying of it, caused to proceed from him no expressions but those of an abased soul. When his brother, having recited the terms of the gospel to him, with a design to obtain for him a renewal of his explicit consent thereunto, asked him, "Whether he did not judge himself sincere in that consent?" he only replied, "I should think so, if it were not for the seventeenth of Jeremiah, and the ninth."

He was *dejected*, yet not *despairing*; and he discovered a wonderfully *gracious*, when he had not a *joyful* frame. He was well made up of longings and breathings after all the "fullness of God," when he could not or would not pretend unto any confidence of his acceptance with the Lord.

In the time of his *health*, he had not been without the comfortable persuasions for which he "follow'd hard after God." In one place, I find him saying (on such a day) "I had fear lest I should not love the blessed God; but yet I was sure I desired to keep his commandments." Another time so: "For three quarters an hour, I pleaded earnestly for assurance of the love of God unto me, and I said, 'As many as received Christ Jesus, to them he gave power to become the sons of God;' and I did receive Jesus Christ, as the free gift of God, and received him to

save me on his own terms: I chose him to be my priest, and prophet, and king. Now I begg'd of him that he would manifest his acceptance of me, and give me the spirit of adoption: I had then, I hope, some assurance." But when *sickness* came, he was loth to own a clear *title* to the rest of God: Yet before he died, he suffered some sober intimations of his *hopes* to fall from him. There was a good man in this land, whose last words yet were, "It had been good for me that I had never been born." The words of this humble, self-loathing young man were of another strain. In the last night that we had him with us, he would have his watcher to read, "the song of Simeon," unto him, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace:" and in the morning after, he said, "I have now been with Jesus Christ!" which, from such a little speaker as he, we could not have his explication of.

In one of his last minutes, a faithful minister said unto him, "Find you not comfort in the Lord Jesus Christ?" To which he made only this discreet and humble answer: "I endeavour to those things which will issue in comfort;" and then he quickly surrendered up his redeemed and renewed soul unto him who had "loved him, and washed away his sins in his own blood."

Thus he went away to the heavenly society, where he is beholding the "face of God in righteousness," and solacing himself in the company not only of his blessed grandfathers and uncles, and all the "spirits of the just," but of the amiable Jesus himself, which is by "far the best of all." His *tears* are all dried up, his *fears* vanished away, and his *hopes* more than answered in "joys unspeakable and full of glory."

His elder brother having thus written of him, now satisfies himself in the duty therein done to God and man; and would keep *waiting* for his own *change*, until thy free grace, O my God, shall give unto the most miserable sinner in the world an admission into Emmanuel's land.

COTTON MATHER.

One that had an acquaintance with him, did him the justice of weeping over his grave such an epitaph as this:

Inclosed in this sable chest,
The host once of an heavenly guest,
Here lies upright Nathanael,
True off-spring of God's Israel.
Him *dead*, how term we, from his birth,
Who *liv'd* in heaven whilst on earth?
His *head* had learning's magazine,
His *heart* the altar whence divine
Whole hecatombs, which love had fir'd
Of high praise, and warm pray'r aspir'd:
His life, the decalogue unfolded;
A meat-off'ring, his speech well moulded;

His rare devotion, such now seen,
A sign of *ninety* at *nineteen*.

Years but in bloom, *grace* at full growth,
Angels, you know and think his worth.
Thus time, youth's glass, turn'd ere 'twas run,
And ages too, before begun.

Rest, glorious dust, and let thy perfum'd name
Sound in the trumpets of immortal fame.
For tho' Time's teeth Mausolean monuments deface,
They'll never gnaw thy *name* which with the stars has
place. Posuit, R. H.*

Unto which we will add another, borrowed from another:

Siccine, Nathanael, prosperas ad calica? Mentis Calesces tractat non bene Terra: sapis.†

FINIS.

* Contributed by R. H.

† Do you thus hasten, Nathanael, to your heavenly rest? Earth ill accords with heavenly minds: you do wisely.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.
—
THE FIFTH BOOK
OF
THE NEW-ENGLISH HISTORY:
IN FOUR PARTS.

CONTAINING

The Faith and the Order in the Churches of New-England,

AGREED BY THE ELDERS AND MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES,

ASSEMBLED IN SYNODS.

WITH

HISTORICAL REMARKS UPON ALL THOSE VENERABLE ASSEMBLIES,

AND

A GREAT VARIETY OF OTHER CHURCH CASES,

OCCURRING AND RESOLVED IN THESE AMERICAN CHURCHES.

AUREA PERPETUA SEMPER DIGNISSIMA VITA.

[A WORTHY LIFE, WITH ENDLESS GLORY CROWNED.]

COMPILED BY COTTON MATHER.

Non debemus nos de Regimine Ecclesiæ quicquam asserere, quod ex Humanis Rationibus videretur asserendum, sed id quod ipso facto est a Christo Institutum, et in Ecclesia ab Ipsius Fundatione observatum.

A. SPALATENSIS, de R. pub. Eccles.

[We ought not to assert in matters of Church Government every thing which mere human reason would dictate, but only such observances as were instituted by Christ himself, and practised in the church from its very foundation.—A. SPALATENSIS on the Christian Commonwealth.]

HARTFORD:
SILAS ANDRUS & SON.

1853.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

SYNODICON AMERICANUM.*

THE FIRST PART.

THE FAITH PROFESSED BY THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

Periculosum nobis ac miserabile est, tot fides existere quot voluntates, et tot nobis doctrinas esse quot mores.—HILAR.†

§ 1. IT was once an unrighteous and injurious aspersion cast upon the churches of New-England, that “the world knew not their principles:” whereas they took all the occasions imaginable to make all the world know, “that in the doctrinal part of religion, they have agreed entirely with the reformed churches of Europe:” and that they desired most particularly to maintain the *faith* professed by the churches of Old England, the country whereto was owing their original. Few pastors of mankind ever took such pains at *catechising*, as have been taken by our New-English divines. Now, let any man living read the most judicious and elaborate catechisms published, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Norton, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Mather, several by Mr. Cotton, one by Mr. Davenport, one by Mr. Stone, one by Mr. Norris, one by Mr. Noyes, one by Mr. Fisk, several by Mr. Eliot, one by Mr. Sea-born Cotton, a large one by Mr. Fitch; and say, whether true divinity were ever better handled; or whether they were not the truest *sons* of the church of England, who thus maintained its “fundamental articles,” which are so many of them first *subscribed*, and then *denyed* and *confuted* by some that would monopolize that name unto themselves: but as a further demonstration thereof, when there was a synod assembled at Cambridge, September 30, 1648, even that synod which framed, agreed and published, “the Platform of Church-discipline,” there was a most unanimous vote passed in these words:

“This synod having perused and considered (with much gladness of heart and thankfulness to God) the ‘confession of faith,’ published by the late reverend assembly in England, do judge it to be very holy, orthodox and judicious, in all matters of faith, and do therefore freely and fully consent thereunto for the substance thereof. Only in those things which

* The American Church Manual.

† It is a perilous and deplorable thing, that there should exist among us as many creeds as wills, and as many diversities of doctrine as of character.—HILARY.

have respect to *church-government* and *discipline*, we refer ourselves to the 'Platform of Church-discipline,' agreed upon by this present assembly: and we do therefore think it meet, that this confession of faith should be commended to the churches of Christ among us, and to the honoured court, as worthy of their due consideration and acceptance."

This vote was passed by the ministers and messengers of the churches, in that venerable assembly, when the government recommended unto their consideration, "a confession of faith," as one thing, which the *transmarine* churches expected from them. And they hoped that this proof of them being "fellow heirs of the same common salvation" with the churches beyond sea, would not only free them from the suspicion of *heresie*, but clear them from the character of *schism* also; in as much as their dissent from those churches, was now evidently but in some lesser matters of ecclesiastical polity; and a dissent not managed either with such *arrogancy* or *ensoriousness* as are the essential properties of schismatics.

§ 2. As to *make* "a confession of faith," is a duty wherein all Christians are to be made confessors, and multitudes of 'em have been made *martyrs*; thus to *write* "a confession of faith," is a work which the *faithful* in all ages have approved and practised, as most singularly profitable. The *confessions* thus emitted by such worthies as Irenæus and Athanasius formerly, and Beza, as well as others more lately, have been of signal advantage to the church of God: but when many churches do join together in such confessions, the testimony born to the truth of God, is yet more glorious and effectual. How remarkably the confessions of the four general councils were owned for the suppression of the heresies then spawned, is well known to all that have set foot but as far as the threshold of church-history; and surely the fabulous *musick* of the *spheres* cannot be supposed more delicious than that *harmony* which is to be seen in the confessions of the reformed churches, that have therefore been together published. Wherefore, besides the vote of the New-England churches, for a concurrence with the confession of faith made by the assembly at Westminster, a synod assembled at Boston, May 12, 1680, whereof Mr. Increase Mather was moderator, consulted and considered what was further to be done for such a confession. Accordingly, the confession of faith consented by the congregational churches of England in a synod met at the Savoy, which, excepting a few variations, was the same with what was agreed by the reverend assembly at Westminster, and afterwards by the general assembly of Scotland; was twice publicly read, examined and approved; and some small variations made from that of the Savoy, in compliance with that at Westminster; and so, after such *collations*, but no *contentions*, voted and printed, as the *faith* of New-England. But they chose to express themselves in the words of those assemblies; "that so" (as they speak in their preface) "we might not only with one heart, but with one mouth, glorifie God and our Lord Jesus Christ."

§ 3. It is true, that particular churches in the country have had their

"confessions" by themselves drawn up in their own form; nor indeed were the symbols in the most primitive times always delivered *in ipsissimis verbis*.^{*} It is also true, that few *learned* men have been admitted as members of our churches, but what have, at their admissions, entertained them with notable confessions of their own composing; insomuch, that if the protestants have been by the papists call'd "confessionists," the protestants of New-England have, of all, given the most laudable occasion to be called so. Nevertheless, all this *variety* has been the exactest *unity*; all those confessions have been but so many derivations from, and explications and confirmations of, that confession which the synods had voted for them all; for, *ut plures rivuli, ab uno fonte, ita plures fidei confessiones ab una eademque fidei veritate, manare possunt*.† Now that *good confession* remains to be exhibited.

Reader, 'tis a memorable passage that is related by Ruffinus in his ecclesiastical history, that a pagan philosopher, in a publick disputation, evaded and rejected the most powerful arguments for Christianity, brought by the most learned Christians in the assembly: until an honest elder of one of the churches, but of abilities which were so much inferior to the rest, that the rest were afraid' and sorry to see his undertaking, did undertake to silence him. This honest man after this manner addressed the adversary: "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I require you to hear the truth: there is but one God, who made the heavens and the earth, and hath formed man of the dust thereof, with an immortal soul inspired into him: he, by his word and power brought forth this whole creation, and sanctifies us by his Holy Spirit: and he, who is the word, whom we own to be the Son of God, taking compassion on fallen man, hath become a man: he was born of a virgin, and by suffering, even to death, for us, he hath delivered us from eternal death, and by his resurrection he hath made sure of life eternal for us. Him we look for again to be the Judge of the world: believest thou this, O philosopher?" The man found himself thunder-struck into a more than ordinary consternation at this discourse, and cry'd out, "I believe it, I confess it!" Whereupon the holy man said, "Then follow me, and be baptised." He did so, and unto his party then present he said, "While I had to do with the words of men, I could oppose words unto them; but when I felt a power from God, I could not resist it. I find that man cannot oppose himself to God."

Our ecclesiastical history shall now give a plain and pure confession of our faith. May the reader now find an irresistible power of God, and of grace irradiating his mind, with all satisfaction in it. 'Tis composed of things, which, as Chrysostom speaks, *των ηλιανων ακτινων φανερωτερα*—"clearer than the beams of the sun."

^{*} In the precise words.

† As several streams can issue from a single fountain, so several articles of faith can be drawn from one and the same true faith.

A CONFESSION OF FAITH;

OWNED AND CONSENTED TO BY THE ELDERS AND MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES,

ASSEMBLED AT BOSTON IN NEW-ENGLAND, MAY 12, 1680.

BEING THE SECOND SESSION OF THAT SYNOD.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

I. ALTHOUGH the light of nature and the works of creation and providence do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom and power of God, as to leave men inexcusable; yet are they not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his will, which is necessary unto salvation: therefore it pleased the Lord, at sundry times, and in divers manners, to reveal himself, and to declare that his will unto his church; and afterwards for the better preserving and propagating of the truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of the church against the corruption of the flesh, and the malice of Satan and of the world, to commit the same wholly to writing: which maketh the Holy Scripture to be most necessary; those former ways of God's revealing his will unto his people being now ceased.

II. Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testaments, which are these:

OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephania, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, The Acts of the Apostles, Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 To Timothy, 2 To Timothy, To Titus, To Philemon, The Epistle to the Hebrews, The Epistle of James, the first and second Epistles of Peter, The first, second and third Epistles of John, The Epistle of Jude, The Revelation.

All which are given by the inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life.

III. The books commonly called "*Apocrypha*" not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other humane writings.

IV. The authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or

church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself) the author thereof; and therefore, it is to be received because it is the word of God.

V. We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the church, to an high and reverend esteem of the Holy Scripture. And the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all the glory to God) the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God; yet notwithstanding our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts.

VI. The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture, unto which nothing, at any time, is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men. Nevertheless, we acknowledge the inward illuminations of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the word; and that there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God and government of the church, common to humane actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the word, which are always to be observed.

VII. All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them.

VIII. The *Old Testament* in *Hebrew*, (which was the native language of the people of God of old) and the *New Testament* in *Greek*, (which, at the time of writing of it, was most generally known to the nations) being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentical; so as in all controversies of religion the church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these original tongues are not known to all the people of God who have right unto and interest in the Scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them; therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar language of every nation into which they come, that the word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they may worship him in an acceptable manner, and through patience and comfort of the Scripture may have help.

IX. The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture, is the Scripture itself; and therefore when there is a question about the true and full sense

of any scripture (which is not manifold, but one) it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly.

X. The Supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Scripture delivered by the Spirit: into which Scripture so delivered our faith is firmly resolved.

CHAPTER II.

OF GOD AND THE HOLY TRINITY.

I. THERE is but one only living and true God: who is infinite in being and perfection, a most pure Spirit, invisible without body, parts or passions, immutable, immense, eternal, incomprehensible, almighty, most wise, most holy, most free, most absolute, working all things according to the counsel of his own immutable and most righteous will, for his own glory; most loving, gracious, merciful, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin; the rewarder of them that diligently seek him; and withal most just and terrible in his judgments, hating all sin, and who will by no means clear the guilty.

II. God hath all life, glory, goodness, blessedness, in and of himself; and is alone in and unto himself, all-sufficient; not standing in need of any creatures which he hath made, nor deriving any glory from them, but only manifesting his own glory in, by, unto, and upon them. He is the alone fountain of all beings; of whom, through whom, and to whom are all things; and hath most sovereign dominion over them, for them and upon them, whatsoever himself pleaseth; in his sight all things are open and manifest; his knowledge is infinite, infallible and independant upon the creature, so as nothing is to him contingent or uncertain. He is most holy in all his counsels, in all his works, and in all his commands. To him is due from angels and men, and every other creature, whatsoever worship, service or obedience, as creatures they owe unto the creator, and whatever he is further pleased to require of them.

III. In the unity of the God-head, there be three persons, of one substance, power and eternity—God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; the Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternally begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son. Which doctrine of the Trinity is the foundation of all our communion with God and comfortable dependence upon him.

CHAPTER III.

OF GOD'S ETERNAL DECREE.

I. God from all eternity did by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely, and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so, as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered unto the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.

II. Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed conditions, yet he hath not decreed any thing because he foresaw it, as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such conditions.

III. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained unto everlasting death.

IV. These angels and men thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

V. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of his meer free-grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions or causes moving him thereunto, and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

VI. As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, fore-ordained all the means thereunto: wherefore they who are elected being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his spirit working in due season, are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, or effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified and saved, but the elect only.

VII. The rest of mankind, God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy, as he pleaseth, for the glory of his Sovereign Power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath, for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

VIII. The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination, is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of God revealed in his word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may from the certainty of their effectual vocation be assured of their eternal election.

So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence and admiration of God, and of humility, diligence and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the gospel.

CHAPTER IV.

OF CREATION.

I. IT pleased God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the glory of his eternal power, wisdom and goodness in the beginning, to create or make of nothing the world and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good.

II. After God had made all other creatures, he created man male and female, with reasonable and immortal souls, endued with knowledge, righteousness and true holiness, after his own image, having the law of God written in their heart, and power to fulfil it; and yet under a possibility of transgressing, being left to the liberty of their own will, which was subject to change. Besides this law written in their hearts, they received a command not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which whiles they kept, they were happy in their communion with God, and had dominion over the creatures.

CHAPTER V.

OF PROVIDENCE.

I. GOD the great creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, dispose and govern all creatures, actions and things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most wise and holy Providence, according to his infallible foreknowledge, and the free immutable counsel of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness and mercy.

II. Although in relation to the fore-knowledge and decree of God, the first cause, all things come to pass immutably and infallibly, yet by the same Providence he ordereth them to fall out, according to the nature of second causes, either necessarily, freely, or contingently.

III. God in his ordinary providence, maketh use of means, yet is free to work without, above and against them at his pleasure.

IV. The Almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and the infinite goodness of God, so far manifest themselves in his Providence, in that his determinate counsel extendeth it self, even to the first fall and all other sins of angels and men, (and that not by a bare permission) which also he most wisely and powerfully boundeth, and otherwise ordereth and governeth in a manifold dispensation, to his own most holy ends, yet so as the sinfulness thereof proceedeth only from the creature, and not from God, who being most holy and righteous, neither is nor can be the author or approver of sin.

V. The most wise, righteous and gracious God doth oftentimes leave for a season his own children to manifold temptations, and the corruption

of their own hearts, to chastise them for their former sins, or to discover unto them the hidden strength of corruption, and deceitfulness of their hearts, that they may be humbled, and to raise them to a more close and constant dependance for their support upon himself, and to make them more watchful against all future occasions of sin, and for sundry other just and holy ends.

VI. As for those wicked and ungodly men, whom God, as a righteous judge, for former sins, doth blind and harden, from them, he not only withholdeth his grace, whereby they might have been enlightened in their understandings, and wrought upon in their hearts; but sometimes also withdraweth the gifts which they had, and exposeth them to such objects as their corruption makes occasions of sin; and withal gives them over to their own lusts, the temptations of the world, and the power of Satan, whereby it comes to pass that they harden themselves, even under those means which God useth for the softening of others.

VII. As the providence of God doth in general reach to all creatures, so, after a most special manner, it taketh care of his church, and disposeth all things for the good thereof.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE FALL OF MAN: OF SIN, AND OF THE PUNISHMENT THEREOF.

I. God having made a covenant of works and life thereupon, with our first parents, and all their posterity in them, they being seduced by the subtilty and temptation of Satan, did wilfully transgress the law of their creation, and break the covenant in eating the forbidden fruit.

II. By this sin, they, and we in them, fell from original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body.

III. They being the root, and by God's appointment standing in the room and stead of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and corrupted nature convey'd to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation.

IV. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions.

V. This corruption of nature during this life doth remain in those that are regenerated; and altho' it be, through Christ, pardoned and mortified, yet both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin.

VI. Every sin both original and actual being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and the curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries, spiritual, temporal and eternal.

CHAPTER VII.

OF GOD'S COVENANT WITH MAN.

I. THE distance between God and the creature is so great, that although reasonable creatures do owe obedience to him as their Creator, yet they could never have attained the reward of life, but by some voluntary condescension on God's part, which he hath been pleased to express by way of covenant.

II. The first covenant made with man was a covenant of works, wherein life was promised to Adam, and in him to his posterity, upon condition of perfect and personal obedience.

III. Man by his fall having made himself incapable of life by that covenant, the Lord was pleased to make a second, commonly call'd the covenant of grace; wherein he freely offereth unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in him, that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life, his holy Spirit to make them willing and able to believe.

IV. This covenant of grace is frequently set forth in Scripture, by the name of a *Testament*, in reference to the death of Jesus Christ, the testator, and to the everlasting inheritance, with all things belonging to it, therein bequeathed.

V. Although this covenant hath been differently and variously administered, in respect of ordinances and institutions in the time of the law, and since the coming of Christ in the flesh; yet for the substance and efficacy of it, to all its spiritual and saving ends, it is one and the same; upon the account of which various dispensations it is called the *Old and New Testament*.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF CHRIST THE MEDIATOR.

I. It pleased God, in his eternal purpose, to choose and ordain the Lord Jesus, his only begotten Son, according to a covenant made between them both, to be the Mediator between God and man: The Prophet, Priest and King, the Head and Saviour of his Church, the Heir of all things, and Judge of the world, unto whom he did from all eternity give a people to be his seed, and to be by him, in time, redeemed, called, justified, sanctified and glorified.

II. The Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one substance, and equal with the Father, did, when the fulness of time was come, take upon him man's nature, with all the

essential properties and common infirmities thereof, yet without sin, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary of her substance: So that two whole perfect and distinct natures, the Godhead and the Manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person without conversion, composition or confusion; which person is very God and very Man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and man.

III. The Lord Jesus in his humane nature, thus united to the divine, in the person of the Son, was sanctified and anointed with the Holy Spirit above measure, having in him all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge: in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, to the end that, being holy, harmless, undefiled and full of grace and truth, he might be thoroughly furnished to execute the office of a Mediator and Surety, which office he took not unto himself; but was thereunto called by his Father, who also put all power and judgment into his hand, and gave him commandment to execute the same.

IV. This office the Lord Jesus Christ did most willingly undertake; which that he might discharge, he was made under the Law, and did perfectly fulfil it, and underwent the punishment due to us, which we should have borne and suffered, being made sin and a curse for us, enduring most grievous torments immediately from God in his soul, and most painful sufferings in his body, was crucified and died, was buried, and remained under the power of death, yet saw no corruption: on the third day he arose from the dead, with the same body in which he suffered, with which also he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, making intercession, and shall return to judge men and angels at the end of the world.

V. The Lord Jesus, by his perfect obedience, and sacrifice of himself, which he, through the Eternal Spirit, once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied the justice of God, and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto him.

VI. Although the *work* of Redemption was not actually wrought by Christ till after his incarnation, yet the virtue, efficacy and benefits thereof, were communicated unto the elect in all ages successively from the beginning of the world, in and by those promises, types and sacrifices, wherein he was revealed and signified to be the seed of the woman, which should bruise the serpent's head, and the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world, being yesterday and to day the same, and for ever.

VII. Christ in the work of mediation acteth according to both natures, by each nature doing that which is proper to it self; yet by reason of the unity of the person, that which is proper to one nature is sometimes in Scripture attributed unto the person denominated by the other nature.

VIII. To all those for whom Christ has purchased redemption, he doth

certainly and effectually apply and communicate the same, making intercession for them, and revealing unto them, in and by the word, the mysteries of salvation, effectually perswading them by his spirit to believe and obey, and governing their heart by his word and spirit, overcoming all their enemies by his Almighty power and wisdom, in such manner and ways as are most consonant to his wonderful and unsearchable dispensation.

CHAPTER IX.

OF FREE-WILL.

I. GOD hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty and power of acting upon choice, that it is neither forced, nor, by any absolute necessity of nature, determined to do good or evil.

II. Man in his state of innocency had freedom and power to will and to do that which was well pleasing to God; but yet mutably, so that he might fall from it.

III. Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good, accompanying salvation, so as a natural man being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself or to prepare himself thereunto.

IV. When God converts a sinner, and translates him into the state of grace, he freeth him from his natural bondage under sin, and by his grace alone enables him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good; yet so as that, by reason of his remaining corruption, he doth not perfectly nor only will that which is good, but doth that which is also evil.

V. The will of man is made perfectly and immutably free to good alone in the state of glory only.

CHAPTER X.

OF EFFECTUAL CALLING.

I. ALL those whom God hath predestinated unto life, and those only, he is pleased in his appointed and accepted time effectually to call by his word and spirit, out of that state of sin and death, in which they are by nature, to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ, inlightning their minds spiritually and savingly to understand the things of God, taking away their heart of stone, and giving unto them an heart of flesh, renewing their wills, and by his Almighty power determining them to that which is good, and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ: Yet so as they come most freely, being made willing by his grace.

II. This effectual call is God's free and special grace alone, not from any thing at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein, until

being quickened and renewed by the holy spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it.

III. Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ, who worketh when and where and how he pleaseth: so also are all other elect persons, who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word.

IV. Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the spirit; yet not being effectually drawn by their Father, they neither do nor can come unto Christ, and therefore cannot be saved; much less can men, not professing the Christian religion, be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature and the law of that religion they do profess: And to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious, and to be detested.

CHAPTER XI.

OF JUSTIFICATION.

I. THOSE whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth, not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous, not for any thing wrought in them or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; nor by imputing faith its self, the act of believing, or any other evangelical obedience to them, as their righteousness, but by imputing Christ's active obedience unto the whole law, and passive obedience in his sufferings and death, for their whole and sole righteousness, they receiving and resting on him and his righteousness by faith, which faith they have not of themselves—it is the gift of God.

II. Faith thus receiving and resting on Christ and his righteousness, is the alone instrument of justification; yet it is not alone in the person justified, but is ever accompanied with all other saving graces, and is no dead faith, but worketh by love.

III. Christ, by his obedience and death, did fully discharge the debt of all those that are justified, and did, by the sacrifice of himself in the blood of his cross, undergoing in their stead the penalty due unto them, make a proper, real, and full satisfaction to God's justice in their behalf: Yet, inasmuch as he was given by the Father for them, and his obedience and satisfaction accepted in their stead, and both freely, not for any thing in them, their justification is only of free grace, that both the exact justice and rich grace of God might be glorified in the justification of sinners.

IV. God did from all eternity decree to justify all the elect, and Christ did in the fulness of time dye for their sins, and rise again for their justi-

fication: Nevertheless, they are not justified personally, until the Holy Spirit doth in due time actually apply Christ unto them.

V. God doth continue to forgive the sins of those that are justified, and although they can never fall from the state of justification, yet they may by their sins fall under God's fatherly displeasure: And, in that condition, they have not usually the light of his countenance restored unto them, until they humble themselves, confess their sins, beg pardon, and renew their faith and repentance.

VI. The justification of believers under the Old Testament was, in all these respects, one and the same with the justification of believers under the New Testament.

CHAPTER XII.

OF ADOPTION.

I. ALL those that are justified, God vouchsafeth in and for his only Son Jesus Christ to make partakers of the grace of adoption, by which they are taken into the number, and enjoy the liberties and privileges of the children of God, have his name put upon them, receive the spirit of adoption, have access to the throne of grace with boldness, are enabled to cry "Abba Father," are pitied, protected, provided for, and chastened by him, as by a father, yet never cast off, but sealed to the day of redemption, and inherit the promises, as heirs of everlasting salvation.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF SANCTIFICATION.

I. THEY that are effectually called and regenerated, being united to Christ, having a new heart, and a new spirit created in them, through the virtue of Christ's death and resurrection, are also further sanctified really and personally, through the same virtue, by his word and spirit dwelling in them, the dominion of the whole body of sin is destroyed, and the several lusts thereof are more and more weakened and mortified, and they more and more quickened and strengthened in all saving graces, to the practice of all true holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.

II. This sanctification is throughout in the whole man, yet imperfect in this life; there abide still some remnants of corruption in every part, whence ariseth a continual and irreconcilable war, the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh.

III. In which war, although the remaining corruption, for a time, may much prevail, yet through the continual supply of strength from the sanctifying spirit of Christ, the regenerate part doth overcome, and so the saints grow in grace, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF SAVING FAITH.

I. THE grace of faith, whereby the elect are enabled to believe to the saving of their souls, is the work of the spirit of Christ in their hearts, and is ordinarily wrought by the ministry of the word; by which also, and by the administration of the seals, prayer and other means, it is increased and strengthened.

II. By this faith, a Christian believeth to be true whatever is revealed in the word; for the authority of God himself speaketh therein, and acteth differently upon that which each particular passage thereof containeth, yielding obedience to his commands, trembling at the threatenings, and embracing the promises of God for this life and that which is to come. But the principal acts of saving faith are accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification and eternal life, by virtue of the covenant of grace.

III. This faith, although it be different in degrees, and may be weak or strong, yet it is, in the least degree of it, different in the kind or nature of it (as is all other saving grace) from the faith and common grace of temporary believers; and, therefore, though it may be many times assailed and weakened, yet it gets the victory, growing up in many to the attainment of a full assurance through Christ, who is both the Author and finisher of our faith.

CHAPTER XV.

OF REPENTANCE UNTO LIFE AND SALVATION.

I. SUCH of the elect as are converted at riper years, having sometime lived in the state of nature, and therein served divers lusts and pleasures, God in their effectual calling giveth them repentance unto life.

II. Whereas there is none that doth good and sinneth not, and the best of men may through the power and deceitfulness of their corruptions dwelling in them, with the prevalency of temptation, fall into great sins and provocations; God hath in the covenant of grace mercifully provided, that believers so sinning and falling be renewed, through repentance unto salvation.

III. This saving repentance is an evangelical grace, whereby a person being by the Holy Ghost made sensible of the manifold evils of his sin, doth by faith in Christ humble himself for it with godly sorrow, detestation of it, and self-abhorrency, praying for pardon and strength of grace, with a purpose and endeavour, by supplies of the spirit, to walk before God unto all well-pleasing in all things.

IV. As repentance is to be continued through the whole course of our lives, upon the account of the body of death and the motions thereof; so 'tis every man's duty to repent of his particular known sins particularly.

V. Such is the provision which God hath made, through Christ, in the covenant of grace, for the preservation of believers unto salvation, that although there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation; yet there is no sin so great, that it shall bring damnation on them who truly repent; which makes the constant preaching of repentance necessary.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF GOOD WORKS.

I. GOOD works are only such as God hath commanded in his holy word, and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by men out of blind zeal, or upon any pretence of good intentions.

II. These good works, done in obedience to God's commandments, are the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith; and by them believers manifest their thankfulness, strengthen their assurance, edifie their brethren, adorn the profession of the gospel, stop the mouths of the adversaries, and glorifie God, whose workmanship they are created in Christ Jesus thereunto, that having their fruit unto holiness, they may have the end, eternal life.

III. Their ability to do good works is not at all of themselves, but wholly from the spirit of Christ. And that they may be enabled thereunto, besides the graces they have already received, there is required an actual influence of the same Holy Spirit, to work in them to will and to do of his good pleasure; yet are they not hereupon to grow negligent, as if they were not bound to perform any duty, unless upon a special motion of the spirit, but they ought to be diligent in stirring up the grace of God that is in them.

IV. They who in their obedience attain to the greatest height which is possible in this life, are so far from being able to supererogate, and to do more than God requires, as that they fall short of much which in duty they are bound to do.

V. We cannot by our best works merit pardon of sin, or eternal life at the hand of God, by reason of the great disproportion that is between them and the glory to come, and the infinite distance that is between us and God, whom by them we can neither profit nor satisfie for the debt of our former sins; but when we have done all we can, we have done but our duty, and are unprofitable servants: And because, as they are good, they proceed from his spirit, and as they are wrought by us, they are defiled and mixed with so much weakness and imperfection, that they cannot endure the severity of God's judgment.

VI. Yet notwithstanding, the persons of believers being accepted through Christ, their good works also are accepted in him, not as though they were in this life wholly unblameable and unreprouable in God's sight, but that he looking upon them in his Son is pleased to accept and reward that which is sincere, although accompanied with many weaknesses and imperfections.

VII. Works done by unregenerate men, although, for the matter of them, they may be things which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and to others: Yet because they proceed not from an heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner according to the word, nor to a right end, the glory of God; they are therefore sinful, and cannot please God, nor make a man meet to receive grace from God; and yet their neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing to God.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE PERSEVERANCE OF THE SAINTS.

I. THEY whom God hath accepted in his beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved.

II. This perseverance of the saints depends not upon their own free will, but upon the immutability of the decree of election, from the free and unchangeable love of God the Father upon the efficacy of the merit and intercession of Jesus Christ, and union with him, the oath of God, the abiding of his spirit, and the seed of God within them, and the nature of the covenant of grace; from all which ariseth also the certainty and infallibility thereof.

III. And although they may, through the temptation of Satan, and of the world, the prevalency of corruption remaining in them, and the neglect of the means of their preservation, fall into grievous sins, and for a time continue therein, whereby they incur God's displeasure, and grieve his Holy Spirit, come to have their graces and comforts impaired, have their hearts hardened, and their consciences wounded, hurt and scandalize others, and bring temporal judgments upon themselves; yet they are and shall be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE ASSURANCE OF GRACE AND SALVATION.

I. ALTHOUGH temporary believers and other unregenerate men may vainly deceive themselves with false hopes, and carnal presumptions of

being in the favour of God, and state of salvation, which hope of theirs shall perish, yet such as truly believe in the Lord Jesus, and love him in sincerity, endeavouring to walk in good conscience before him, may, in this life, be certainly assured that they are in the state of grace, and may rejoyce in the hope of the glory of God, which hope shall never make them ashamed.

II. This certainty is not a bare conjectural and probable perswasion, grounded upon a fallible hope, but an infallible assurance of faith, founded on the blood and righteousness of Christ, revealed in the gospel; and also upon the inward evidence of those graces; unto which promises are made, and on the immediate witness of the Spirit, testifying our adoption, and as a fruit thereof, leaving the heart more humble and holy.

III. This infallible assurance doth not so belong to the essence of faith, but that a true believer may wait long, and conflict with many difficulties before he be partaker of it; yet being enabled by the Spirit to know the things which are freely given him of God, he may without extraordinary revelation, in the right use of ordinary means, attain thereunto: And therefore it is the duty of every one to give all diligence to make his calling and election sure, that thereby his heart may be enlarged in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, in love and thankfulness to God, and in strength and cheerfulness in the duties of obedience, the proper fruits of this assurance; so far is it from inclining men to looseness.

IV. True believers may have the assurance of their salvation diverse ways shaken, diminish'd and intermitted, as by negligence in preserving of it, by falling into some special sin, which woundeth the conscience and grieveth the spirit, by some sudden or vehement temptation, by God's withdrawing the light of his countenance, suffering even such as fear him to walk in darkness and to have no light, yet are they neither utterly destitute of that seed of God, and life of faith, that love of Christ and the brethren, that sincerity of heart, and conscience of duty, out of which, by the operation of the spirit, this assurance may, in due time, be revived, and by the which, in the mean time, they are supported from utter despair.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE LAW OF GOD.

I. God gave to Adam a law of universal obedience written in his heart, and a particular precept of not eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, as a covenant of works by which he bound him and all his posterity to personal, entire, exact and perpetual obedience, promised life upon the fulfilling, and threatened death upon the breach of it, and endued him with power and ability to keep it.

II. This law, so written in the heart, continued to be a perfect rule of

righteousness after the fall of man, and was delivered by God on Mount Sinai in ten commandments, and written in two tables; the four first commandments containing our duty towards God, and the other six our duty to man.

III. Besides this law, commonly called moral, God was pleased to give to the people of Israel, as a church under age, ceremonial laws, containing several typical ordinances, partly of worship, prefiguring Christ, his graces, actions, sufferings and benefits, and partly holding forth divers institutions of moral duties: All which ceremonial laws, being appointed only to the time of reformation, are by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah and only law-giver, who was furnished with power from the Father for that end, abrogated and taken away.

IV. To them also he gave sundry judicial laws, which expired together with the state of that people, not obliging any now, by virtue of that instruction, their general equity only being still of moral use.

V. The moral law doth for ever bind all, as well justified persons as others, to the obedience thereof; and that not only in regard of the matter contained in it, but also in respect of the authority of God the Creator, who gave it; neither doth Christ in the Gospel any ways dissolve, but much strengthen this obligation.

VI. Although true believers be not under the law as a covenant of works, to be thereby justified or condemned, yet it is of great use to them, as well as to others, in that, as a rule of life, informing them of the will of God and their duty, and directs and binds them to walk accordingly, discovering also the final pollutions of their natures, hearts and lives, so as, examining themselves thereby, they may come to further conviction of humiliation for, and hatred against sin, together with a clearer sight of the need they have of Christ and the perfection of his obedience. It is likewise of use to the regenerate, to restrain their corruptions, in that it forbids sin, and the threatenings of it serve to shew what even their sins deserve, and what afflictions in this life they may expect for them, although freed from the curse thereof threatened in the law. The promises of it in like manner shews them God's approbation of obedience, and what blessings they may expect upon performance thereof, although not as due to them by the law as a covenant of works; so as a man's doing good, and refraining from evil, because the law encourageth to the one and deterreth from the other, is no evidence of his being under the law and not under grace.

VII. Neither are the fore-mentioned uses of the law contrary to the graces of the gospel, but do sweetly comply with it, the Spirit of Christ subduing and enabling the will of man to do that freely and cheerfully, which the will of God revealed in the law requireth to be done.

CHAPTER XX

OF THE GOSPEL, AND OF THE EXTENT OF THE GRACE THEREOF.

I. THE covenant of works, being broken by sin, and made unprofitable unto life, God was pleased to give unto the elect the promise of Christ, the seed of the woman, as the means of calling them, and begetting in them faith and repentance: In this promise, the gospel, as to the substance of it, was revealed, and was therein effectual for the conversion and salvation of sinners.

II. This promise of Christ and salvation by him, is revealed only in and by the word of God: neither do the works of creation or providence, with the light of nature, make discovery of Christ, or of grace by him, so much as in a general or obscure way; much less, that men destitute of the revelation of him by the promise or gospel, should be enabled thereby to attain saving faith or repentance.

III. The revelation of the gospel unto sinners, made in diverse times and by sundry parts, with the addition of promises and precepts, for the obedience required therein, as to the nations and persons to whom it is granted, is merely of the sovereign will and good pleasure of God, not being annexed by virtue of any promise to the due improvement of men's natural abilities, by virtue of common light received without it, which none ever did make or can so do. And therefore, in all ages, the preaching of the gospel hath been granted unto persons and nations, as to the extent of straitning of it in a great variety according to the council of the will of God.

IV. Although the gospel be the only outward means of revealing Christ and saving grace, and is, as such, abundantly sufficient thereunto: yet that men, who are dead in trespasses, may be born again, quickened or regenerated, there is, moreover, necessary an effectual, irresistible work of the Holy Ghost upon the whole soul, for the producing in them a spiritual life, without which no other means are sufficient for their conversion unto God.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY, AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

I. THE liberty which Christ hath purchased for believers under the gospel, consists in their freedom from the guilt of sin, the condemning wrath of God, the rigour and curse of the law, and in their being delivered from this present evil world, bondage to Satan, and dominion of sin, from the evil of afflictions, the fear and sting of death, the victory of the grave, and everlasting damnation, as also in their free access to God, and their yielding obedience unto him, not out of slavish fear, but a child-like love,

and willing mind: all which were common also to believers under the law, for the substance of them, but under the New-Testament the liberty of Christians is further enlarged in their freedom from the yoke of the ceremonial law, the whole legal administration of the covenant of grace to which the Jewish church was subjected, and in greater boldness of access to the throne of grace, and in fuller communications of the free spirit of God, than believers under the law did ordinarily partake of.

II. God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are, in any thing, contrary unto his word; or not contained in it; so that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commands, out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience, and the requiring of an implicit faith; and an absolute blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also.

III. They who upon pretence of Christian liberty do practice any sin, or cherish any lust, as they do thereby pervert the main design of the grace of the gospel to their own destruction, so they wholly destroy the end of Christian liberty, which is, that being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, we might serve the Lord without fear in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP, AND OF THE SABBATH-DAY.

I. THE light of nature sheweth that there is a God, who hath lordship and sovereignty over all, is just, good, and doth good unto all, and is therefore to be feared, loved, praised, called upon, trusted in, and served with all the heart, and all the soul, and with all the might: but the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited by his own revealed will, that he may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representations, or any other way not prescribed in the holy Scripture.

II. Religious worship is to be given to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and to him alone, not to angels, saints or any other creatures, and since the fall not without a Mediator, nor in the mediation of any other but of Christ alone.

III. Prayer with thanksgiving being one special part of natural worship, is by God required of all men; but that it may be accepted, it is to be made in the name of the Son, by the help of his spirit, according to his will, with understanding, reverence, humility, fervency, faith, love and perseverance: and when with others, in a known tongue.

IV. Prayer is to be made for things lawful, and for all sorts of men living, or that shall live hereafter, but not for the dead, nor for those of whom it may be known that they have sinned the sin unto death.

V. The reading of the Scriptures, preaching and hearing the word of God, singing of psalms, as also the administration of baptism, and the Lord's Supper, are all parts of religious worship of God, to be performed in obedience unto God with understanding, faith, reverence and godly fear. Solemn humiliations, with fastings and thanksgiving upon special occasions, are, in their several times and seasons, to be used in an holy and religious manner.

VI. Neither prayer, nor any other part of religious worship, is now under the gospel, either tyed unto, or made more acceptable by any place in which it is performed, or towards which it is directed: But God is to be worshipped every where in spirit and in truth, as in private families daily, and in secret, each one by himself, so more solemnly in the publick assemblies, which are not carelessly nor wilfully to be neglected, or forsaken, when God by his word or providence calleth thereunto.

VII. As it is of the law of nature, that in general a proportion of time by God's appointment be set apart for the worship of God; so by his word in a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding all men in all ages, he hath particularly appointed one day in seven for a sabbath to be kept holy unto him, which, from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week, and from the resurrection of Christ was changed into the first day of the week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's day, and is to be continued unto the end of the world, as a Christian Sabbath, the observation of the last day of the week being abolished.

VIII. This Sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when men, after a due preparing of their hearts, and ordering their common affairs before hand, do not only observe an holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations, but also are taken up the whole time in the publick and private exercises of his worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF LAWFUL OATHS AND VOWS.

I. A LAWFUL oath is a part of religious worship, wherein the person swearing in truth, righteousness and judgment, solemnly calleth God to witness what he asserteth, or promiseth, and to judge him according to the truth or falsehood of what he sweareth.

II. The name of God only is that by which men ought to swear, and therein it is to be used with all holy fear and reverence: Therefore to swear vainly or rashly by that glorious and dreadful name, or to swear at all, by any other thing, is sinful and to be abhorred. Yet, as in matters of weight and moment, an oath is warranted by the word of God; under the New

Testament, as well as under the Old; so a lawful oath, being imposed by lawful authority, in such matters ought to be taken.

III. Whosoever taketh an oath warranted by the word of God, ought duly to consider the weightiness of so solemn an act, and therein to avouch nothing but what he is fully persuaded is the truth; neither may any man bind himself by oath to any thing, but what is good and just, and what he believeth so to be, and what he is able and resolved to perform. Yet it is a sin to refuse an oath touching any thing that is good and just, being lawfully imposed by authority.

IV. An oath is to be taken in the plain and common sense of the words, without equivocation, or mental reservation; it cannot oblige to sin; but in any thing, not sinful, being taken, it binds to performance, altho' to a man's own hurt; nor is it to be violated, although made to hereticks or infidels.

V. A vow, which is not to be made to any creature but God alone, is of the like nature with a promissory oath, and ought to be made with the like religious care, and to be performed with the like faithfulness.

VI. Popish monastical vows of perpetual single life, professed poverty, and regular obedience, are so far from being degrees of higher perfection, that they are superstitious and sinful snares, in which no Christian may intangle himself.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE.

I. GOD, the supreme Lord and King of all the world, hath ordained civil magistrates to be under him, over the people for his own glory and the public good: And to this end has armed them with the power of the sword for the defence and encouragement of them that do good, and for the punishment of evil doers.

II. It is lawful for Christians to accept and execute the office of a magistrate, when called thereunto: In the management whereof, as they ought especially to maintain piety, justice and peace, according to the wholesome laws of each common-wealth, so for that end, they may lawfully now under the New Testament wage war upon just and necessary occasion.

III. They who upon pretence of Christian liberty shall oppose any lawful power, or the lawful exercises of it, resist the ordinance of God; and for their publishing of such opinions, or maintaining of such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, or to the known principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship or conversation, or to the power of godliness, or such erroneous opinions or practices, as either in their own nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church, they may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded against by

the censures of the church, and by the power of the civil magistrate; yet in such differences about the doctrines of the gospel, or ways of the worship of God, as may befall men, exercising a good conscience, manifesting it in their conversation, and holding the foundation, and duly observing the rules of peace and order, there is no warrant for the magistrate to abridge them of their liberty.

IV. It is the duty of people to pray for magistrates, to honour their persons, to pay them tribute and other dues, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority for conscience sake. Infidelity or difference in religion does not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him: From which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted, much less has the Pope any power or jurisdiction over them in their dominions, or over any of their people, and least of all to deprive them of their dominions or lives, if he shall judge them to be hereticks, or upon any other pretence whatsoever.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF MARRIAGE.

I. MARRIAGE is to be between one man and one woman: Neither is it lawful for any man to have more than one wife, nor for any woman to have more than one husband at the same time.

II. Marriage was ordained for the mutual help of husband and wife, for the increase of mankind with a legitimate issue, and of the church with an holy seed, and for preventing of uncleanness.

III. It is lawful for all sorts of people to marry, who are able with judgment to give their consent. Yet it is the duty of Christians to marry in the Lord; and, therefore, such as profess the true reformed religion should not marry with infidels, papists, or other idolaters: Neither should such as are godly be unequally yoked, by marrying such as are wicked in their life, or maintain damnable heresie.

IV. Marriage ought not to be within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity forbidden in the word; nor can such incestuous marriages ever be made lawful by any law of man or consent of parties, so as those persons may live together as man and wife.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE CHURCH.

I. THE catholic or universal church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are or shall be gathered into one under Christ, the head thereof, and is the spouse, the body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.

II. The whole body of men, throughout the world, professing the faith of the gospel, and obedience unto God by Christ, according unto it, not destroying their own profession, by any errors everting the foundation, or unholiness of conversation, they and their children with them are and may be called the visible catholic church of Christ, although, as such, it is not intrusted with any officers, to rule or govern over the whole body.

III. The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error, and some have so degenerated, as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan: Nevertheless, Christ always hath had, and ever shall have a visible kingdom in this world, to the end thereof, of such as believe in him, and make profession of his name.

IV. There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the church against Christ, and all that is called God, whom the Lord shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.

V. As the Lord, in his care and love towards his church, hath in his infinite wise Providence exercised it with great variety in all ages, for the good of them that love him and his own glory: So, according to his promise, we expect that in the latter days, Antichrist being destroyed, the Jews called, and the adversaries of the kingdom of his dear Son broken, the churches of Christ being enlarged, and edified through a free and plentiful communication of light and grace, shall enjoy in this world a more quiet, peaceable, and glorious condition than they have enjoyed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

I. ALL saints that are united to Jesus Christ their head by his spirit and faith, although they are not made thereby one person with him, have fellowship in his graces, sufferings, death, resurrection and glory: And being united to one another in love, they have communion in each other's gifts and graces, and are obliged to the performance of such duties, publick and private, as do conduce to their mutual good both in the inward and outward man.

II. All saints are bound to mention an holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God, and in performing such other spiritual services as tend to their mutual edification, as also in relieving each other in outward things, according to their several abilities and necessities; which communion, though especially to be exercised by them in the relations wherein they stand, whether in families or churches, yet as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto all those who, in every place, call upon the name of the Lord Jesus.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE SACRAMENTS.

I. SACRAMENTS are holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace, immediately instituted by Christ, to represent him and his benefits, and to confirm our interest in him, and solemnly to engage us to the service of God in Christ, according to his word.

II. There is in every sacrament a spiritual relation, or sacramental union between the sign and the thing signified; whence it comes to pass that the names and effects of the one are attributed to the other.

III. The grace which is exhibited in or by the sacraments, rightly used, is not conferred by any power in them, neither doth the efficacy of a sacrament depend upon the piety and intention of him that doth administer it, but upon the work of the spirit and the word of institution, which contains, together with a precept authorizing the use thereof, a promise of benefit to worthy receivers.

IV. There be only two sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the gospel; that is to say, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; neither of which may be dispensed by any but by a minister of the word, lawfully called.

V. The sacraments of the Old Testament, in regard of the spiritual things thereby signified and exhibited, were for substance the same with those of the New.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF BAPTISM.

I. BAPTISM is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, to be unto the party baptized a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life; which ordinance is by Christ's own appointment to be continued in his church until the end of the world.

II. The outward element to be us'd in this ordinance is water, where-with the party is to be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by a minister of the gospel, lawfully called thereunto.

III. Dipping of the person into the water is not necessary, but baptism is rightly administered by pouring or sprinkling water upon the person.

IV. Not only those that do actually profess faith in, and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents, are to be baptized, and those only.

V. Although it be a great sin to contemn or neglect this ordinance, yet

grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed to it, as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it; or that all that are baptized, are undoubtedly regenerated.

VI. The efficacy of baptism is not tyed to that moment of time wherein it is administered; yet notwithstanding, by the right use of this ordinance, the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost to such (whether of age or infants) as that grace belongeth unto, according to the counsel of God's own will, in his appointed time.

VII. Baptism is but once to be administered to any person.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

I. OUR Lord Jesus, in the night when he was betray'd, instituted the sacrament of his body and blood, call'd the Lord's Supper, to be observed in his churches to the end of the world, for the perpetual remembrance and shewing forth of the sacrifice of himself in his death, the sealing of all benefits thereof unto true believers, their spiritual nourishment, and growth in him, their further engagement in and to all duties, which they owe unto him, and to be a bond and pledge of their communion with him, and with each other.

II. In this sacrament Christ is not offered up to his Father, nor any real sacrifice made at all for remission of sin of the quick or dead, but only a memorial of that one offering up of himself upon the cross, once for all, and a spiritual oblation of all possible praise unto God for the same; so that the popish sacrifice of the Mass (as they call it) is most abominably injurious to Christ's own only sacrifice, the alone propitiation for all the sins of the elect.

III. The Lord Jesus hath in this ordinance appointed his ministers to declare his word of institution to the people, to pray and bless the elements of bread and wine, and thereby to set them apart from a common to an holy use, and to take and break the bread, to take the cup, and (they communicating also themselves) to give both to the communicants, but to none who are not then present in the congregation.

IV. Private masses, or receiving the sacrament by a priest, or any other alone, as likewise the denial of the cup to the people, worshipping the elements, the lifting them up, or carrying them about for adoration, and the reserving them for any pretended religious use, are all contrary unto the nature of this sacrament and to the institution of Christ.

V. The outward elements in this sacrament duly set apart to the uses ordained by Christ, have such relation to him crucified, as that truly, yet sacramentally only, they are sometimes call'd by the name of the things

they represent, to wit: The Body and Blood of Christ; albeit in substance and nature they still remain truly and only bread and wine, as they were before.

VI. The doctrine which maintains a change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood (commonly called *transubstantiation*) by consecration of a priest, or by any other way, is repugnant, not to the Scripture alone, but even to common sense and reason, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath been and is the cause of manifold superstitions; yea, of gross idolatries.

VII. Worthy receivers outwardly partaking of the visible elements in the sacrament, do, then, also, inwardly by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually receive and feed upon Christ crucified, and all benefits of his death; the body and blood of Christ being then not corporally or carnally in, with, or under the bread and wine, yet as really, but spiritually present to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the elements themselves are to their outward senses.

VIII. All ignorant and ungodly persons, as they are unfit to enjoy communion with Christ, so are they unworthy of the Lord's Table, and cannot without great sin against him, whilst they remain such, partake of these holy mysteries, or be admitted thereunto; yea, whosoever shall receive unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, eating and drinking judgment unto themselves.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE STATE OF MAN AFTER DEATH, AND THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

I. THE bodies of men, after death, return to dust, and see corruption, but their souls (which neither dye nor sleep) having an immortal substance, immediately return to God, who gave them; the souls of the righteous being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies: and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torment and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great-day: besides these two places of souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none.

II. At the last day, such as are found alive shall not dye, but be changed: and all the dead shall be raised up with the self-same bodies, and none other, altho' with different qualities, which shall be united again to their souls for ever.

III. The bodies of the unjust shall by the power of Christ be raised to dishonour; the bodies of the just by his spirit unto honour, and be made conformable unto his own glorious body

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF THE LAST JUDGMENT.

I. GOD hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ, to whom all power and judgment is given of the Father: in which day, not only the apostate angels shall be judged, but likewise all persons that have lived upon earth, shall appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of their thoughts, words and deeds, and to receive according to what they have done in the body, whether good or evil.

II. The end of God's appointing this day, is for the manifestation of the glory of his mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect, and of his justice in the damnation of the reprobate, who are wicked and disobedient: for, then shall the righteous go into everlasting life, and receive that fulness of joy and glory with everlasting reward in the presence of the Lord; but the wicked, who know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ, shall be cast into eternal torments, and be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.

III. As Christ would have us to be certainly perswaded that there shall be a judgment, both to deter all men from sin, and for the greater consolation of the godly in their adversity; so will he have that day unknown to men, that they may shake off all carnal security, and be always watchful, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come, and may be ever prepared to say, Come Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen.

THE SECOND PART.

THE DISCIPLINE PRACTISED IN THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

Nihil sine, nihil contra, nihil præter, nihil ultra, divinam scripturam, admittendum.—P. MARTYR.*

§ 1. THE churches of New-England enjoying so much *rest* and *growth* as they had now seen, for some *sevens* of years, it was, upon many accounts, necessary for them to make such a declaration of the *church-order*, wherein the good hand of God had *moulded* 'em, as might convey and secure the like order unto the following generations. Next unto the Bible, which was the professed, perpetual and only *directory* of these churches, they had no *platform* of their church-government, more exact than their famous John Cotton's well-known book of "*The Keys*;" which book endeavours to lay out the just lines and bounds of all church power, and *so* defines the mat-

* Nothing without, nothing contrary to, nothing aside from, nothing beyond the divine Scriptures, is admissible.—PETER MARTYR.

ter, that, as in the state, there is a dispersion of powers into several hands, which are to *concur* in all acts of common concernment; from whence ariseth the healthy constitution of a common-wealth; in like sort, he assigns the power in the church unto several subjects, wherein the united light of Scripture and of Nature have placed them, with a very satisfactory distribution. He asserts that a *presbyterated society* of the faithful hath within itself a compleat power of *self-reformation*, or, if you will, of *self-preservation*, and may within itself manage its own choices of officers and censures of delinquents. Now, a special statute-law of our Lord having excepted *women* and *children* from enjoying any part of this power, he finds only *elders* and *brethren* to be the constituent members, who may act in such a sacred corporation; the elders, he finds the first subject entrusted with government, the brethren endowed with priviledge, insomuch, that tho' the elders only are to *rule* the church, and without them there can be no elections, admissions, or excommunications, and they have a negative upon the acts of the fraternity, as well as 'tis *they* only that have the power of authoritative preaching, and administring the sacraments; yet the *brethren* have such a *liberty*, that without their consent nothing of *common concernment* may be imposed upon them. Nevertheless, because particular churches of *elders* and *brethren* may abuse their *power* with manifold mis-carriages, he asserts the necessary communion of churches in *synods*, who have authority to determine, declare and injoin, such things as may rectifie the male-administrations, or any disorders, dissensions and confusions of the congregations, which fall under their cognizance: but, still, so as to leave unto the particular churches themselves the *formal acts*, which are to be done pursuant unto the advice of the council; upon the scandalous and obstinate refusal whereof, the council may determine "to withdraw communion from them," as from those who will not be counselled against a notorious mismanagement of the jurisdiction which the Lord Jesus Christ has given them. This was the *design* of that judicious treatise, wherein was contained the substance of our church-discipline; and whereof I have one remarkable thing to relate, as I go along. That great person, who afterwards proved one of the greatest scholars, divines and writers in this age, then under the "prejudice of conversation," set himself to write a confutation of this very treatise "of the Keys;" but having made a considerable progress in his undertaking, such was the strength of this *unanswerable book*, that instead of his *confuting* it, it conquered him; and the book of "*The Keys*" was happily so blessed of God for the conveyance of congregational principles into the now opened mind of this learned man, that he not only wrote in defence of Mr. Cotton against Mr. Caudry, but also expos'd himself to more than a little sorrow and labour, all his days, for the maintaining of those principles. Upon which occasion, the words of the doctor [Owen in his Review of the True Nature of Schism] are: "This way of impartial examining all things by the *word*, and laying aside

all prejudicate respects unto persons or present traditions, is a course that I would admonish all to beware of, who would avoid the danger of being made (what they call) INDEPENDENTS." Having said thus much of that book, all that I shall add concerning it is, that the famous Mr. Rutherford himself, in his treatise intitled, "*A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist*," has these words: "Mr. Cotton, in his Treatise of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, is well sound in our way, if he had given some more power to assemblies and in some lesser points." But it was convenient the churches of New-England should have a *system* of their discipline, extracted from the word of God, and exhibited unto them, with a more effectual, acknowledged and established recommendation: and nothing but a *council* was proper to compose the system. The reader is now to expect a council at Cambridge; and, in truth, another sort of council than that sham "Council of Trent," whereof one that was present, wrote this account unto the Emperor Maximilian II.

"We daily saw hungry and needy bishops come to Trent. Youths, for the most part, given to luxury and riot, hired only to give their voice, as the people pleased. They were both unlearn'd and simple, yet fit for the purpose, in regard of their impudent boldness. When these were added unto the Pope's old flatterers, iniquity triumph'd; it was impossible to determine anything, but as they pleased. The council seemed not to consist of bishops, but of disguised masquers; not of men, but of images, such as Dædalus made, moved by nerves none of their own. They were hireling bishops, which, as country bag-pipes, could not speak but as breath was put into them."

The difference between the bishops now to assemble at Cambridge, and the bishops which then made such a noise by their conventicle at Trent, was in truth not much less than that between *angels* and *devils*.

§ 2. Wherefore, a bill was preferred unto the general court in the year 1646, for the calling of a synod, whereby, a "platform of church discipline," according to the direction of our Lord Jesus Christ in his blessed word, might most advantageously be composed and published. The magistrates in the general court passed the bill, but the deputies had their little scruples how far the civil authority might interpose in matters of such religious and ecclesiastical cognizance; and whether scaffolds might not now be raised, by the means whereof the civil authority should pretend hereafter to impose a *uniformity*, in such instances which had better be left at *liberty* and *variety*. It was reply'd, that it belong'd unto magistrates by all rational ways to encourage *truth* and *peace* among their people; and that the council now called by the magistrates was to proceed but by way of *council*, with the best light which could be fetched from the word of God; but the *court* would be after all free, as they saw cause to approve or to reject what should be offered.

After all, tho' the objections of the deputies were thus answered, yet, in compliance with such as were not yet satisfied, the order for the calling of the intended assembly was directed only in the form of a motion, and not

of a command, unto the churches. But certain persons, come lately from England, so inflamed the zeal for "liberty of conscience" among the people, that all this compliance of the authority could not remove the fear of some churches, lest some invasion of that liberty were threatened by a clause in the order of the court, which intimated "that what should be presented by the synod, the court would give such allowance as would be meet unto it. The famous and leading church of Boston, particularly, was *ensnared* so much by this fear, that upon the Lord's day, when the "order of the court" was first communicated unto them, they could not come unto an immediate resolution of sending any delegates unto the synod; but Mr. Norton, then of Ipswich, at Boston lecture the Thursday following, preached an elaborate sermon unto a vast auditory, on Moses and Aaron kissing each other in the mount of God: and in that sermon, he so represented the nature and power of synods, and the respect owing from churches to rulers calling for synods, that on the next Lord's day, the church voted the sending of three *messengers*, with their elders, unto this assembly. Indeed, the happy experience of New-England has taken away from its churches all occasion for any complaint like that of Luther's: *Mihi conciliorum nomen, pene tam suspectum et invisum, quam nomen Liberi Arbitrii.**

§ 3. It being so near winter before the synod could convene, that few of the ministers invited from the other colonies could be present at it, they now sat but fourteen days; and then adjourned unto the eighth of June in the year ensuing. Nevertheless, at their first session, there was an occasion which they took to consider and examine an important case; and it came to this result:

A PROPOSITION ABOUT THE MAGISTRATE'S POWER IN MATTERS OF RELIGION.

"THE civil magistrate in matters of *religion*, or of the *first table*, hath *power* civilly to command or forbid things respecting the *outward man* which are *clearly* commanded or forbidden in the word, and to inflict suitable punishments, according to the nature of the transgressions against the same."

Several arguments, with testimonies for the confirmation of this position annexed thereunto, were afterwards printed at London in the year 1654, accompanied with a discourse of Mr. Tho. Allen, wherein this doctrine was further explained, and I would hope *so* explained, that if so renowned a saint, as the famous Martin, who, to the death, renounced communion with the synods which had perswaded the emperor to employ the civil sword against the Gnostick Priscillianists, had been alive, even *he* would not have altogether disallowed the desires of these good men to see the civil magistrate employing his power to discountenance profane and wicked *heresies*.

But the "platform of church discipline" to be commended unto the

* To me the name of Councils is almost as much suspected and as offensive as that of Free-Will.

churches, was the *main chance* which the assembly was to mind; in order whereunto they directed three eminent persons—namely, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Richard Mather, and Mr. Ralph Partridge—each of them to draw up a scriptural “model of church government;” unto the end that, out of those, there might be *one* educed, which the synod might, after the most *fitting thoughts* upon it, send abroad. When the synod met, at the time to which they had adjourned, the summer proved so sickly that a delay of one year more was given to their undertaking; but at last the desired “platform of church discipline” was agreed upon, and the synod broke up, with singing the “song of Moses and the Lamb,” in the fifteenth chapter of the Revelation—adding another sacred *song* from the nineteenth chapter of that book; which is to be found metrically paraphrased in the New-England psalm-book: so it was presented unto the general court, in the month of October, 1648.

And the court most thankfully accepted and approved of it. It now follows:

A PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE,

GATHERED OUT OF THE WORD OF GOD,

AND AGREED UPON BY THE ELDERS AND MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES
ASSEMBLED IN THE SYNOD, AT CAMBRIDGE, IN NEW-ENGLAND.

TO BE PRESENTED TO THE CHURCHES AND GENERAL COURT FOR THEIR CONSID-
ERATION AND ACCEPTANCE IN THE LORD, THE 8TH MONTH, ANNO 1649.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE FORM OF CHURCH-GOVERNMENT; AND THAT IT IS ONE, IMMUTABLE, AND PRESCRIBED
IN THE WORD.

1. ECCLESIASTICAL polity, or church-government or discipline, is nothing else but that form and order that is to be observed in the church of Christ upon earth, both for the constitution of it, and all the administrations that therein are to be performed.

2. Church-government is considered in a double respect, either in regard of the parts of government themselves, or necessary circumstances thereof. The parts of government are prescribed in the word, because the Lord Jesus Christ, (Heb. iii. 5, 6; Exo. xxv. 40; 2 Tim. iii. 16,) the King and Law-giver in his church, is no less faithful in the house of God, than was Moses, who from the Lord delivered a form and pattern of government to the children of Israel in the Old Testament; and the holy Scriptures are now also so perfect as they are able to make the man of God perfect, and thoroughly furnished unto every good work; and therefore doubtless to the well-ordering of the house of God.

3. The parts of church-government are all of them exactly described in the word of God, (1 Tim. iii. 15; 1 Chr. xv. 13; Exod. ii. 4; 1 Tim. vi. 13.

16; Heb. xii. 27, 28; 1 Cor. xv. 24,) being parts or means of instituted worship according to the second commandment, and therefore to continue one and the same unto the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a kingdom that cannot be shaken, until he shall deliver it up unto God, even to the Father. (Deut. xii. 32; Ezek. xlv. 8; 1 Kin. xii. 31, 32, 33.) So that it is not left in the power of men, officers, churches, or any state in the world, to add, or diminish, or alter any thing in the least measure therein.

4. The necessary circumstances, as time and place, &c., belonging unto order and decency, are not so left unto men, as that, under pretence of them, they may thrust their own inventions upon the churches, (2 Kin. xii.; Exo. xx. 19; Isa. xxviii. 13; Col. i. 22, 23,) being circumscribed in the word with many general limitations, where they are determined with respect to the matter to be neither worship it self, nor circumstances separable from worship. (Acts xv. 28; Mat. xv. 9; 1 Cor. xi. 23, and viii. 34.) In respect of their end, they must be done unto edification; in respect of the manner, decently and in order, according to the nature of the things themselves, and civil and church custom. Doth not even nature its self teach you? Yea, they are in some sort determined particularly—namely, that they be done in such a manner as, all circumstances considered, is most expedient for edification: (1 Cor. xiv. 26, and xiv. 40, and xi. 14. 16, and xiv. 12. 19; Acts xv. 28.) So as, if there be no error of man concerning their determination, the determining of them is to be accounted as if it were divine.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE NATURE OF THE CATHOLICK CHURCH IN GENERAL, AND IN SPECIAL OF A PARTICULAR VISIBLE CHURCH.

1. THE catholick church is the whole company of those that are elected, redeemed, and in time effectually called from the state of sin and death unto a state of grace and salvation in Jesus Christ.

2. This church is either triumphant or militant. Triumphant, the number of them who are glorified in heaven; militant, the number of them who are conflicting with their enemies upon earth.

3. This militant church is to be consider'd as invisible and visible. (2 Tim. ii. 19; Rev. ii. 17; 1 Cor. vi. 17; Eph. iii. 17; Rom. i. 8; 1 Thes. i. 8; Isa. ii. 2; 1 Tim. vi. 12.) Invisible, in respect to their relation, wherein they stand to Christ as a body unto the head, being united unto him by the Spirit of God and faith in their hearts. Visible, in respect of the profession of their faith, in their persons, and in particular churches. And so there may be acknowledged an universal visible church.

4. The members of the militant visible church, considered either as not yet in church order, or walking according to the church order of the gos-

pel. (Acts xix. 1; Col. ii. 5; Mat. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 12.) In order, and so besides the spiritual union and communion common to all believers, they enjoy moreover an union and communion ecclesiastical, political. So we deny an universal visible church.

5. The state of the members of the militant visible church, walking in order, was either before the law, (Gen. xviii. 19; Exod. xix. 6,) economical, that is, in families; or under the law, national; or since the coming of Christ, only congregational (the term *independent*, we approve not): therefore neither national, provincial, nor classical.

6. A congregational church is by the institution of Christ a part of the militant visible church, consisting of a company of saints by calling, united into one body by an holy covenant, for the publique worship of God, and the mutual edification of one another in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus. (1 Cor. xiv. 23. 36, and i. 2, and xii. 27; Ex. xix. 5, 6; Deut. xxix. 1, and 9 to 15; Acts ii. 42; 1 Cor. xiv. 26.)

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MATTER OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH, BOTH IN RESPECT OF QUALITY AND QUANTITY.

1. THE matter of the visible church are saints by calling.

2. By saints, we understand—1, Such as have not only attained the knowledge of the principles of religion, and are free from gross and open scandals, but also do, together with the profession of their faith and repentance, walk in blameless obedience to the word, so as that in charitable discretion they may be accounted saints by calling, (tho' perhaps some or more of them be unsound and hypocrites inwardly) because the members of such particular churches are commonly by the Holy Ghost called "saints and faithful brethren in Christ;" and sundry churches have been reprov'd for receiving, and suffering such persons to continue in fellowship among them, as have been offensive and scandalous; the name of God also, by this means, is blasphemed, and the holy things of God defiled and profaned, the hearts of the godly grieved, and the wicked themselves hardened and holpen forward to damnation. (1 Cor. i. 2; Eph. i. 1; Heb. vi. 1; 1 Cor. i. 5; Ro. xv. 14; Psalm l. 16, 17; Acts viii. 37; Mat. iii. 6; Ro. vi. 17; 1 Cor. i. 2; Phil. i. 2; Col. i. 2; Eph. i. 1; 1 Cor. v. 2. 13; Rev. ii. 14, 15. 20; Ezek. xlv. 7. 9, and xxiii. 38, 39; Numb. xix. 20; Hag. ii. 13, 14; 1 Cor. xi. 27. 29; Psa. xxxvii. 21; 1 Cor. v. 6; 2 Cor. vii. 14.) The example of such doth endanger the sanctity of others, a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. 2, The children of such who are also holy.

3. The members of churches, tho' orderly constituted, may in time degenerate, and grow corrupt and scandalous, which, tho' they ought not to be tolerated in the church, yet their continuance therein, thro' the

defect of the execution of discipline and just censures, doth not immediately dissolve the being of a church, as appears in the church of Israel, and the churches of Galatia and Corinth, Pergamos and Thyatira. (Rev. ii. 14, 15; and xxi. 21.)

4. The matter of the church, in respect of its *quantity*, ought not to be of greater number than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place; (1 Cor. xiv. 21; Mat. xviii. 17,) nor ordinarily fewer than may conveniently carry on church-work. Hence, when the holy Scripture makes mention of the saints combined into a church estate in a town or city, where was but one congregation, it usually calleth those saints ["the church"] in the singular number, as "the church of the Thessalonians," "the church of Smyrna, Philadelphia," &c.; (Rom. xvi. 1; 1 Thes. i. 1; Rev. ii. 28, and iii. 7,) but when it speaketh of the saints in a nation or province, wherein there were sundry congregations, it frequently and usually calleth them by the name of ["churches"] in the plural number, as the "churches of Asia, Galatia, Macedonia," and the like: (1 Cor. xvi. 1. 19; Gal. i. 2; 2 Cor. viii. 1; Thes. ii. 14,) which is further confirmed by what is written of sundry of those churches in particular, how they were assembled and met together the whole church in one place, as the church at Jerusalem, the church at Antioch, the church at Corinth and Cenchrea, tho' it were more near to Corinth, it being the port thereof, and answerable to a village; yet being a distinct congregation from Corinth, it had a church of its own, as well as Corinth had. (Acts ii. 46, and v. 12, and vi. 2, and xiv. 27, and xv. 38; 1 Cor. v. 4, and xiv. 23; Rom. xvi. 1.)

5. Nor can it with reason be thought but that every church appointed and ordained by Christ, had a ministry appointed and ordained for the same, and yet plain it is that there were no ordinary officers appointed by Christ for any other than congregational churches; (Acts xx. 28,) elders being appointed to feed not all flocks, but the particular flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, and that flock they must attend, even the whole flock: and one congregation being as much as any ordinary elders can attend, therefore there is no greater church than a congregation which may ordinarily meet in one place.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE FORM OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH, AND OF CHURCH COVENANT.

1. SAINTS by calling must have a visible political union among themselves, or else they are not yet a particular church, (1 Cor. xii. 27; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Eph. ii. 22; 1 Cor. xii. 15, 16, 17,) as those similitudes hold forth, which the Scripture makes use of to shew the nature of particular churches; as a *body*, a *building*, *house*, *hands*, *eyes*, *feet* and other members, must be united, or else (remaining separate) are not a body. Stones, timber, tho'

squared, hewen and polished, are not an house, until they are compacted and united: (Rev. ii.) so saints or believers in judgment of charity, are not a church unless orderly knit together.

2. Particular churches cannot be distinguished one from another but by their forms. Ephesus is not Smyrna, nor Pergamos Thyatira; but each one a distinct society of itself, having officers of their own, which had not the charge of others; virtues of their own, for which others are not praised; corruptions of their own, for which others are not blamed.

3. This form is the *visible covenant*, agreement or consent, whereby they give up themselves unto the Lord, to the observing of the ordinances of Christ together in the same society, which is usually call'd the "church covenant." (Ex. xix. 5. 8; Deut. xxix. 12, 13; Zec. xi. 14, and ix. 11,) for we see not otherwise how members can have church-power over one another mutually. The comparing of each particular church to a *city*, and unto a *spouse*, (Eph. ii. 19; 2 Cor. xi. 2,) seemeth to conclude not only a form, but that that form is by way of covenant. The covenant, as it was that which made the family of Abraham and children of Israel to be a church and people unto God, (Gen. xvii. 7; Eph. ii. 12. 18,) so is it that which now makes the several societies of Gentile believers to be churches in these days.

4. This voluntary agreement, consent or covenant—for all these are here taken for the same—altho' the more express and plain it is, the more fully it puts us in mind of our mutual duty; and stirreth us up to it, and leaveth less room for the questioning of the truth of the church-estate of a company of professors, and the truth of membership of particular persons; yet we conceive the substance of it is kept where there is real agreement and consent of a company of faithful persons to meet constantly together in one congregation, for the publick worship of God, and their mutual edification: which real agreement and consent they do express by their constant practice in coming together for the publick worship of God and by their religious subjection unto the ordinances of God there: (Exod. xix. 5, and xx. 8, and xxiv. 3. 17; Josh. xxiv. 18 to 24; Psal. l. 5; Neh. ix. 38, and x. 1; Gen. xvii.; Deut. xxix.) the rather, if we do consider how Scripture-covenants have been entred into, not only expressly by word of mouth, but by sacrifice, by hand-writing and seal; and also sometimes by silent consent, without any writing or expression of words at all.

5. This form being by mutual covenant, it followeth, it is not faith in the heart, nor the profession of that faith, nor cohabitation, nor baptism. 1, Not *faith in the heart*, because that is invisible. 2, Not a *bare profession*, because that declareth them no more to be members of one church than another. 3, Not *cohabitation*: Atheists or Infidels may dwell together with believers. 4, Not *Baptism*, because it presupposeth a church-estate, as circumcision in the Old Testament, which gave no being to the church, the church being before it, and in the wilderness without it. Seals presup-

pose a covenant already in being. One person is a compleat subject of baptism, but one person is incapable of being a church.

6. All believers ought, as God giveth them opportunity thereunto, to endeavour to join themselves unto a particular church, and that in respect of the honour of Jesus Christ, in his example and institution, by the professed acknowledgment of and subjection unto the order and ordinances of the gospel: (Acts ii. 47, and ix. 26; Mat. iii. 13, 14, 15, and xxviii. 19, 20; Psa. cxxxiii. 2, 3, and lxxxvii. 7; Mat. xviii. 20; 1 John i. 3,) as also in respect of their good communion founded upon their visible union, and contained in the promises of Christ's special presence in the church; whence they have fellowship with him, and in him, one with another: also in the keeping of them in the way of God's commandments, and recovering of them in case of wandering, (which all Christ's sheep are subject to in this life,) being unable to return of themselves; together with the benefit of their mutual edification, and of their posterity, that they may not be cut off from the privilege of the covenant. (Psa. cxix. 176; 1 Pet. ii. 25; Eph. iv. 16; Job xxii. 24, 25; Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17.) Otherwise, if a believer offends, he remains destitute of the remedy provided in that behalf. And should all believers neglect this duty of joining to all particular congregations, it might follow thereupon that Christ should have no visible, political churches upon earth.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE FIRST SUBJECT OF CHURCH-POWER; OR, TO WHOM CHURCH-POWER DOTH FIRST BELONG.

1. THE first subject of church-power is either supreme, or subordinate and ministerial. The supreme (by way of gift from the Father) is the Lord Jesus Christ. (Mat. xviii. 18; Rev. iii. 7; Isa. ix. 6; Joh. xx. 21. 23; 1 Cor. xiv. 32; Tit. i. 5; 1 Cor. v. 12.) The ministerial is either extraordinary, as the apostles, prophets and evangelists; or ordinary, as every particular Congregational church.

2. Ordinary church power is either power of office—that is, such as is proper to the eldership—or power of privilege, such as belongs to the brotherhood. (Rom. xii. 4. 8; Acts i. 23, and vi. 3, and xiv. 23; 1 Cor. x. 29, 30.) The latter is in the brethren formally and immediately from Christ—that is, so as it may be acted or exercised immediately by themselves; the former is not in them formally or immediately, and therefore cannot be acted or exercised immediately by them, but is said to be in them, in that they design the persons unto office, who only are to act or to exercise this power.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH, AND ESPECIALLY OF PASTORS AND TEACHERS.

1. A CHURCH being a company of people combined together by covenant for the worship of God, it appeareth thereby that there may be the essence and being of a church without any officers, seeing there is both the form and matter of a church; which is implied when it is said, "the apostles ordained elders in every church." (Acts xiv. 23.)

2. Nevertheless, tho' officers be not absolutely necessary to the simple being of churches, when they be called; yet ordinarily to their calling they are, and to their well-being: (Rom. x. 17; Jer. iii. 15; 1 Cor. xii. 28,) and therefore the Lord Jesus Christ, out of his tender compassion, hath appointed and ordained officers, which he would not have done, if they had not been useful and needful to the church; (Eph. iii. 11; Psa. lxxviii. 18; Eph. iv. 8. 11,) yea, being ascended up to heaven, he received gifts for men; whereof officers for the church are justly accounted no small parts, they being to continue to the end of the world, and for the perfecting of all the saints.

3. These officers were either extraordinary or ordinary: extraordinary, as apostles, prophets, evangelists; ordinary, as elders and deacons. The apostles, prophets, and evangelists, as they were called extraordinarily by Christ, so their office ended with themselves: (1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; Acts viii. 6. 16. 19, and xi. 28; Rom. xi. 13; 1 Cor. iv. 9,) whence it is that Paul, directing Timothy how to carry along church-administration, giveth no direction about the choice or course of apostles, prophets or evangelists, but only of elders and deacons; and when Paul was to take his last leave of the church of Ephesus, he committed the care of feeding the church to no other, but unto the elders of that church. The like charge does Peter commit to the elders. (1 Tim. iii. 1, 2. 8 to 13; Tit. i. 5; Acts xx. 17. 28; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3.)

4. Of elders (who are also in Scripture called *bishops*) some attend chiefly to the ministry of the word, as the pastors and teachers; (1 Tim. ii. 3; Phil. i. 1; Acts xx. 17. 28,) others attend especially unto rule, who are, therefore, called *ruling-elders*. (1 Tim. v. 17.)

5. The office of pastor and teacher appears to be distinct. The pastor's special work is, to attend to *exhortation*, and therein to administer a word of *wisdom*: (Eph. iv. 11; Rom. xii. 7, 8; 1 Cor. xii. 8,) the teacher is to attend to *doctrine*, and therein to administer a word of *knowledge*: (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2; Tit. i. 9,) and either of them to administer the seals of that covenant, unto the dispensation whereof they are alike called; as also to execute the censures, being but a kind of application of the word: the preaching of which, together with the application thereof, they are alike charged withal.

6. Forasmuch as both pastors and teachers are given by Christ for the perfecting of the saints and edifying of his body; (Eph. iv. 11, 12, and i. 22; 23,) which saints and body of Christ is his church: and therefore we account pastors and teachers to be both of them church-officers, and not the pastor for the church, and the teacher only for the schools: (1 Sam. x. 12. 19, 20,) tho' this we gladly acknowledge, that schools are both lawful, profitable, and necessary, for the training up of such in good literature or learning as may afterwards be called forth unto office of pastor or teacher in the church. (2 Kings ii. 3. 15.)

CHAPTER VII.

OF RULING ELDERS AND DEACONS.

1. THE ruling elder's office is distinct from the office of pastor and teacher; (Rom. xii. 7, 8, 9; 1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Heb. xiii. 17; 1 Tim. v. 17,) the ruling elders are not so called to exclude the pastors and teachers from ruling, because ruling and governing is common to these with the other; whereas attending to teach and preach the word is peculiar unto the former.

2. The ruling elder's work is to join with the pastor and teacher in those acts of spiritual rule, which are distinct from the ministry of the word and sacraments committed to them: (1 Tim. v. 17; 2 Chron. xxiii. 19; Rev. xxi. 12; 1 Tim. iv. 14; Matth. xviii. 17; 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8; Acts ii. 6; Acts xxi. 18. 22, 23.) Of which sort these be as followeth: 1, To open and shut the doors of God's house, by the admission of members approved by the church; by ordination of officers chosen by the church, and by excommunication of notorious and obstinate offenders renounced by the church, and by restoring of penitents forgiven by the church. 2, To call the church together when there is occasion, (Acts vi. 2, 3; and xiii. 15,) and seasonably to dismiss them again. 3, To prepare matters in private, that in publick they may be carried an end with less trouble, and more speedy dispatch. (2 Cor. viii. 19; Heb. xiii. 7, 17; 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11, 12.) 4, To moderate the carriage of all matters in the church assembled, as to propound matters to the church. To order the season of speech and silence, and to pronounce sentence according to the mind of Christ, with the consent of the church. 5, To be guides and leaders to the church in all matters whatsoever pertaining to church-administrations and actions. 6, To see that none in the church live inordinately, out of rank and place without a *calling*, or idly in their calling. (Acts xx. 28. 32; 1 Thess. v. 12; Jam. v. 14; Acts xx. 20.) 7, To prevent and heal such offences in life or in doctrine as might corrupt the church. 8, To feed the flock of God with a word of admonition. 9, And, as they shall be sent for, to

visit and pray over their sick brethren. 10, And at other times, as opportunity shall serve thereunto.

3. The office of a deacon is instituted in the church by the Lord Jesus: (Acts vi. 3. 6; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8; 1 Cor. xii. 28; 1 Tim. iii. 8, 9; Acts iv. 35, and vi. 2, 3; Rom. xii. 8.) Sometimes they are called *helps*. The Scripture telleth us how they should be qualified: "Grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not given to filthy lucre." They must first be proved, and then use the office of a deacon, being found blameless. The office and work of a deacon is to receive the offerings of the church, gifts given to the church, and to keep the treasury of the church, and therewith to serve the tables, which the church is to provide for; as the Lord's table, the table of the ministers, and of such as are in necessity, to whom they are to distribute in simplicity.

4. The office, therefore, being limited unto the care of the temporal good things of the church, (1 Cor. vii. 17,) it extends not to the attendance upon, and administration of the spiritual things thereof, as the word, and sacraments, and the like.

5. The ordinance of the apostle, (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, 3,) and practice of the church, commends the Lord's-day as a fit time for the contributions of the saints.

6. The instituting of all these officers in the church is the work of God himself, of the Lord Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost: (1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 8. 11; Acts xx. 28.) And therefore such officers as he hath not appointed, are altogether unlawful, either to be placed in the church or to be retained therein, and are to be looked at as humane creatures, meer inventions and appointments of man, to the great dishonour of Christ Jesus, the Lord of his, the King of his church, whether popes, cardinals, patriarchs, arch-bishops, lord-bishops, arch-deacons, officials, commissaries, and the like. These and the rest of that hierarchy and retinue, not being plants of the Lord's planting, shall all be certainly rooted out and cast forth. (Matth. xv. 13).

7. The Lord hath appointed ancient widows (1 Tim. v. 9, 10,) (where they may be had) to minister in the church, in giving attendance to the sick, and to give succour unto them and others in the like necessities.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE ELECTION OF CHURCH OFFICERS.

1. No man may take the honour of a church-officer unto himself but he that was called of God, as was Aaron. (Heb. v. 4.)

2. Calling unto office is either *immediate*, by Christ himself—such was the *call* of the apostles and prophets; (Gal. i. 1; Acts xiv. 23, and vi. 3,) this manner of calling ended with them, as hath been said—or *mediate*, by the church.

3. It is meet that, before any be ordained or chosen officers, they should first be tried and proved, because hands are not suddenly to be laid upon any, and both elders and deacons must be of both honest and good report. (1 Tim. v. 22, and vii. 10; Acts xvi. 2, and vi. 3.)

4. The things in respect of which they are to be tried, are those gifts and vertues which the Scripture requireth in men that are to be elected unto such places, viz: That elders must be "blameless, sober, apt to teach," and endued with such other qualifications as are laid down: 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 6 to 9. Deacons to be fitted as is directed: Acts vi. 3; 1 Tim. iii. 8 to 11.

5. Officers are to be called by such churches whereunto they are to minister. Of such moment is the preservation of this power, that the churches exercised it in the presence of the apostles. (Acts xiv. 23, and i. 23, and vi. 3, 4, 5.)

6. A church being free, cannot become subject to any but by a free election; yet when such a people do chuse any to be over them in the Lord, then do they become subject, and most willingly submit to their ministry in the Lord, whom they have chosen. (Gal. v. 13; Heb. xiii. 17.)

7. And if the church have power to chuse their officers and ministers, (Rom. xvi. 17,) then, in case of manifest unworthiness and delinquency, they have power also to depose them: for to open and shut, to chuse and refuse, to constitute in office, and to remove from office, are acts belonging to the same power.

8. We judge it much conducing to the well-being and communion of the churches, (Cant. viii. 8, 9,) that, where it may conveniently be done, neighbour churches be advised withal, and their help be made use of in trial of church-officers, in order to their choice.

9. The choice of such church-officers belongeth not to the civil magistrate as such, or diocesan bishops, or patrons: for of these, or any such like, the Scripture is wholly silent, as having any power therein.

CHAPTER IX.

OF ORDINATION AND IMPOSITION OF HANDS.

1. CHURCH-OFFICERS are not only to be chosen by the church, (Acts xiii. 3, and xiv. 23,) but also to be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer, with which at the ordination of elders, fasting also is to be joined. (1 Tim. v. 22.)

2. This ordination (Numb. viii. 10; Acts vi. 5, 6, and xiii. 2, 3,) we account nothing else but the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the church, whereunto he had right before by election; being like the installing of a magistrate in the common-wealth. Ordination therefore is not to go before, but to follow election, (Acts vi. 5, 6, and xiv. 23.) The essence and substance of the outward calling of an ordinary officer in the

church does not consist in his ordination, but in his voluntary and free election by the church, and his accepting of that election; whereupon is founded that relation between pastor and flock, between such a minister and such a people. Ordination does not constitute an officer, nor give him the essentials of his office. The apostles were elders, without imposition of hands by men: Paul and Barnabas were officers before that imposition of hands, (Acts xiii. 3.) The posterity of Levi were priests and Levites before hands were laid on them by the children of Israel.

3. In such churches where there are elders, imposition of hands in ordination is to be performed by those elders. (1 Tim. iv. 10; Acts xiii. 3; 1 Tim. v. 22.)

4. In such churches where there are no elders, (Numb. iii. 10,) imposition of hands may be performed by some of the brethren orderly chosen by the *church* thereunto. For, if the people may elect officers, which is the greater, and wherein the substance of the office doth consist, they may much more (occasion and need so requiring) impose hands in ordination; which is less, and but the accomplishment of the other.

5. Nevertheless, in such churches where there are no elders, and the church so desire, we see not why imposition of hands may not be performed by the elders of other churches. Ordinary officers laid hands upon the officers of many churches: the presbytery at Ephesus laid hands upon Timothy an evangelist; (1 Tim. iv. 14; Acts xiii. 3,) the presbytery at Antioch laid hands upon Paul and Barnabas.

6. Church-officers are officers to one church, even that particular over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers. Insomuch as elders are commanded to feed not all flocks, but the flock which is committed to their faith and trust, and dependeth upon them. Nor can constant residence at one congregation be necessary for a minister—no, nor yet lawful—if he be not a minister to one congregation only, but to the church universal; (1 Pet. v. 2; Acts xx. 28,) because he may not attend one part only of the church to which he is a minister, but he is called to attend unto all the flock.

7. He that is clearly released from his office relation unto that church whereof he was a minister, cannot be looked at as an officer, nor perform any act of office in any other church, unless he be again orderly called unto office: which, when it shall be, we know nothing to hinder; but imposition of hands also in his ordination (Acts xx. 28,) ought to be used towards him again: for so Paul the apostle received imposition of hands twice at least from Ananias, (Acts ix. 17, and xiii. 3.)

CHAPTER X.

OF THE POWER OF THE CHURCH AND ITS PRESBYTERY.

1. SUPREME and Lordly power over all the churches upon earth doth only belong to Jesus Christ, who is king of the church, and the head thereof (Ps. ii. 6; Eph. i. 21, 22; Isa. ix. 6; Mat. xxviii. 18.) He hath the government upon his shoulders, and hath all power given to him, both in heaven and earth.

2. A company of professed believers, ecclesiastically confederate, as they are a church before they have officers, and without them; so, even in that estate, subordinate church-power (Acts i. 23, and xiv. 23, and vi. 3, 4; Mat. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 4, 5,) under Christ delegated to them by him, doth belong to them in such a manner as is before expressed, CHAP. V. Sec. 2, and as flowing from the very nature and essence of a church; it being natural unto all bodies, and so unto a church-body, to be furnished with sufficient power for its own preservation and subsistence.

3. This government of the church (Rev. iii. 7; 1 Cor. v. 12,) is a mixt government (and so has been acknowledged, long before the term of *independency* was heard of); in respect of Christ, the head and king of the church, and the Sovereign Power residing in him, and exercised by him, it is a *monarchy*; in respect of the body or brotherhood of the church, and power from Christ granted unto them (1 Tim. v. 27,) it resembles a *democracy*; in respect of the presbytery and power committed unto them, it is an *aristocracy*.

4. The Sovereign Power, which is peculiar unto Christ, is exercised—1, In calling the church out of the world into an holy fellowship with himself. (Gal. i. 4; Rev. v. 8, 9; Mat. xxviii. 20; Eph. iv. 8, 11; Jam. iv. 12; Is. xxxiii. 22; 1 Tim. iii. 15; 2 Cor. x. 4, 5; Is. xxxii. 2; Luke i. 71.) 2, In instituting the ordinances of his worship, and appointing his ministers and officers for the dispensing of them. 3, In giving laws for the ordering of all our ways, and the ways of his house. 4, In giving power and life to all his institutions, and to his people by them. 5, In protecting and delivering his church against and from all the enemies of their peace.

5. The power granted by Christ unto the body of the church and brotherhood, is a *prerogative* or *privilege* which the church doth exercise—1, In *choosing* their own officers, whether elders or deacons. (Acts vi. 3, 5, and xiv. 23, and ix. 26; Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17.) 2, In *admission* of these members; and therefore there is great reason they should have power to remove any from their fellowship again. Hence, in case of offence, any brother hath power to convince and admonish an offending brother: and, in case of not hearing him, to take one or two more to set on the admonition: and in case of not hearing them, to proceed to tell the church: and

as his offence may require, the whole church has power to proceed to the censure of him, whether by admonition or excommunication: (Tit. iii. 10; Col. iv. 17; Mat. xviii. 17; 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8,) and upon his repentance to restore him again unto his former communion.

6. In case an elder offend incorrigibly, the matter so requiring, as the church had power to call him to office, so they have power according to order (the counsel of other churches, where it may be had, directing thereto) to remove him from his office, and being now but a member, (Col. iv. 17; Ro. xvi. 17; Mat. xviii. 17,) in case he add contumacy to his sin, the church, that had power to receive him into their fellowship, hath also the same power to cast him out that they have concerning any other member.

7. Church-government or rule is placed by Christ in the officers of the church, (1 Tim. v. 17; Heb. xiii. 17; 1 Thes. v. 12,) who are therefore called *rulers*, while they rule with God: yet, in case of male-administration, they are subject to the power of the church, as hath been said before. (Rom. xii. 8; 1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29; Heb. xiii. 7. 17.) The Holy Ghost frequently—yea, always—where it mentioneth church-rule and church government, ascribeth it to elders: whereas the work and duty of the people is expressed in the phrase of “obeying their elders,” and “submitting themselves unto them in the Lord.” So as it is manifest that an organick or compleat church is a body politick, consisting of some that are governours and some that are governed in the Lord.

8. The power which Christ hath committed to the elders is to feed and rule the church of God, and accordingly to call the church together upon any weighty occasion; (Acts xx. 28, and vi. 2; Numb. xvi. 12; Ezek. xlvi. 10; Acts xiii. 15; Hos. iv. 4,) when the members so called, without just cause, may not refuse to come, nor when they are come, depart before they are dismissed, nor speak in the church, before they have leave from the elders, nor continue so doing when they require silence; nor may they oppose or contradict the judgment or sentence of the elders, without sufficient and weighty cause, because such practices are manifestly contrary unto order and government, and inlets of disturbance, and tend to confusion.

9. It belongs also unto the elders before to examine any officers or members before they be received of the church, (Rev. ii. 2; 1 Tim. v. 19; Acts xxi. 18. 22, 23; 1 Cor. v. 4, 5,) to receive the accusations brought to the church, and to prepare them for the churches hearing. In handling of offences and other matters before the church, they have power to declare and publish the will of God touching the same, and to pronounce sentence with the consent of the church. (Numb. vi. 23 to 26.) Lastly, They have power, when they dismiss the people, to bless them in the name of the Lord.

10. This power of government in the elders doth not any wise prejudice the power of privilege in the brotherhood; as neither the power of privi-

lege in the brethren, doth prejudice the power of government in the elders, (Acts xiv. 15. 23, and vi. 2; 1 Cor. v. 4; 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7,) but they may sweetly agree together; as we may see in the example of the apostles; furnished with the greatest church-power, who took in the *concurrence* and *consent* of the brethren in church-administrations. Also that Scripture (2 Cor. ii. 9, and x. 6) doth declare that what the churches were to *act* and to *do* in these matters, they were to do in a way of obedience, and that not only to the direction of the apostles, but also of their ordinary elders. (Heb. xiii. 17.)

11. From the promises, namely, that the ordinary power of government belonging only to the elders, power of privilege remaining with the brotherhood, (as the power of judgment in matters of censure and power of liberty in matters of liberty,) it followeth that in an organick church and right administration, all church-acts proceed after the manner of a mixt administration, so as no church-act can be consummated or perfected without the consent of both.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE MAINTENANCE OF CHURCH-OFFICERS.

1. THE apostle concludes that necessary and sufficient maintenance is due unto the ministers of the word from the law of nature and nations, from the law of Moses, the equity thereof, as also the rule of common reason. Moreover, the Scripture doth not only call elders labourers and workmen, (Gal. vi. 6,) but also, speaking of them, doth say that "the labourer is worthy of his hire:" (1 Cor. ix. 9. 14; 1 Tim. v. 18,) and requires that he which is taught in the word, should communicate to him in all good things, and mention it, as an ordinance of the Lord, that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel, and forbiddeth the muzzling of the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.

2. The Scriptures alledged requiring this maintenance as a bounden duty, and due debt, and not as a matter of alms and free gift, therefore people are not at liberty to do or not to do, what and when they please in this matter, no more than in any other commanded duty and ordinance of the Lord; (Rom. xv. 27; 1 Cor. ix. 21,) but ought of duty to minister of their "carnal things" to them that labour among them in word and doctrine, as well as they ought to pay any other workmen their wages, and to discharge and satisfie their debts, or to submit themselves to observe any other ordinance of the Lord.

3. The apostle (Gal. vi. 6) enjoineth that he which is taught communicate to him that teacheth "in all good things," doth not leave it arbitrary, (1 Cor. xvi. 2,) what or how much a man shall give, or in what proportion, but even the latter, as well as the former, is prescribed and appointed by the Lord.

4. Not only members of churches, but "all that are taught in the word," are to contribute unto him that teacheth in all good things. In case that congregations are defective in their contributions, the deacons are to call upon them to do their duty: (Acts vi. 3, 4,) if their call sufficeth not, the church by her power is to require it of their members; and where church power, thro' the corruption of men, doth not or cannot attain the end, the magistrate is to see that the ministry be duly provided for, as appears from the commended example of Nehemiah. (Neh. xiii. 11; Isa. xlv. 23; 2 Cor. viii. 13, 14.) The magistrates are nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers, and stand charged with the custody of both tables; because it is better to prevent a scandal, that it may not come, and easier also, than to remove it, when it is given. It's most suitable to rule, that by the church's care each man should know his proportion according to rule, what he should do before he do it, that so his judgment and heart may be satisfied in what he doth, and just offence prevented in what is done.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE ADMISSION OF MEMBERS INTO THE CHURCH.

1. THE doors of the churches of Christ upon earth do not by God's appointment stand so wide open, that all sorts of people, good and bad, may freely enter therein at their pleasure, (2 Chr. xxix. 19; Mat. xiii. 25, and xxii. 12,) but such as are admitted thereto, as members, ought to be examin'd and tryed first, whether they be fit and meet to be received into church-society or not. The Eunuch of Ethiopia, before his admission, was examined by Philip, (Acts viii. 37,) whether he did believe on Jesus Christ with all his heart. The angel of the church at Ephesus (Rev. ii. 2; Acts ix. 26,) is commended for trying such as said they were apostles, and were not. There is like reason for trying of them that profess themselves to be believers. The officers are charged with the keeping of the doors of the church, and therefore are in a special manner to make tryal of the fitness of such who enter. Twelve angels are set at the gates of the temple, (Rev. xxi. 12; 2 Chr. xxiii. 19,) lest such as were "ceremonially unclean" should enter thereunto.

2. The things which are requisite to be found in all church-members, are *repentance* from sin, and *faith* in Jesus Christ: (Acts ii. 38 to 42, and viii. 37,) and therefore these are the things whereof men are to be examined at their admission into the church, and which then they must profess and hold forth in such sort as may satisfie "rational charity" that the things are indeed. John Baptist admitted men to baptism confessing and bewailing their sins: (Mat. iii. 6; Acts xix. 18,) and of others it is said: that "they came and confessed, and shewed their deeds."

3. The weakest measure of faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the church, (Rom. xiv. 1,) if *sincere*, have the substance of that faith, repentance and holiness, which is required in church members; and such have most need of the ordinances for their confirmation and growth in grace. The Lord Jesus would not quench the smoking flax, nor break the bruised reed, (Mat. xii. 20; Isa. xl. 11,) but gather the tender lambs in his arms, and carry them gently in his bosom. Such charity and tenderness is to be used, as the weakest Christian, if sincere, may not be excluded nor discouraged. Severity of examination is to be avoided.

4. In case any, thro' excessive fear or other infirmity, be unable to make their personal relation of their spiritual estate in publick, it is sufficient that the elders, having received private satisfaction, make relation thereof in publick before the church, they testifying their assents thereunto: this being the way that tendeth most to edification. But whereas persons are of greater abilities, there it is most expedient that they make their relations and confessions personally with their own mouth, as David professeth of himself. (Psal. lxvi. 6.)

5. A personal and publick confession and declaring of God's manner of working upon the soul, is both lawful, expedient and useful, in sundry respects and upon sundry grounds. Those three thousand, (Acts ii. 37. 41,) before they were admitted by the apostles, did manifest that they were pricked at the heart by Peter's sermon, together with earnest desire to be delivered from their sins, which now wounded their consciences, and their ready receiving of the word of promise and exhortation. We are to be ready to "render a reason of the hope that is in us, to every one that asketh us;" (1 Pet. iii. 15; Heb. xi. 1; Eph. i. 18,) therefore we must be able and ready upon any occasion to declare and shew our *repentance* for sin, *faith* unfeigned, and *effectual calling*, because these are the *reason* of a well-grounded *hope*. "I have not hidden thy righteousness from the great congregation." (Psalm xl. 10.)

6. This profession of faith and repentance, as it must be made by such at their admission that were never in church society before; so nothing hindereth but the same way also be performed by such as have formerly been members of some other church, (Mat. iii. 5, 6; Gal. ii. 4; 1 Tim. v. 24,) and the church to which they now join themselves as members may lawfully require the same. Those three thousand (Acts ii.) which made their confession, were members of the church of the Jews before; so were those that were baptised by John. Churches may err in their admission; and persons regularly admitted may fall into offence. Otherwise, if churches might obtrude their members, or if church members might obtrude themselves upon other churches without due trial, the matter so requiring, both the liberty of the churches would thereby be infringed, in that they might not examine those, concerning whose fitness for com-

munion they were unsatisfied; and besides the infringing of their liberty, the churches themselves would unavoidably be corrupted, and the ordinances defiled: whilst they might not refuse, but must receive the unworthy, which is contrary unto the Scripture, teaching that all churches are sisters, and therefore equal. (Cant. viii. 8.)

7. The like trial is to be required from such members of the church as were born in the same, or received their membership, or were baptised in their infancy or minority by virtue of the covenant of their parents, when being grown up into years of discretion, they shall desire to be made partakers of the Lord's Supper; unto which, because holy things must not be given unto the unworthy, therefore it is requisite (Mat. vii. 6; 1 Cor. xi. 27,) that these, as well as others, should come to their trial and examination, and manifest their faith and repentance by an open profession thereof, before they are received to the Lord's Supper, and otherwise not to be admitted thereunto. Yet these church members that were so born, or received in their childhood, before they are capable of being made partakers of full communion, have many privileges which others (not church members) have not; they are in covenant with God, have the seal thereof upon them, viz: baptism; and so, if not regenerated, yet are in a more hopeful way of attaining regenerating grace, and all the spiritual blessings, both of the covenant and seal; they are also under church-watch, and consequently subject to the reprehensions, admonitions and censures thereof, for their healing and amendment, as need shall require.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF CHURCH-MEMBERS, THEIR REMOVAL FROM ONE CHURCH TO ANOTHER, AND OF RECOMMENDATION AND DISMISSION.

1. CHURCH-MEMBERS may not remove or depart from the church, and so one from another as they please, nor without just and weighty cause, but ought to live and dwell together, (Heb. x. 25,) forasmuch as they are commanded not to forsake the assembling of themselves together. Such departure tends to the dissolution and ruine of the body, as the pulling of stones and pieces of timber from the building, and of members from the natural body, tend to the destruction of the whole.

2. It is, therefore, the duty of church-members, in such times and places, where counsel may be had, to consult with the church whereof they are members (Pro. xi. 16,) about their removal, that, accordingly, they having their approbation, may be encouraged, or otherwise desist. They who are joined with consent, should not depart without consent, except forced thereunto.

3. If a member's departure be manifestly unsafe and sinful, the church may not consent thereunto; for in so doing, (Ro. xiv. 23,) they should

not act in faith, and should partake with him in his sin. (1 Tim. v. 22.) If the case be doubtful and the person not to be persuaded, (Acts xxi. 14,) it seemeth best to leave the matter unto God, and not forcibly to detain him.

4. Just reasons for a member's removal of himself from the church, are—1, If a man cannot continue without partaking in sin. (Eph. v. 11.) 2, In case of personal persecution: (Acts ix. 25. 29, 30, and viii. 1,) so Paul departed from the disciples at Damascus; also, in case of general persecution, when all are scattered. In case of real, and not only pretended want of competent subsistence, a door being opened for better supply in another place, (Neh. xiii. 20,) together with the means of spiritual edification. In these or like cases, a member may lawfully remove, and the church cannot lawfully detain him.

5. To separate from a church, either out of contempt of their holy fellowship, (2 Tim. iv. 10,) or out of covetousness, or for greater enlargements, with just grief to the church, or out of schism, or want of love, and out of a spirit of contention in respect of some unkindness, or some evil only *conceived* or *indeed* in the church, which might and should be tolerated and healed with a spirit of meekness, and of which evil the church is not yet convinced (tho' perhaps himself be) nor admonished; for these or the like reasons, to withdraw from publique communion in word or seals, or censures, is unlawful and sinful.

6. Such members as have orderly moved their habitation, ought to join themselves unto the church in order (Isa. lvi. 8,) where they do inhabit, (Acts ix. 26,) if it may be; otherwise, they can neither perform the duties nor receive the priviledges of members. Such an example, tolerated in some, is apt to corrupt others, which, if many should follow, would threaten the dissolution and confusion of churches, contrary to the Scripture. (1 Cor. xiv. 33.)

7. Order requires that a member thus removing, have letters testimonial and of dismission from the church (Act. xviii. 27,) whereof he yet is, unto the church whereunto he desireth to be joined, lest the church should be deluded; that the church may receive him in faith, and not be corrupted in receiving deceivers and false brethren. Until the person dismissed be received unto another church, he ceaseth not by his letters of dismission to be a member of the church whereof he was. The church cannot make a member *no* member but by excommunication.

8. If a member be called to remove only for a time where a church is, (Rom. xvi. 1, 2,) letters of recommendation are requisite and sufficient for communion with that church (2 Cor. iii. 1) in the ordinances and in their watch; as Phœbe, a servant of the church at Cenchrea, had a letter written for her to the church at Rome, that she might be received as becometh saints.

9. Such letters of recommendation and dismission (Acts xviii. 27) were written for Apollos, for Marcus to the Colossians, (Col. iv. 10,) for Phœbe

to the Romans, (Rom. xvi. 1,) for sundry other churches. (2 Cor. iii. 5.) And the apostle tells us that some persons, not sufficiently known otherwise, have special need of such letters, tho' he, for his part, had no need thereof. The use of them is to be a benefit and help to the party for whom they are written, and for the furthering of his receiving among the saints, in the place whereto he goeth, and the due satisfaction of them in their receiving of him.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND OTHER CENSURES.

1. THE censures of the church are appointed by Christ for the preventing, removing and healing of offences in the church; (1 Tim. v. 20; Jude 19; Deu. xiii. 11: 1 Cor. v. 6; Rom. ii. 24; Rev. ii. 14, 15, 16. 20,) for the reclaiming and gaining of offending brethren; for the deterring others from the like offences; for purging out the leaven which may infect the whole lump; for vindicating the honour of Christ and of his church, and the holy profession of the gospel; and for preventing of the wrath of God, that may justly fall upon the church, if they should suffer his covenant and the seals thereof to be profaned by notorious and obstinate offenders.

2. If an offence be private, (Mat. v. 23, 24,) (one brother offending another) the offender is to go and acknowledge his repentance for it unto his offended brother, who is then to forgive him; but if the offender neglect or refuse to do it, the brother offended is to go, and convince and admonish him of it, between themselves privately: if therefore the offender be brought to repent of his offence, the admonisher has won his brother: but if the offender hear not his brother, the brother of the offended is to take with him one or two more, (verse 16,) that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established, (whether the word of admonition, if the offender receive it; or the word of complaint, if he refuse it,) for if he refuse it, (verse 17,) the offended brother is by the mouth of the elders to tell the church, and if he hear the church, and declare the same by penitent confession, he is recovered and gained: And if the church discern him to be willing to hear, yet not fully convinced of his offence, as in case of heresie, they are to dispenze to him a publick admonition; which, declaring the offender to lye under the publick offence of the church, doth thereby with-hold or suspend him from the holy fellowship of the Lord's Supper, till his offence be removed by penitent confession. If he still continue obstinate, they are to cast him out by excommunication.

3. But if the offence be more publick at first, and of a more hainous and criminal nature, (1 Cor. v. 4. 8, 11,) to wit, such as are condemned by the light of nature; then the church, without such gradual proceeding, is to

cast out the offender from their holy communion, for the further mortifying of his sin, and the healing of his soul in the day of the Lord Jesus.

4. In dealing with an offender, great care is to be taken that we be neither over-strict or rigorous, nor too indulgent or remiss: our proceeding herein ought to be with a spirit of meekness, considering ourselves, lest we also be tempted, (Gal. vi. 1,) and that the best of us have need of much forgiveness from the Lord. (Math. xviii. 34, 35.) Yet the winning and healing of the offender's soul being the end of these endeavours, (Ezek. xiii. 10,) we must not daub with untempered mortar, nor heal the wounds of our brethren slightly. On some, have compassion; others, save with fear.

5. While the offender remains excommunicate, (Mat. xviii. 17,) the church is to refrain from all member-like communion with him in spiritual things, (1 Cor. v. 11,) and also from all familiar communion with him in civil things, (2 Thes. iii. 6. 14,) farther than the necessity of natural or domestical or civil relations do require; and are therefore to forbear to eat and drink with him, that he may be ashamed.

6. Excommunication being a spiritual punishment, it doth not prejudice the excommunicate in, or deprive him of his civil rights, and therefore toucheth not princes or magistrates in respect of their civil dignity or authority; (1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25,) and the excommunicate being but as a publican and a heathen, (2 Thes. iii. 14,) heathens being lawfully permitted to hear the *word* in church-assemblies, we acknowledge therefore the like liberty of hearing the word may be permitted to persons excommunicate that is permitted unto heathen. And because we are not without hope of his recovery, we are not to account him as an enemy, but to admonish him as a brother.

7. If the Lord sanctifie the censure to the offender, so as by the grace of Christ, he doth testifie his repentance with humble confession of his sin, and judging of himself, giving glory unto God, (2 Cor. ii. 7, 8,) the church is then to forgive him, and to comfort him, and to restore him to the wonted brotherly communion, which formerly he enjoyed with 'em.

8. The suffering of prophane or scandalous livers to continue in fellowship, and partake in the sacraments, (Rev. ii. 14, 15. 20,) is doubtless a great sin in those that have power in their hands to redress it, and do it not: Nevertheless, in so much as Christ, and his apostles in their times, and the prophets and other *godly men* in theirs, (Mat. xxiii. 3; Acts iii. 1,) did lawfully partake of the Lord's commanded ordinances in the Jewish church, and neither taught nor practised separation from the same, though unworthy ones were permitted therein: and inasmuch as the faithful in the church of Corinth, wherein were many unworthy persons and practises, (1 Cor. vi. and xv. 12,) are never commanded to absent themselves from the sacraments, because of the same; therefore the godly, in like cases, are not to separate.

9. As separation from such a church wherein profane and scandalous persons are tolerated, is not presently necessary; so for the members thereof, otherwise unworthy, hereupon to abstain from communicating with such a church in the participation of the sacraments, is unlawful. (2 Chr. xxx. 18; Gen. xviii. 25.) For as it were unreasonable for an innocent person to be punished for the faults of others, wherein he hath no hand, and whereunto he gave no consent; so is it more unreasonable that a godly man should neglect duty, and punish himself, in not coming for his portion in the blessing of the seals, as he ought, because others are suffered to come that ought not; especially considering that himself doth neither consent to their sin, nor to their approaching to the ordinance in their sin, nor to the neglect of others, who should put them away, and do not, but, on the contrary, doth heartily mourn for these things, (Ezek. ix. 4,) modestly and seasonably stir up others to do their duty. If the church cannot be reformed, they may use their liberty, as is specified, CHAP. XIII. Sect. 4. But this all the godly are bound unto, even every one to his endeavour, according to his power and place, that the unworthy may be duly proceeded against by the church, to whom this matter doth pertain.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE COMMUNION OF CHURCHES ONE WITH ANOTHER.

1. ALTHO' *churches* be distinct, and therefore may not be confounded one with another, and equal, and therefore have not dominion one over another; (Rev. i. 4; Cant. viii. 8; Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Acts xv. 23; Rev. ii. 1,) yet all the churches ought to preserve *church-communion* one with another, because they are all united unto Christ, not only as a mystical, but as a political head: whence is derived a communion suitable thereunto.

2. The communion of churches is exercised several ways. (Cant. viii. 8.) 1, By way of *mutual care* in taking thought for one another's welfare. 2, By way of *consultation* one with another, when we have occasion to require the judgment and counsel of other churches, touching any person or cause, wherewith they may be better acquainted than our selves; (Acts xv. 2,) as the church of Antioch consulted with the Apostles and elders of the church at Jerusalem, about the question of circumcision of the Gentiles, and about the false teachers that broached that doctrine. In which case, when any church wanteth light or peace among themselves, it is a way of communion of the churches, according to the word, to meet together by their elders and other messengers in a synod, (ver. 22, 23,) to consider and argue the point in doubt or difference; and, having found out the way of truth and peace, to commend the same by their letters and messengers to the churches whom the same may concern. But if a church be rent with divisions among themselves, or lye under any open scandal, and

yet refuse to consult with other churches for healing or removing of the same, it is matter of just offence, both to the Lord Jesus and to other churches, (Ezek. xxxiv. 4,) as bewraying too much want of mercy and faithfulness, not to seek to bind up the breaches and wounds of the church and brethren; And therefore the state of such a church calleth aloud upon other churches to exercise a fuller act of brotherly communion, to wit, by way of admonition. 3, A way, then, of communion of churches, is by way of *admonition*; to wit, in case any public offence be found in a church, which they either discern not, or are slow in proceeding to use the means for the removing and healing of. Paul had no authority over Peter, yet when he saw Peter not walking with a right foot, he publicly rebuked him before the church. (Gal. ii. 11 to 14.) Tho' churches have no more authority one over another, than one apostle had over another, yet, as one apostle might admonish another, so may one church admonish another, and yet without usurpation. (Matth. xviii. 15, 16, 17, by proportion.) In which case, if the church that lieth under offence, do not hearken to the church that doth admonish her, the church is to acquaint other neighbour churches with that offence, which the offending church still lieth under, together with the neglect of their brotherly admonition given unto them: Whereupon those other churches are to join in seconding the admonition formerly given: and if still the offending church continue in obstinacy and impenitency, they may forbear communion with them, and are to proceed to make use of the help of a synod or counsel of neighbour churches, walking orderly (if a greater cannot conveniently be had) for their conviction. If they hear not the synod, the synod having declared them to be obstinate, particular churches accepting and approving of the judgment of the synod, are to declare the sentence of *non-communication* respectively concerning them; and thereupon, out of religious care to keep their own communion pure, they may justly withdraw themselves from participation with them at the Lord's table, and from such other acts of holy communion, as the communion of churches doth otherwise allow and require. Nevertheless, if any members of such a church as live under public offence, do not consent to the offence of the church, but do in due sort bear witness against it, (Gen. xviii. 25,) they are still to be received to wonted communion, for it is not equal that the innocent should suffer with the offensive. Yea, furthermore, if such innocent members, after due waiting in the use of all due means for the healing of the offence of their own church, shall at last (with the allowance of the counsel of neighbour churches,) withdraw from the fellowship of their own church, and offer themselves to the fellowship of another, we judge it lawful for the other church to receive them (being otherwise fit) as if they had been orderly dismissed to them from their own church. 4, A fourth way of communion with churches, is by way of *participation*: the members of one church occasionally coming to another, we willingly admit them to partake

with them at the Lord's table, (1 Cor. xii. 13,) it being the seal of our communion not only with Christ, not only with the members of our own church, but also of all the churches of the saints: In which regard we refuse not to baptize their children presented to us, if either their own minister be absent, or such a fruit of holy fellowship be desired with us. In like cases, such churches as are furnished with more ministers than one, do willingly afford one of their own ministers to supply the absence or place of a sick minister of another church for a needful season. 5, A fifth way of church communion is by *recommendation*, (Rom. xvi. 1,) when the member of one church hath occasion to reside in another church, if but for a season, we commend him to their watchful fellowship by letters of recommendation: But if he be called to settle his abode there, we commit him, according to his desire, to the fellowship of their covenant by letters of dismission. 6, A sixth way of church communion, (Acts xviii. 27,) is in case of *need* to minister succour one unto another, (Acts xi. 22,) either of able members to furnish them with officers, or of outward support to the necessities of poorer churches, (verse 29,) as did the churches of the Gentiles contribute liberally to the poor saints at Jerusalem. (Rom. xiii. 26, 27.)

8. When a company of believers purpose to gather into church-fellowship, it is requisite for their safer proceeding and the mentioning of the communion of churches, that they signifie their intent unto the neighbouring churches, walking according to the order of the gospel, and desire their presence and help, and right hand of fellowship; (Gal. ii. 1, 2, and ix., by proportion,) which they ought readily to give unto them, when there is no just cause to except against their proceedings.

4. Besides these several ways of communion, there is also a way of *propagation of churches*: When a church shall grow too numerous, it is a way, and fit season to propagate one church out of another, by sending forth such of their members as are willing to remove, and to procure some officers to them, (Isa. xl. 20; Cant. viii. 8, 9,) as may enter with them into church estate among themselves. As bees, when the hive is too full, issue out by swarms, and are gathered into other hives, so the churches of Christ may do the same upon the like necessity; and therein hold forth to them the right hand of fellowship, both in their gathering into a church and in the ordination of their officers.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF SYNODS.

1. SYNODS, orderly assembled, (Acts xv. 2 to 15,) and rightly proceeding according to the pattern, (Acts xv.) we acknowledge as the ordinance of Christ: and tho' not absolutely necessary to the being, yet many times, thro' the iniquity of men and perverseness of times, necessary to the well-being of churches, for the establishment of truth and peace therein.

2. Synods being spiritual and ecclesiastical assemblies, are therefore made up of spiritual and ecclesiastical causes. The next efficient cause of them, under Christ, is the power of the churches sending forth their elders and other messengers, (Acts xv. 2, 3,) who being met together in the name of Christ, are the matter of a synod; and they in arguing and debating and determining matters of religion, (verse 6,) according to the word, and publishing the same to the churches it concerneth, (verse 7 to 23,) do put forth the proper and formal acts of a synod, (verse 31,) to the conviction of errors, and heresies, and the establishment of truth and peace in the churches, which is the end of a synod. (Acts xvi. 4. 15.)

3. Magistrates have power to call a synod, by calling to the churches to send forth their elders and other messengers to counsel and assist them in matters of religion; (2 Chr. xxix. 4, 5 to 11,) but yet the constituting of a synod is a church-act, and may be transacted by the churches, (Acts xv.) even when civil magistrates may be enemies to churches and to church-assemblies.

4. It belongeth unto synods and councils to debate and determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience; (Acts xv. 1, 2. 6, 7; 1 Chr. xv. 13; 2 Chr. xxix. 6, 7; Acts xv. 24. 28, 29,) to clear from the word holy directions for the holy worship of God and good government of the church; to bear witness against mal-administration and corruption in doctrine or manners, in any particular church; and to give directions for the reformation thereof; not to exercise church-censures in way of discipline, nor any other act of church-authority or jurisdiction which that presidential synod did forbear.

5. The synod's directions and determinations, so far as consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission; not only for their agreement therewith, (Acts xv.) (which is the principal ground thereof, and without which they bind not at all,) but also, secondarily, for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his word.

6. Because it is difficult, if not impossible, for many churches to come together in one place, in their members universally; therefore they may assemble by their delegates or messengers, as the church at Antioch went not all to Jerusalem, but some select men for that purpose. (Acts xv. 2.) Because none are or should be more fit to know the state of the churches, nor to advise of ways for the good thereof, than elders; therefore it is fit that, in the choice of the messengers for such assemblies, they have special respect unto such; yet, inasmuch as not only Paul and Barnabas, but certain others also, (Acts xv. 2. 22, 23,) were sent to Jerusalem from Antioch, (Acts xv.) and when they were come to Jerusalem, not only the apostles and elders, but other bretheren, also do assemble and meet about the matter; therefore synods are to consist both of elders and other church-members, endued with gifts, and sent by the churches, not excluding the presence of any bretheren in the churches.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE'S POWER IN MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL.

1. It is lawful, profitable and necessary for Christians to gather themselves together into church estate, and therein to exercise all the ordinances of Christ, according unto the word, (Acts ii. 41. 47, and iv. 1, 2, 3,) although the consent of the magistrate could not be had thereunto; because the apostles and Christians in their time did frequently thus practise, when the magistrates, being all of them Jewish and Pagan, and most persecuting enemies, would give no countenance or consent to such matters.

2. Church-government stands in no opposition to civil government of commonwealths, nor any way intrencheth upon the authority of civil magistrates in their jurisdictions; nor any whit weakeneth their hands in governing, but rather strengtheneth them, and furthereth the people in yielding more hearty and conscionable obedience to them, whatsoever some ill affected persons to the ways of Christ have suggested, to alienate the affections of kings and princes from the ordinances of Christ; as if the kingdom of Christ in his church could not rise and stand, without the falling and weakening of their government, which is also of Christ, (Isa. xlix. 23,) whereas the contrary is most true, that they may both stand together and flourish, the one being helpful unto the other, in their distinct and due administrations.

3. The power and authority of magistrates is not for the restraining of churches (Rom. xiii. 4; 1 Tim. ii. 2,) or any other good works, but for helping in and furthering thereof; and therefore the consent and countenance of magistrates, when it may be had, is not to be slighted, or lightly esteemed; but, on the contrary, it is part of that honor due to Christian magistrates to desire and crave their consent and approbation therein; which being obtained, the churches may then proceed in their way with much more encouragement and comfort.

4. It is not in the power of magistrates to compel their subjects to become church-members, and to partake of the Lord's Supper; (Ezek. xliv. 7. 9,) for the priests are reproved that brought unworthy ones into the sanctuary: (1 Cor. v. 11;) then it was unlawful for the priests, so it is as unlawful to be done by civil magistrates; those whom the church is to cast out, if they were in, the magistrate ought not to thrust them into the church, nor to hold them therein.

5. As it is unlawful for church-officers to meddle with the sword of the magistrate, (Mat. ii. 25, 26,) so it is unlawful for the magistrate to meddle with the work proper to church-officers. The acts of Moses and David, who were not only princes but prophets, were extraordinary, therefore not inimitable. Against such usurpation the Lord witnessed by smiting Uzziah with leprosie for presuming to offer incense. (2 Chr. xxvi. 16, 17.)

6. It is the duty of the magistrate to take care of matters of religion, and to improve his civil authority for the observing of the duties commanded in the first, as well as for observing of the duties commanded in the second table. They are called *gods*. (Psa. lxxxviii. 8.) The end of the magistrate's office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the subject in matters of righteousness and honesty, but also in matters of godliness; yea, of all godliness. (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2; 1 Kings xv. 14, and xxii. 43; 2 Kings xii. 3, and xiv. 4, and xv. 35.) Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, are much commended by the Holy Ghost, for the putting forth their authority in matters of religion; on the contrary, such kings as have been failing this way, are frequently taxed and reprov'd of the Lord. (1 Kings xx. 42; Job xxix. 25, and xxxi. 26, 28; Neh. xiii.; Jonah iii. 7; Ezra vii.; Dan. iii. 29.) And not only the kings of Juda, but also Job, Nehemiah, the king of Nineveh, Darius, Artaxerxes, Nebuchadnezzar, whom none looked at as types of Christ, (tho' were it so there were no place for any just objection) are commended in the books of God for exercising their authority this way.

7. The objects of the power of the magistrate are not things meerly inward, and so not subject to his cognizance and views: as unbelief, hardness of heart, erroneous opinions not vented, but only such things as are acted by the outward man: neither their power to be exercised in commanding such acts of the outward man, and punishing the neglect thereof, as are but meer inventions and devices of men, (1 Kings xx. 28. 42,) but about such acts as are commanded and forbidden in the word: yea, such as the word doth clearly determine, tho' not always clearly to the judgment of the magistrate or others, yet clearly in its self. In these he, of right, ought to put forth his authority, tho' oft-times actually he doth it not.

8. Idolatry, blasphemy, heresie, (Deut. xiii.; 1 Kings xx. 28. 42,) venting corrupt and pernicious opinions, that destroy the foundation, (Dan. iii. 29,) open contempt of the word preached, (Zech. xiii. 3,) prophanation of the Lord's-Day, (Neh. xiii. 31,) disturbing the peaceable administration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, (1 Tim. ii. 2,) and the like, (Rom. xiii. 4,) are to be restrained and punished by civil authority.

9. If any church, one or more, shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly and obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word; in such case, the magistrate (Josh. xxii.) is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require. The tribes on this side Jordan intended to make war against the other tribes for building the altar of witness, whom they suspected to have turned away therein from following of the Lord.

FINIS.

HISTORICAL REMARKS

UPON THE DISCIPLINE PRACTISED IN THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

§ 1. WHEN the "platform of church-discipline" had been presented by the synod unto the general court which called it, several persons from several churches gave into the court some objections against sundry passages and paragraphs of this platform. The secretary did, by order, lay these written objections before the *chief*, and most of the ministers in the COLONY, who appointed Mr. Richard Mather to draw up an answer to them: the answer by him composed, and by the rest approved, was given in; and the result of all was, that the *ecclesiastical model* thus fortified, obtained a more abundant recommendation unto and among this people of God. The churches have cheerfully embraced it, practised it, and been prospered in it, unto this very day. And some have imagined that there has been herein fulfilled the *observation*, if not *inspiration* of the holy Brightman (in Apoc. xvii. 3,) "That some faithful people in a wilderness should have most clear discoveries of the abominations of the Man of Sin."

§ 2. More than thirty years after this, there was a synod of all the churches in the colony, assembled at Boston, wherein a vote was propounded, "Whether the 'platform of church-discipline' were approved by that assembly?" Upon which, both the elders and brethren unanimously lifted up their hands in the affirmative—in the negative, not one appearing. The vote was passed in these words:

"A synod of the churches in the colony of the Massachusetts being called by the honour'd general court, to convene at Boston the 10th of September, 1679, having read and considered the 'platform of church-discipline,' agreed upon by the synod assembled at Cambridge, anno 1648, do unanimously approve of the said platform, for the *substance of it*; desiring that the churches may continue stedfast, in the 'order of the gospel,' according to what is therein declared from the word of God."

Now, in this vote there is that clause, ["for the substance of it"] which must be explain'd by my acknowledgment, that there are several *circumstantial*s in the platform which are *disputed* by many judicious ministers of the present generation: who upon long enquiry and experience think that in those points the platform indeed is not *substantial*. Reader, we will for a while entertain ourselves with the particulars.

§ 3. It is very true that the platform denies not the *power* of a pastor to "administer the sacraments unto other congregations besides his own," upon their desires to have their necessities thus relieved; by the same token that in the first copy of the answer to the objections brought into the general court, against the platform, there were these words inserted: "As we receive the members of other churches to communion in our churches, so we know no just reason why, in the want or absence of the

minister of another church, we may not, at their request, administer an act of our office unto them, by virtue of church-communion;" yet the platform, in a complaisance unto the many bretheren which were otherwise perswaded, *asserts* not such a power, so fully as has been by many wished. The fullest words used by the synod unto this purpose are those in the second section of the fifteenth chapter; but they were not so full as to have hitherto encouraged (that I can learn) any one pastor in the country to administer the *Supper* (tho' some do the *baptism*) of our Lord, in any other assembly but his own; only Mr. Philips, the pastor of Watertown, did, as I have been inform'd, administer *that*, as well as the *other* sacrament, unto the church of Boston, when Mr. Wilson, the pastor of that church, was gone for England. However, as 'tis well known that in the primitive times of the New Testament, the power of a pastor to dispense the seals of the new-covenant, as well as to preach and bless authoritatively in other churches besides his own, calling for it, was not question'd; when some difference in opinion happened between Anicetus, the pastor of the church at Rome and Polycarpus, the pastor of the church at Smyrna, the latter took a long journey, even from Smyrna unto Rome, to visit the former, for the better comprehending and composing of the difference. Anicetus there, to testifie his respect unto Polycarpus, requested him to administer the Eucharist unto that pure and great church, with which he was now but sojourning as a visitant, and the thing was done by this excellent man, of whom Irenæus testifies, "that he always taught the churches to observe those things which he had learned of the apostles;" and of whom other interpreters judge that, as he was the scholar of John, so he was the unblameable angel addressed by the second of the seven epistles in John's Revelation. Thus, in the primitive times of our New-England, the most eminent of our divines acknowledged this power, defended it, and maintained it. There is now publish'd a letter of Mr. Richard Mather unto Mr. Thomas Hooker, which demonstrates that it is altogether as lawful for an officer of a church to administer the sacraments to another congregation, at their entreaty, as it would be to accept a member of another congregation unto an occasional communion in the sacraments with his own; and that the presence of his own church is not at all more necessary unto such an administration, than the presence of the other congregation would be to the transient communion of that particular member. Mr. Norton, in his answer to Apollonius, affirms, "a pastor may charitably perform the ministerial acts of his office in another church." Mr. Shepard, in the defence of the *nine positions*, affirms, (tho' Mr. Davenport, in the *positions* themselves, does deny it,) that a minister, occasionally called thereto, by the desire of the church, may lawfully administer the seals to another congregation." And I suppose there are now few ministers in the country but what consent unto the words of Dr. Owen: "Altho' we have no concernment in the figment of an *indelible*

character, accompanying sacred orders, yet we do not think the pastoral office is such a thing as a man must leave behind him every time he goes from home. For my own part, if I did not think myself bound to preach as a *minister authoriz'd* in all places and on all occasions, when I am called thereunto, I think I should never preach more in this world."

Nor are there many that would withhold their consent from the thoughts of Dr. Goodwin: "An elder, one set apart for that office in any church, is truly a *minister*, occasionally to exercise ministerial acts, as he is called thereunto. Every true minister, actually to such his own church, is *medium applicabile*: a means and instrument that may apply any ministerial act, out of his own church in any other church, if he be called thereunto."—Wherefore, for the fuller explanation of the platform, in this article, there was this vote passed in a meeting of the neighbouring ministers at Cambridge:

¶ INASMUCH as the pastors of *any* evangelical churches are, tho' not having a pastoral charge of more than *one*, to be acknowledged in *all* of them as ordained ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are actually acknowledged as preaching in that capacity, when they are occasionally put upon preaching of the gospel abroad;

Inasmuch also as the "communion of churches," which makes the members of *any* capable of admission to the special ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ in *all* of them, doth likewise render it reasonable for the pastors of *any* to be capable of administering those ordinances in *all*;

It is therefore our judgment, that the pastor of a *neighbouring* church may, upon the request of a *destitute* church, occasionally administer the sacraments unto them.

And it is our further judgment, that the second article in the fifteenth chapter of our "platform of church-discipline," is to be understood as approving of it.

Nor is it unknown, that eminent Congregational churches have, by their practice, manifested themselves to have been of this judgment before us.

And it seems in the purest and earliest of the primitive times to have been allowed.

Nevertheless, we think it convenient that, as the destitute churches do, by their vote, call the neighbouring pastors to that *occasional* service, before they attend it, so that the consent of the churches whereto those pastors belong be not left unconsidered in it.

We do moreover think that nothing should be done in this matter that may, in any wise, obstruct the welfare of any *bereaved* churches, in their *speedy seeking* of a *settled supply* for all ordinances among them; or otherwise interrupt and incommode common edification.

4. Another point in the platform, not universally received, is the "distinct office of ruling elders," to join with the pastors in those acts of church-rule which are "distinct from the ministry of the word and sacraments," or "to watch over the conversation of the church-members with authority." There are some who cannot see any such officer as what we call a *ruling elder* directed and appointed in the word of God; and the inconveniencies whereunto many churches have been plunged by elders not of such a number or not of such a wisdom as were desirable, have much increased a prejudice against the office itself; be sure, partly through a prejudice against the office, and partly, indeed chiefly, through a *penury* of men well qualified for the discharge of it, as it has been heretofore understood and applied, our churches are now generally destitute of such

helps in government. On the other side, there are others who, if they asked, "What orders for *lay-elders* in the word of God?" answer that, properly, the only lay-elders known to be in any church are the *chancel-lours* in the church of England; persons entrusted with the *rules* of the church, and yet not *ordained* unto any office in it. But that, unless a church have *divers* elders, the church-government must needs become either *prelatic* or *popular*; and that a church's needing but *one* elder, is an opinion contrary not only to the sense of the faithful in all ages, but also to the law of the Scriptures, where there can be nothing plainer than, "elders, who rule well, and are worthy of double honour," though they "do not labour in word and doctrine;" whereas, if there were any *teaching* elders, who do not "labour in word and doctrine," they would be so far from "worthy of double honour," that they would not be *worthy of any honour* at all. Towards the adjusting of the difference, which has thus been in the judgments of judicious men, some essays have been made: and one particularly, in such terms as these:

"Let it be first recognized, that all the other church-officers are the assistants of the pastor; who was himself (as you find even about what the deacon has now to do) entrusted with the *whole care* of all, until the further pity and kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ joined other officers unto him, for his assistance in it. I suppose none will be so absurd as to deny *this* at least: that all the church-officers are to take the advice of the pastor with them. Upon which I subjoin, that a man may be a distinct officer from his pastor, and yet not have a distinct office from him; the pastor may be the ruling elder, and yet he may have elders to assist him in ruling, and in the actual discharge of some things, which *they* are able and proper to be serviceable to him in. This consideration being laid, I will persuade myself every pastor among us *will* allow me that there is much work to be done for God, in preparing of what belongs to the *admission* and *exclusion* of church-members; in carefully inspecting the *way* and *walk* of them all, and the first appearance of evil with them; in preventing the very beginnings of *ill blood* among them, and instructing of all 'from house to house' more privately, and warning of all persons unto the things more peculiarly incumbent on them; in visiting all the afflicted, and informing of and consulting with the ministers for the welfare of the whole flock. And they *must* allow me, that this work is too heavy for any one man; and that more than *one man*—yea, *all our churches*—do suffer beyond measure, because no more of this work is thoroughly performed. Moreover, they will acknowledge to me that it is an usual thing with a prudent and faithful pastor himself to single out some of the more grave, solid, aged brethren in his congregation, to *assist* him in many parts of this work, on many occasions in a year; nor will such a pastor ordinarily do any important thing in his government, without having first heard the counsel of such brethren. In short, there are few discreet pastors but what make many occasional ruling elders every year. I say, then, suppose the church by a *vote* recommend some such brethren, the *fittest* they have, and always more than *one*, unto the more stated assistance of their pastor in the church-rule, wherein they may be *helps* unto him; I do not propose that they should be Biennial or Triennial only, tho' I know very famous churches throughout Europe have them so! yea, and what if they should, by solemn fasting and prayer, be commended unto the benediction of God in what service they have to do? What objection can be made against the *lawfulness*? I think none can be made against the *usefulness* of such a thing. Truly, for my part, if the fifth chapter of the first epistle to Timothy would not bear me out, when conscience, both of my *duty* and my *weakness*, made me desire such assistance, I would see whether the first chapter of Deuteronomy would not."

Such things as these have been offered unto the consideration of the diversely-perswaded; and accordingly, in a meeting of ministers that had been diversely-perswaded in this matter, at Cambridge, an unanimous vote was passed for these conclusions.

¶ PROPOSITIONS CONCERNING THE OFFICE OF RULING-ELDERS.

I. THOUGH the pastors of churches are originally entrusted with the whole care of what is to be done, in the *feeding* and *ruling* of the societies, whereof the Holy Spirit hath made them overseers, yet the wisdom and goodness of our Lord Jesus Christ has made provision for their assistance in the management of those church-affairs, which would otherwise too much incumber them in devoting themselves unto the word and prayer.

II. Ruling-elders are appointed for the assistance of their pastors in the *government* of their churches, and the *inspection* of the flocks. And although these officers may not be furnished with all those attainments which are necessary to a pastor, yet, if they are so accomplished as that they may be helps to their pastor in the management of their church rule, they may be chosen thereunto with much benefit and advantage to the people of God.

III. Whereas 'tis the business of a ruling-elder to assist his pastor, in *visiting* of the distressed, *instructing* of the ignorant, *reducing* of the erroneous, *comforting* of the afflicted, *advising* of the defective, *rebuking* of the unruly, *discovering* the state of the whole flock, exercising the *discipline* of the gospel upon offenders, and promoting the desirable *growth* of the church; 'tis necessary that he be a person of a wisdom, courage, leisure, and exemplary holiness and gravity, agreeable to such employments.

§ 5. One more passage in the platform, which hath been but rarely *practised*, and as little *approved*, is, "that in churches where there are no elders, imposition of hands for the ordination of elders may be performed by some of the brethren, orderly chosen by the church thereunto:" which is indeed mollified with a concession, "that in churches where there are no elders, and the church so desire, the imposition of hands may be performed by the elders of other churches." It was the opinion of those worthy men, that the call and power whereof a pastor becomes (indeed the *first*) recipient subject, is derived unto him from the Lord Jesus Christ, by the *choice* of a church inviting him to the pastoral care of their souls. The *essence* of his vocation, they judged was in an *election* by the multitude of the faithful, agreeing to submit themselves unto his conduct in the Lord, and his acceptance of, his compliance with, that election. Ordination they looked upon but as a *ceremony*, whereby a called minister was declared by imposition of hands to be solemnly set apart for his ministry, and in the same *rite*, the assistances and protections and manifold blessings of the Holy Ghost, in the exercises of his ministry were solemnly implored for him.

Briefly, they reckoned not *ordination* to be essential unto the vocation of a minister, any more than *coronation* to the being of a king; but that it is only a consequent and convenient adjunct of his vocation; and a solemn acknowledgement of it, with an useful and proper benediction of *him* in it.

Now, in as much as the χειροτονία (*"lifting up of the hands of the fraternity,"*) was that which performed the *greater* things—even to apply the vocation of a pastor—said they, why may not the χειροθεσία (*"laying on of the hands of the fraternity"*) also perform the *lesser* thing; the thing which, indeed, is but the *accomplishment* of what they have already begun, even to publish, proclaim and pray over that vocation? To countenance this liberty of the fraternity, they brought the example of what was done in the church of Israel, when certain principal members of the congregation, which were certainly no ecclesiastical officers, did, in the name of the rest, "impose hands" upon the Levites: and afterwards, when all the congregation, in like manner, anointed Zadok, to be the priest; and they further considered that there were several *cases* wherein an ordination by the hands of *elders* could not be obtained in any tollerable circumstances; perhaps America had more than once afforded such; in which cases, they said, "Why may not the people of the land now take a man of their coasts, and, then, do all that is necessary to set him up for their watchman?" But whereas it was objected unto our New-English divines, by such writers as the sweet-spirited Herle and warm-spirited Rutherford, "that the New-Testament affords no example of imposition of hands by the people," it was answered, "that the New-Testament instances not the "imposition of hands" on ordinary pastors, by any ordinary pastors at all. In all the examples, there, concerning this matter, either the persons *by* whom, or the persons *on* whom, hands were imposed, were *extraordinary* officers: and thus the objectors will find as much dissonancy from the *scriptural* example in their own practice as they could in ours: besides, the example in the Old Testament was of a *moral* and of a *lasting* equity. And, in time, they supposed that they had on their side a thousand concessions, in the chief *defenders* and *principles* of the reformation: particularly the words of the incomparable Whitaker (*de Eccles. Quæst. v. cap. 6*):* "If they grant the calling of our ministers to be lawful, we care the less for *ordination*, for they that have authority to *call*, have also authority to *ordain*, if lawful ordination cannot otherwise be gotten: for ordination doth follow calling; he that is called is, as it were, thereby put into possession of his office." And it was the learned Calderwood who taught them to distinguish between what was received *by* (δια) and what was received only *with* (μετα) the "laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" the former notes a *casual* virtue in the rite, which accordingly is not affirmed in the text: the latter notes only the *concurring* and *approving* of

* Church Questions, chapter 6.

them that used the *rite*; and accordingly our good men were desirous to have the consent of a neighbouring presbytery unto their elections testified, in their ordinations, where it could be comfortably procured. On the other side: because the Scripture so expressly mentions the "laying on of the hands of the presbytery," very judicious men, throughout the country, were altogether averse to "the laying on of the hands of the fraternity." They reckoned that, in the "imposition of hands," there was their *consecration* to their ministry, and by this consecration they were to be owned, as admitted into the *order* of pastors, through the whole church of God; but they could not allow the rites of this order to be regularly and conveniently performed by any but such as were themselves of the same order; which perswasion has been so general, that setting aside a few plebeian ordinations," in the beginning of the world here among us, there have been rarely any ordinations managed in our churches but by the hands of presbyters: yea, any ordinations but such would be but matters of discourse and wonder. The custom of New-England cannot be better described than in the terms which describe the modes of the African churches (*Synod. African. apud Cyprian. Epit. 68. § 6. p. 202*): *Apud nos, et fere per Provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes, rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui Præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi Ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique convenient, et Episcopus deligatur, plebe præsentē, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et unius cujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit; quod factum videmus in Sabini ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, et de Episcoporum Judicio, episcopatus ei Deferatur.**

And so much respect have our churches had unto the interests of the presbytery in this point of ordination, that altho' upon the translation of pastors from one church unto another among us, few of the pastors thus translated have scrupled being re-ordained, yet, upon the arrival of some desirable pastors formerly ordained in England, who scrupled at it, our destituted churches have gladly *elected* them, and *embraced* them, and, solemnizing the transaction with fasting and prayer, have enjoyed them to all evangelical intents and purposes, without their being *re-ordained* at all.

§ 6. If I have reported *three* difficulties in our "platform of church discipline," I can add a *fourth*, which hath been as difficult as any of the rest.

The direction given by the Synod about the admission of members into the church, amounts to thus much:

"Repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are the things whereof men are to be examined at their admission into the church, and which, then, they must profess and hold forth in such sort as may satisfie rational charity that the things are there indeed. The weakest measure of faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be

* Among us and throughout almost all the provinces it is held, that it is needful to the due performance of the service of ordination, that the bishops of the same province from the neighbouring districts should meet with the people, over whom the candidate is to be ordained, and a bishop is selected in the presence of the people, who are best acquainted with the lives of each individual, and have witnessed the daily life and conversation of all. We have an illustration in the ordination of Sabinus, on whom the bishopric was conferred by the unanimous vote of the brethren and the decision of the bishops.

admitted into the church: such charity and tenderness is to be used, as the weakest Christian, if sincere, may not be excluded or discouraged. Severity of examination is to be avoided; in case any, through excessive fear or other infirmity, be unable to make their personal relation of their spiritual estate in publick, it is sufficient that the elders, having received private satisfaction, make relation thereof in publick before the church, they testifying their assents thereunto: this being the way that tends most to edification. But where persons are of greater abilities, there it is most expedient that they make their relations and confessions personally with their own mouth, as David professeth of himself. A personal and publick confession, and declaring of God's manner of working upon the soul, is both lawful, expedient and useful."

And the platform in Chap. XII. § 5, gives the grounds of this direction. The Jews tell us of כליא, or a *scare-crow* upon the top of the *temple*, which kept off the *fowls* from defiling of it; and it has been the opinion of many that this custom of relations, to be made by candidates for admission to the church, of what operations of the regenerating spirit have been upon their souls, is a scare-crow to keep men out of the temple; but, it may be, it has been the opinion of as many that none but the defilers of the temple would be kept out by such a scare-crow.

On the one side, the churches demanding an account of *experiences* from those which they receive to stated church-fellowship, has been by some decryed as an humane invention; and they tell us that, indeed, according to the report of Cæsarius, there have been popish monasteries which have demanded such an account from those that entred thereinto; but that few protestant societies have, till of late, observed such an usage. Yea, they say that, instead of having any divine *precept* for the bottom of this *practice*, there is no bottom at all for it but this, that it *has been a practice*. The first churches of New-England began only with a profession of assent and consent unto the "confession of faith," and the "covenant" of communion. Afterwards, they that sought for the communion, were but privately examined about a work of grace in their souls, by the elders, and then publickly propounded unto the congregation, only that so, if there were any scandal in their lives, it might be objected and considered. But in the year 1634, one of the brethren having leave to hear the examination of the elders, magnified so much the advantage of being present at such an exercise, that many others desired and obtained the like leave to be present at it; until, at length, to gratifie this *useful curiosity*, the whole church always expected the *liberty* of being thus particularly acquainted with the religious dispositions of those with whom they were afterwards to sit at the table of the Lord; and that church which *began* this way was quickly imitated by most of the rest, who, when all come to, have little else to plead for it, but that the good men find themselves exceedingly edified when they hear other good men describing the "means which the Lord has devised for the bringing back of their banished souls."

On the other side, it has been argued by others: "that nothing less than a probable and a credible profession of a saving faith must be made by a

man, before the Supper of the Lord may be administered unto him." The churches to whom the apostles directed their epistles, were still visibly saints, and such as "were made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light;" how many scores of passages to this purpose have we concerning those churches, about the understanding whereof we may use the words of Calvin, *Quod exponunt quidam de sola professione mihi frigidum videtur, et ab usu Scripture est alienum?** It is on all hands agreed, that the Lord's Supper is an ordinance communicable unto none but penitents. Now, the primitive churches, if Dyonysius of Alexandria may be credited, would not accept a penitent until, having "examined him, they discerned his conversion and repentance" to be such "as would be accepted by God." And the Council of Nice gave this for a general rule, "that the inward state of penitents be observed in order to their admission to the communion. Whereupon 'tis argued, if they that are impenitent for *this* or *that* particular sin, may not come to the table of the Lord, surely, they that may be thought impenitent for a whole *course of sin*, are also to be kept out of doors; which is to be esteemed the case of all them whom we may not reasonably, as well as charitably, judge "renewed by the Holy Ghost." Accordingly, Origen writes: "that the Christians of the first churches did most exquisitely search the souls of them that asked a full communion with them; and says, when men have made such a proficiency that they appear sanctified by the divine word, then we call them up to our mysteries." Tertullian, among others, doth advise us of the strict *scrutiny* used in his days, upon the hearts of the catechumens; "whether they did, indeed, renounce all their former vanities."

It was the order, *Fiant scrutinia, an verba Fidei radicatus Corde defixerint.*† Cyprian reports, *Vix plebi persuadeo*; he could not easily "persuade the fraternity of his flock to consent unto the receiving of such in whom sincerity was questionable." Austin affirms, that "according to the ancient custom, grounded on the most evident truth, none were admitted into the church on earth, who were visibly such as the Scripture excludes from the kingdom of God in heaven." And the agreement of the pastors in the days of Constance, about the discerning of the *sincere*, is very memorable. If the question be put, "what it is that we may safely judge a probable and a credible profession of a saving faith?" it has been answered that *Scripture* must be followed and applied by *reason* in this matter; if the Scripture assert such and such *marks* to be in the experiences of all the regenerate, then reason is in this case to make an humane enquiry, whether our neighbours have those marks in *their* experiences? 'Tis not enough to restore a man under church-censure, for the man barely to say "I repent;" no, but for us to proceed *rationally* in observing whether the

* The ideas advanced by some concerning mere profession seem to me to be cold and unwarranted by Scripture usage.

† Let there be scrutinizing inquiry to ascertain whether the words of the creed are fundamentally fixed on the heart.

likely symptoms of repenting do appear upon him, is to proceed *scripturally*: even so, 'tis not enough to qualifie a man under church-trial, for the man to say "I believe;" while there may be discovered in him such an ignorant or insipid state of soul, as may render it justly suspicious that he is yet a stranger to the new birth. Briefly the thing has been thus discoursed.

We must beware of *unscriptural impositions* in this affair; we must not impose any *modes* of profession, which we have no warrant for. 'Tis a *tyranny* to enjoin upon every man, "a relation about the precise time and way of their conversion unto God." Few that have been restrained by a religious education, can give such an one. Nor is it any other than a *cruelty* to enjoin upon every man "an oral and a publick relation of their experiences." Every good man has not such a courage and presence of mind as can speak pertinently before a congregation of many hundreds. But, still, as the *probationers* for our communion are to make a profession of their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as that redeemer "in whom all fulness dwells," and on whom they rely for communications from that fulness to their own souls: thus we must look for some justifying circumstance of that profession. Our *charity* towards all men, of whom we know nothing amiss, is to "hope all things," and believe the best; but when we come to make a judgment of them that lay claim to privileges with us, 'tis but *reason* that our charity should require a more *positive evidence* of the qualification on which the claim is made. In the primitive times they made such a profession, at their being "added unto the church;" and the profession had this justifying circumstance in it, when they endangered their very lives to make it. I make no doubt but, in such a time of persecution, the like profession ought to be esteemed sufficient.—But in places where the true religion is in *repute* and *fashion*, then to look for some other justifying circumstance of a profession, is but a reasonable conformity to the custom and manner of the apostles. Now, *reason* cannot readily dictate an easier, a fairer, a fitter method for this, than that a man of a blameless and fruitful conversation, should either by tongue or pen express "what impressions the word of God has made upon him." The savour of such a *relation* will usually very much manifest the spirit of him that makes it; and besides, nothing is more for the honour of God, or for the comfort of his people, than to hear good Christians thus making that invitation, "Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul." It is true that, after all, we cannot be infallibly sure that we do not admit an hypocrite in heart into our communion; nor, indeed, after the distinctest profession of a *dogmatical* and *historical* faith, can we be sure that the person whom we admit is not an heretick in heart. Nevertheless, no man scarce ever doubted that communicants must be examined about their *orthodoxy*. But we should go as far as we reasonably can to prevent the pollution of holy things by the unregenerate.

Well, the result of these various apprehensions has been this: that some *unscriptural severities*, urged in this matter by several of our churches in the beginning of the plantation, are now generally laid aside; but still, for the most part, there is expected from those that would join unto 'em, a brief address, in the language of an experimental Christian, intimating something of what the eternal spirit of God has done to conform their hearts and lives unto those "principles of Christianity," whereof they then make a profession. 'Tis true, in some churches, if the *elders* declare their satisfaction about the qualifications of those that offer themselves, the *people* are, without any further inquiry, satisfied: but in most churches, the people do desire the elders to entertain them with a more particular account of such things, as the persons have to present for their own more thorough recommendation unto the good affection of those with whom they are to "eat bread in the kingdom of God." Nevertheless, there seems to have been thought needful on both sides a concession to what has been sometimes propounded in such terms as these:

"Our churches do ordinarily expect from those whom they admit unto constant and complete communion with them, some few savoury expressions [*written*, if not *oral*] of what regenerating influences the ordinances or the providences of God have had upon their souls. There are some who demand this, as a thing required by the word of God, when 'a confession with the mouth' and 'a profession of repentance as well as faith,' and 'a giving a reason of the hope that is in us,' is required: and they look upon this as a 'justifying circumstance,' which a reasonable charity is to seek, before it pronounce upon the credibility of that 'confession and profession, whereupon men lay claim to privileges. Others can't see thro' this; they rather deery it, as an humane invention; yet, rather than church-work should be at any *stay*, both sides may grant that it is but a piece of 'reasonable civility,' for any that would be accepted as members of any society whatsoever, to address that society for their acceptance; and that whoever doth address a church of the Lord Jesus for their fellowship, should endeavour to do it in such language and matter as may be like that of one 'returning unto God.' If there be any further contest whether the brethren, of *right*, are to have an acquaintance with, or interest in, the management of this matter, I am confident that as the pastors, who are the porters to the house of God, will generally examine what experiences their communicants have attained unto; so the pastors will as generally grant that it is not *unlawful* for them to communicate unto the brethren of the church the *taste* which they have had of the *graces* in such as they now propound unto them, to be received as brethren; yea, that it is many ways comfortable and profitable, if not altogether necessary. Behold then a *temper*, wherein we *may*, as hitherto we *do*, in this thing *unite*. I have been concerned with some godly people of the Scotch nation, who have at first shewn much and hot *antipathy* against *this way* of our churches, and yet asked admittance to the table of the Lord. These have consented unto me that I should put what *questions* I pleased in my *trials* of them; that I should herewithal take in writing what minutes I pleased of their *answers* to me; that being myself now *satisfied* concerning them, I might, if I pleased, offer that satisfaction unto any or all of the church who looked for it at our usual opportunity. These concessions immediately opened *their way* in *ours* unto the table of the Lord, without any difficulty unto either of us."

§ 7. I think I have now reported the most contested passages of our platform; nevertheless, to give a further elucidation of some other passages in that platform, I will subjoin the determination given by a late

assembly of our ministers at Cambridge, upon these two points: the power of *synods*, and the power of *elders*.

† PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Power of Synods, with respect unto Particular Churches.

I. PARTICULAR churches, having the same original ends and interests, and being mutually concerned in the *good* and *evil* of each other, there is the light of nature, as well as of Scripture, to direct the "meeting of churches," by their delegates, to consult and conclude things of common concernment unto them.

II. Synods, duly composed of messengers chosen by them whom they are to represent, and proceeding with a due regard unto the will of God in his word, are to be revered, as *determining* the mind of the Holy Spirit concerning things necessary to be "received and practised," in order to the edification of the churches therein represented.

III. All the commands of God, which bid us to "be well-advised," and "regard a multitude of counsellors," do particularly oblige us with reverence to entertain the advice of synods assembling in the name and fear of the Lord Jesus Christ, for an enquiry after his directions. And if one church be to be heard, much more are many churches to be so, in things that properly fall under the cognizance thereof.

IV. Synods being of apostolic example, recommend as a necessary ordinance, it is but reasonable that their judgment be acknowledged as *decisive*, the affairs for which they are ordained; and to deny them the power of such a judgment, is to render a necessary ordinance "of none effect."

V. The power of synods is not to *abate*, much less to *destroy*, the liberties of particular churches, but to *strengthen* and to *direct* those churches, in the *right use* of the powers given by the Lord Jesus Christ unto them. And such assemblies are therefore to be used as a relief ordained by God for those difficulties, for which the *care* and *state* of a particular church affords not a sufficient remedy.

The rights allowed unto synods, in the *Irenicum* of the excellent Jeremiah Burroughs, chap. vii., we fully consent and subscribe unto.

† PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Power of Elders in the Government of the Church.

I. THE power of church government belongs only to the *elders* of the church. The names of the elders, in the Scriptures, are but insignificant and unintelligible metaphors, if the rule of the church be not only in the hands of its elders. The word of God hath ordered the people to "obey the elders" of the church, as having the *rule* over them, and a *watch* over their souls. An ability to *rule well* is a qualification particularly required in the elders of the church, that they may be able to take a due *care* of it.

Governments are enumerated among those things in the church, which *all are not*, but which are compatible to *some only*: now, who but the elders? Were the government of the church as much in the *brethren* as in the *elders*, then the whole *body* were *all eye*; which it is *not*.

II. There are yet certain cases, wherein the elders, in the management of their church government, are to take the concurrence of the *fraternity*. 'Tis to be done in those *acts*, to attain the *ends* whereof, there are to follow certain duties of the fraternity—namely, *elections*, and *admissions*, and *censures*. Hence, in such things, we find the injunctions of the Scripture addressed unto the *whole church*. Hence, all antiquity assures us that such matters were, in the primitive church, done still *Consentiente plebe*.^{*} And the *brethren* of the church might otherwise be obliged unto the doing of things wherein they cannot “act in faith,” or be “conscientiously satisfied” that such things are to be done.

III. Nevertheless, the pastor of a church may by himself *authoritatively* suspend from the Lord's-table a brother accused or suspected of a scandal, till the matter may and should be regularly examined. Our Lord forbids the coming of such an offender to his altar, if even one of *less*, of *no* authority in the church, do signifie a reasonable dissatisfaction. The pastors of the church are the porters of the temple, empowered sufficiently to detain such as they see with “moral uncleanness” upon them. And its belonging unto the porters of the church to direct the brethren in the application of the “necessary discipline;” it is not reasonable that they should be bound in the mean time to declare *practically* what shall be contrary to such direction by administering the Lord's-Supper unto a person against whom the discipline is to be urged.

IV. But the elders of the church have a *negative* on the votes of the brethren; who, indeed, in the exercise of their liberty and privilege, are under the conduct of the elders. To take away the negative of the elders, or the necessity of their *consent* unto such acts, indeed is to take away all government whatsoever, and it is to turn the whole “regimen of the church” into a pure “democracy.” And, if the *positive* of the brethren can supersede a *negative* of the elders, either the elders may be driven to do things quite contrary unto the light of their conscience, or else the brethren may presume to do things which belong not unto them.

§ 8. Because there are several church-cases of a very general importance, which our platform has not resolved so particularly as has been desired by them that have been more immediately concerned in those cases, an assembly of ministers meeting at Cambridge hath taken cognizance of them; from whose *registers* I have taken leave to transcribe the following memorials. Reader, allow the general title of them to be *PILLULÆ SINE QUIBUS*.†

* With the concurrence of the laity.

† Indispensable Pills.

¶ PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Obligations lying upon Ministers of the Gospel, to "Visit the Sick," in times of Epidemical and Contagious Distempers.

I. MINISTERS of the Gospel are to have a great concern for the sick under their pastoral charge, and endeavour the fulfilling of their ministry, not only by fitting the necessities of their sick with their prayers, but also by leaving them unacquainted with none of those counsels which may prepare them for their end.

II. Nevertheless, in times of epidemical contagion, the ministers of the gospel may by various methods attend what is necessary thus to be attended, without the ordinary visitations of the infected chambers.

III. A minister solicitous about his duty in "visiting the sick" of his flock, when pestilential contagions are prevailing, may receive much direction from the *courage* wherewith he may find the God of heaven fortifying his heart unto such an undertaking.

IV. The bare "desires of the sick" to be visited by a minister have often so much of evident unseasonableness, unreasonableness, and perhaps of worse causes in them, that it is no ways fitting a *life* should be sacrificed merely thereunto.

V. When a minister is well assured that the sick of his own flock are laboring under such *loads* upon their consciences as cannot fitly be unburdened unto any but himself, he has a call from Heaven to venture himself to the utmost for the service of such a soul, and may expect the protection of Heaven accordingly to be a *shield* unto him.

VI. A minister, in times of general mortalities, may do well, before he exposes himself unto the evident hazards of those mortalities, to take the advice and consent of that church unto whose edification the labours of his life are dedicated, whether *they* are willing that he should sacrifice his life unto the *private services* of the sick. And the opinion of a people thus asked, will afford much satisfaction unto a minister, as to what may be in this case incumbent upon him.

VII. In times extraordinarily pestilential, if the neighbouring ministers do by a lott solemnly single out one of their number, to devote himself, with the exemption of the rest, unto the help of the sick, it were a course not to be disapproved: but a minister, so devoted, may cheerfully commend himself unto the acceptance of God in the service of the distressed.

¶ PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Cases wherein a Minister may Leave his People.

I. A PASTOR, settled in the service of a people, is to be so sensible of his designation by the spirit and the providence of the Lord Jesus Christ for that service, and of the account that he must give unto God about his behaviour in it, that his removal must not be rashly attempted, but with

much consideration, consultation, supplication, and sincere desire to follow the conduct of Heaven in it. The frowns of God use to follow *removes* that have not so been regulated.

II. That the *will* of our Lord, about the removal of any pastor from his people, may be understood, it is requisite that the minister do not entirely assume to himself the judgment of his own call to remove, but a great regard must be had unto the direction of the churches of our Lord in the neighbourhood.

III. They unto whom the judgment of a pastor's removal from his people is to be referred, should exactly weigh both the present and future circumstances of both; and endeavour a provision that neither party may suffer in the removal of a minister from his flock.

IV. In case there be arisen those incurable prejudices, dissensions, animosities, and implacable offences between a pastor and his people, that all reverence for, and benefit by, his ministry is utterly to be despaired, he may be removed. The want of success, otherwise, is not a sufficient cause of removal, but it is to be endured, with all humble patience, by the minister, as a great affliction; and yet with this encouragement, that God will reward him, *Secundum laborem, non secundum proventum*.*

V. A pastor may be removed from his people, in case his *translation* be found necessary for the common good. The welfare of the catholic church, in the general edification of a community, should be of such weight as to make any particular churches give way thereunto. But, yet, it becomes not any minister so seek his own translation, by first offering himself unto it.

VI. There are some things which dissolve the *vinculum pastorale*† between a pastor and his people; and in case those disasters happen, he may be removed. Thus, if a minister have a tolerable subsistence, wherewith he may after a Christian manner provide for his own, deny'd him; or, if a minister have no way to avoid a storm of persecution, purely *personal*, but by "fleeing from one city to another," a remove may be justified. And the dissolution of a church, gives the like liberty to him that had been the shepherd of the now-scattered flock.

VII. Although a pastor should be willing to encounter many difficulties and infirmities with his people; yet, in case that chronical diseases, which evidently threaten his life, might hopefully be relieved by his removal, it should *then*, on all hands, be allowed and advised. *Mercy* is here to be preferred before *sacrifice*, and so we find it was in the primitive churches accordingly.

VIII. If much of scandal will certainly ensue upon the removal of a pastor from his people, *that* should weigh down many circumstances that would rather invite such a removal.

* According to his labor, not according to his success.

† Pastoral bond.

QUESTION.—*Whether it be Lawful for a Man to Marry his Wife's Sister?*

I. A MARRIAGE between a man and his wife's own sister, is positively prohibited in that law of God, (Lev. xviii. 16,) "that a man may not marry his brother's wife." By the plainest consequence, a woman may not marry her sister's husband. The degree prohibited is exactly the same.

II. The law that has prohibited the marriage of a man to his wife's own sister has an authority and an obligation reaching even to the Gentiles, upon "whom the ends of the world are come." 'Tis evident that the violation of *this* law, is declared one of those *abominations* for which the ancient Canaanites were "spued out of their land." And we find the New Testament, in divers places, insisting upon those prohibitions, among which this law is one. The good order which God has by this law established in humane society, is that which the light of nature, in mankind, as *now* increased, does abundantly testify unto. The dispensation which the sovereign law-giver once gave in one instance hereunto, was extraordinary. The example of Jacob, in this matter, is to be disapproved by all that would be esteemed his children, as well as that of his polygamy.

III. 'Tis the law of our God, in Lev. xviii. 6, "none of you shall approach [in a marriage] unto any that is near of kin to him." Now, the kindred betwixt a man and his own wife's sister, is of the nearest sort: For, *Inter Virum et mulierem non contrahitur affinitas, sed ipsi sunt affinitatis causa*.* so then this affinity is not less than *in primo genere*,† and therefore unlawful. It is likewise the concurrent sense of the greatest divines (particularly asserted in the Assemblies "confession of faith;") that of what degree any one is of consanguinity to his wife, in the same degree of affinity is that person to the husband. And that an husband is forbidden to marry with the *consanguines* of his wife, by the same rule that consanguines are forbidden to marry among themselves. And this assertion may be demonstrated from the *rules* given in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus. Wherefore, as a man may not marry his own sister, so not the sister of his wife, which is one flesh with him.

IV. The marriage in the question has been so scandalous among the whole people of God, that whosoever is guilty of it, is therein worthy to be cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church; yea, it hath been one of the imperial laws, *Duabus Sororibus Conjungendi, penitus Licentiam submovemus*.‡ Much less may such an iniquity be countenanced among the people of *our profession*.

QUESTION.—*Whether, and how far, the Discipline of our Lord in our Churches is to be extended to the Children therein Baptized.*

I. WE judge, that the *discipline* of our Lord Jesus Christ in our churches ought to be extended unto the children baptised in them: in as much as

* For a relationship is not contracted between the man and the woman, but they are themselves the source of relationship.

† Of the first degree.

‡ We utterly disallow the privilege of marrying two sisters.

these persons are certainly those which the Scripture calls *within*, and not *without*; and the *lambs*, as well as others in the flocks of our Lord, are to be fed: and the practice of the purest churches has been agreeable to this principle, as well the primitive before, as the Bohemian and others since, the Reformation: reason also says, that where a *privilege* is expected, a *discipline* is to be acknowledged.

II. Although it is a membership in the catholic church that gives right unto baptism, yet *particular* churches, as well as the pastors of those churches, owe a duty to the catholic church, part of which duty is the application of *discipline* unto those baptised persons whom the providence of God shall cast under their inspection.

III. The discipline which we count owing unto these persons is, an *instruction* in the laws of our Lord Jesus Christ, an *admonition* upon a scandalous violation of those laws, and upon incorrigibleness in evil, an open *rejection* from all ecclesiastical privileges: and although persons are most clearly *liable* to this process, when they have actually *renewed* their baptismal covenant, and *recognized* their subjection to the government of our Lord in his church, and the children of the church are to be accordingly laboured withal, that they may be brought hereunto, yet we do not think that any of the said persons, refusing or neglecting thus to do, are thereby exempted from such a care of the church to bring them unto repentance.

QUESTION.—*In what Cases is a Divorce of the Married justly to be Pursued and Obtained?*

I. To judge, determine and accomplish a divorce of any married persons, the civil magistrate is to be addressed or concerned.

II. In case any married persons be found under *natural incapacities*, and *insufficiencies*, which utterly disappoint the confessed ends of marriage, the marriage is to be declared a nullity.

III. In case any married person be found already bound in a marriage to another yet living, a divorce is to be granted unto the aggrieved party.

IV. In case any married person be convicted of such *criminal uncleanness* as render them one *flesh* with another object than that unto which their marriage has united them, the injured party may sue and have their divorce from the offending; which is the plain sense of the sentence, passed by our Lord, Matth. xix. 9.

V. In case there be found *incest* in a marriage, a divorce is to command the separation of the married.

VI. In case it be found that a person married had, by *fornication* before marriage, been made *one* with a person related unto the person with whom they are *now* married, within the degrees made incestuous by the law of God, it is a just plea for a divorce.

VII. In case of a *malicious desertion* by a married person, who is obliged and invited to return, a divorce may be granted by lawful authority unto the forsaken. For the word of God is plain, "that a Christian is not

bound in such cases" by the marriage unto one which has thus wilfully violated the covenant; and tho' our Saviour forbids "a man's putting away his wife, except it be for fornication," yet he forbids not rulers to rescue an innocent person from the enthralling disadvantages of another that shall sinfully go away.

VIII. As for married persons long absent from each other, and not heard of by each other, the government may state what *length of time* in this case, may give such a presumption of *death* in the person abroad, as may reckon a second marriage free from scandal.

IX. A divorce being legally pursued and obtained, the innocent person that is released may proceed unto a "second marriage in the Lord:" otherwise the state of believers under the New Testament would in some of these cases be worse than what the God of heaven directed for his people under the Old.

¶ PROPOSITIONS—Concerning Ordination.

I. A solemn *separation* to the service of our Lord Jesus Christ in his church, is essential to the call of a church-officer.

II. The *election* of the church, and a compliance with, and an acceptance of that election, by a person coming under a separation, is that wherein lies the essence of his call to minister unto that particular church.

III. The *imposition of hands*, in the ordination of a church-officer, is a rite, not only lawful to be retained, but it seems by a divine institution directed and required; so that although the call of a person to church-office may not become null and void, where that rite may have been omitted, as it is in the seniors and deacons in most of the reformed churches, yet we cannot approve the omission of it. A ceremonial defect may be blameworthy.

IV. When it is enjoyed, "lay hands suddenly on no man," there seems a plain *positive* in that *negative*; and it is implied "that hands are to be laid on some." Now, when, or where, but in ordination?

V. The *whole ordination* to a *ministry* seems intended in the apostle's expression of a "gift given with the laying on of hands;" yea, nothing less than the whole ministry, under that ordination, seems comprised in the apostle's expression of the "doctrine of laying on of hands:" and such a synecdoche intimates that this *rite* is no inconsiderable *part* of that whereof 'tis put for the *whole*.

VI. The church of God, in all ages, has used an "imposition of hands," as a rite many ways agreeable to the will of God; and besides the use of this rite, sometimes on *miraculous* accounts, there has still been a more constant use of it on *ecclesiastical* accounts; not *conferring* but *confessing* of qualifications, the subjects that received it; which one reason has in it many and weighty considerations.

VII. The "imposition of hands" being a rite used by the primitive

churches in the *confirming* and *restoring* of church-members, and this not altogether without the countenance of Scripture, it seems very much to take away all pretence for laying it aside in the ordination of church-officers.

VIII. 'Tis well known, that the Jews, even in their schools, and in almost every *special work* for God whereto men were set apart, used "imposition of hands," as a rite accompanying such a *dedication*.

IX. The "imposition of hands" having been a rite which the people of God, under the Old Testament, in his name applied unto such purposes as a *benediction* of a person, a *designation* to a function, an *oblation* of what was to be presented unto God, and a *devolution* of certain burdens on the heads of such as were treated with it; the Lord has continued this rite in the ordaining of church-officers, with some to such intents and purposes.

X. Most unexceptionable is the "imposition of hands" by a *presbytery*; but more exceptionable by a *fraternity*. The word of God mentions the former expressly, but not the latter, in the New Testament. They were such hands as Titus's that were left to ordain elders. What need of that, if the *hands* of common believers were sufficient? They were such hands as Timothy's that were to *make over* church-betrustments "unto faithful men, able to teach others." Who fitter to signify the needed approbation of other churches? And inasmuch as in ordination there is an acknowledgement of admission into an order, it is but reasonable that some who are in some order of church-power should give it.

¶ PROPOSITIONS—Touching the Power of Chusing a Pastor.

A SOCIETY of believers combined for the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ in *all* his ordinances, have the right of chusing the pastor that is to administer unto them those ordinances.

The Scriptures do still call for the suffrages of the brethren in the churches, for all elections in those churches, and particularly that of elders.

In the oldest and purest of its times, we still find the brethren of the church possessed of a power to "chuse for itself," and the destruction of the power was amongst none of the earliest encroachments of Antichrist.

The *jus patronatus** in some churches pretended unto, is an usurpation upon the flock of God, justly to be exploded.

The pretences of the civil magistrate unto the like disposal for the same causes, were for many ages no less justly than sharply denied.

A *particular* church, owing a great regard unto the church catholic in the using of its own *right*, is bound in duty to consult the satisfaction and edification of *others* in their election of a pastor.

Ministers and messengers of neighbouring churches have power to except against any election of a pastor, who, by errors or scandals, may be rendred unfit for the common service of the gospel.

* The right of patronage.

Churches, in the election of a pastor, are to consider the benefit of *all* that are to be his hearers; and more particularly the concurrence of such as are by the covenant and appointment of God under the church-watch among them.

The respect that churches do shew to others in the election of a pastor, ought so to be managed, as that they do not permit their own just privileges to be extinguished by anticipating impositions upon them.

Churches may suffer their elections to be *directed*—yea, and be *diverted*—by considerations which they owe to others in the vicinity, without surrendering their liberties to be smothered by any that would unjustly impose thereupon.

QUESTION.—*Whether there are any Cases, wherein a Minister of the Gospel may lay down his Ministry?*

No man can rightly, wisely, or safely become a minister of the gospel without a call of God, which call is *mediate*, and manifested by ministerial gifts, with some inclination and opportunity to exercise those gifts.

When a minister of the gospel does by the *compelling providence* of God become deprived of those *essential things* whereby his call was discovered, without any rational prospect of *recovering* them, he may then lay down his ministry.

But before one called unto the ministry do relinquish it, there should be such a concurrence of *incapacities*, that a person's own arbitrary inclinations, acted by temptations, may not be the things that shall dismiss him. One consecrated unto the ministry, is thus, *pro termino vitæ*;* nor may a man, setting his hand unto this plough, at his own pleasure look back.

For one in the sacred ministry to leave it, for the sake of *riches* or *honours*, more likely to be acquired in another way of living, for the sake of *discouragements*, arising from unsuccessfulness, or persecution, or other difficulties, in no ways allowable.

A person disabled by the infirmities of old age for the labour of the ministry, still retaining his office, is to be still considered, in the dutiful regards of the church, as their pastor notwithstanding.

A *censure*, though an unjust one, of a civil magistrate, silencing a particular minister, may in some cases be a sufficient reason for his forbearing to do his work, for *some time*, or in *this place*, though it release him not from the obligation of his *holy calling*.

The disasters which have been observed as frequently following those who have deserted their *spiritual warfare*, without the leave of the Lord, are just admonitions unto all ministers of our Lord against any undue *desertion* of the service wherein they have been listed.

* For the full time of his existence.

QUESTION.—*Whether the Pastor of a Church, upon a common fame of a Scandal, committed by any in his Church, be not bound in Duty to enquire into that Scandal, although there should not be brought any formal complaint unto him of it?*

I. ACCORDING to the apostolical direction, an enquiry into an offence was ordered upon this consideration, (1 Cor. v. 1,) “It is reported commonly.”

II. The elders of Israel were to make an inquiry into an offence after this manner, (Deut. xiii. 12. 14,) “If thou shalt hear say—Then shalt thou enquire and make search, and ask diligently.”

III. The commendation of a civil ruler does, by proportion and parity of reason, belong to an ecclesiastical one, (Job xxvi. 16.) “The cause which I knew not, I searched out.”

IV. The same that may move others to complain of a *scandal* unto the pastor, should move the pastor to enquire after a reported scandal; namely, the glory of the Lord, the defence of the church, and the welfare of the erring person; every one of whom will suffer, if such enquiry be not made.

V. The neighbours may be so far under the power of *temptation*, as to forbear making orderly relations of scandals committed; and it is therefore necessary, that such things fall under the enquiry of the pastor, thereto by *common fame* alarmed.

VI. The pastor of a church is by office to *watch* over the *conversation* of the people, and a noise of scandal arisen in the conversation of those under his watch, is a sufficient provocation for his enquiry after it.

VII. Finally, a rumour of a scandal in a church-member, is that wherein the *name* of the Lord Jesus Christ is concerned, and for the vindication of that worthy name, an enquiry being made into it, there may appear such powerful *presumptions*, while there are not yet sufficient *convictions* of guilt in the party concerned, that the person shall be bound (except in a capital case) either to give a positive denial or to make a penitent confession of the matter commonly famed of him.

QUESTION.—*How far the Confessions of a Guilty and Troubled Conscience, are to be kept Secret by the Minister or Christian to whom the Confessions have been made?*

I. 'Tis very certain that, ordinarily, the confessions of a guilty and a troubled conscience are to be kept *secret* by those to whom they are made. The *ends* for which the Lord Jesus Christ has directed unto such confessions, would be all frustrated, if they should not be most religiously concealed; and they are made, “as unto the Lord.”

II. Nevertheless, when *evident mischief* will arise, general or personal, either in point of *safety* or of *justice*, by the concealment of a secret confession, it is no longer to be kept secret. In such cases the confessing person himself can have no *ease* in his own conscience (which is the design of confession) without publishing his own crime; and therefore there can be no obligation upon any other to assist him in covering of it.

III. When the endangered *safety* or *interests* of others make it necessary

for the confession of a secret sin to be exposed, it is fit for the person who has heard this confession to advise the person himself that, within a time limited and convenient, he do himself make it known to the persons concerned; which if he fail to do, then is the time for the first hearer of the confession to do his duty.

IV. In the great capitals, if there be no other ways a divulgation thereof, he that hath had the confession of such a secret sin may come in as a second witness, to reveal the secret for the conviction of the malefactor under judicial process.

V. Where the confession of a secret sin is to be further divulged, it is to be examined whether the sin may not be told without the name of the person that has committed and confessed it.

VI. A minister of the gospel receiving a confession, often times has cause to consider whether the person that makes it may not make his knowledge thereof many ways *injurious* to himself; and, if so, he may with his best prudence provide against such injuries.

VII. In those land-defiling sins, where a person is not bound by a confession to deliver himself up to the hazard of the law, no minister is bound, from the meer nature of the crimes, to betray the confession that has been made unto him.

QUESTION.—*What is the Duty owing from the Church, to Persons who upon Private Prejudices withdraw from the Communion of it?*

I. PERSONS that have taken up any private *prejudices* against any in the communion of the church whereto they do belong, are directed by the commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ, and are engaged by the covenant of watchfulness, to endeavour the repentance of the persons under supposed offence by a *personal application*.

II. They that, upon *offences* taken, do neglect this way of proceeding, are guilty of sin against the Lord's commandment and their own covenant; and by their withdrawing from the table of the Lord, their sin is aggravated.

III. The withdrawing of persons thus irregularly from the communion of the church at the Lord's table, does carry an hard and high imputation upon the church itself, which adds more of a fault unto so sinful a *schism*.

IV. If the person that hath been offended hath done his duty, and either the pastor do refuse to lay the matter before the church, for the insignificancy of it, or the church, upon the hearing of it, do pronounce it satisfied, the person is obliged still to continue his *communion* with the church, until a council of churches declare the contrary.

V. Such a sinful separation from the communion of the church being a moral evil, the scandal is to be by the discipline of the church proceeded against, as other censurable scandals. The pastor, upon observation and information of the sin, is to send for the person withdrawing, and

instruct and convince and admonish him; and upon contumacious obstinacy, the church is to deal with him as one unruly, and walking disorderly.

VI. Nevertheless, compassion towards the ignorant, or injured, is very much to determine the more or less *vigour* wherewith such offences are to be prosecuted.

QUESTION.—*What Loan of Money, upon Usury, may be practised?*

I. USURY, being an *advance* upon any thing lent by contract, it is not restrained unto *money* only; victuals or any other thing, (as the oracles of the sacred Scriptures declare unto us) are capable of being “lent upon usury.” The main difference of usury from other ways of dealing, is the owners not running the *risque* of the principal.

II. That there is an usury lawful to be taken, is from several passages in the divine law sufficiently signified unto us. For, first, under the Old Testament, God allowed unto his people the practice of usury; he expressly said, (Deut. xxviii. 20,) “Unto a stranger thou mayst lend upon usury.” And the allowance of usury upon a stranger had never been given, if usury had in it any intrinsick turpitude. Yea, in all the places of the Old Testament, prohibiting unto the Israelites the demand of “usury upon a brother,” there are clauses in the context which seem to intimate as if the *poor* brother only were intended in the prohibition. However, the peculiar constitution of the Israelitish commonwealth is enough to release us Gentiles from the obligation of the edicts against usury given thereunto. And the words of the Psalmist and Prophet, that seem to reproach usury, must accordingly be expounded with a limitation to the usury which the law had countermanded. Hence, also, in the New Testament, our Saviour has a passage of such importance as to give countenance, in Mat. xxv. 27, unto a “man’s receiving his own with usury;” and in the New Testament also, John Baptist, in Luke xiii. 3, forbade not unto the *publicans* the usury which their condition of life led them unto.

III. There is every sort of law, except the Popish, to justify a regulated usury. ’Tis justified by the law of necessity and utility; humane society, as now circumstanced, would sink, if all usury were impracticable. ’Tis justified by the law of equity; it is very equal that a man should partake in the benefits which his estate procures for another man. Yea, it may be the duty of another man to give me a usury—namely, when he gains by my possessions; it would be *iniquity* in him to do otherwise: and certainly then it cannot be a *sin* for me to *take* that which ’tis his *duty* to *give*. ’Tis justified by the law of *parity*; there is no manner of reason why the usury of money, should be more faulty than that of any other thing; for money is as really improveable a thing as any other commodity whatsoever: nor can a contract in this case be more blameable than in any other. Nor is it contrary to the law of charity that a man should expect something, for the support and comfort of his own family, for the profit-

able use which other men may make of those things whereof he is himself the proprietor.

IV. Nevertheless, the *law of charity* is to regulate our usury, that it may not become unlawful by the "biting extremity," into which it may otherwise be carried. It is an eternal and a glorious rule of charity, that in dealing with a neighbour, a man must propose his "neighbour's advantage," as well as his own, and he should not propose to make his own advantage by adding to his neighbour's misery. Moreover, when the general rules of charity oblige a man to *relieve* the *necessities* of a neighbour, or to *remit* of what he might have *exact*ed from a neighbour, if it had not been for those necessities, *usury* must not supersede that *charity*. Whence, also, to demand usury from the *poor* when we accommodate them for their mere *necessary* sustenance and subsistence, is a *sin*. 'Tis a sin likewise to refuse helping the poor because we would keep all that we have to serve the designs of usury. Nor can it be any other than a sin to require as much for *usury* as for *hire*, which are carefully to be distinguished. And an idle usury, which is when men so confine themselves to the way of living upon usury, as to render themselves otherwise *unuseful* unto the publick; this is justly become a thing of an evil character. But yet, in all these things, the application of the rules of charity is to be left unto a man's own *conscience*, which is to be advised from the word of God, with the best helps of understanding that word.

All these things being thus considered, the severe *declamations* of the ancients against usury must be of no further account with us than their discourses against limning, or swearing, or fighting, or sitting and acting in a court of civil judicature.

QUESTION.—*Whether it be in the Power of Men to State any Days of Publick Worship?*

I. No *time* is to be made *holy* to the Lord, but what is made holy by the Lord; and if there be no *institution* of God, the great Lord of time, for a *stated time*, to be made *holy* to himself, 'tis a *superstition* in any man to make it so.

II. Very sensible is the difference between taking a *time* to do a *sacred work*, and doing a *work* to keep a *stated time*. The light of nature tells us there must be a *time* for every work; but it is only the fourth commandment of God, that separates *one time* from the rest, for the constant performance of religious work upon it.

III. To esteem any good work the *better* for it's being done on such or such a return of time, which God hath not in his word set apart for it, is to make the *time* itself a *part* of the worship; and it is an unwarrantable imposing upon Heaven with our own inventions.

IV. Solemn *humiliations* and *thanksgivings* are moral duties to be observed *pro causis et temporibus*.^{*} And the direction of Divine Providence

According to occasions and to times.

in laying before us fresh *occasions* of them, is to be regarded; which cannot be done if they be made perpetual.

V. The church of Israel kept no days of religious worship, except what were of divine institution. The days of *Purim* are, by a *different* Hebrew word for them, plainly intimated to have been of no other character than *political* commemorations; and besides, Mordechai, who ordered them, was a *prophet*. The feast of *dedication* among the Jews can have nothing pleaded for it from the presence of our Lord at it; nor were the former dedications of the Temple under any anniversary commemorations.

VI. 'Tis not a *work*, but a *word*, that must *sanctify* a day; and if an *extraordinary* work of God were enough to prefer one day before another for the devotions of Christianity, the Protestant Kalender must soon be as full as the Popish.

VII. When the apostle blamed the Galatians for observing the days which *God* himself had instituted, much more does he blame us if we celebrate such days as only *men* have devised. And when the apostle forbad the Colossians to "let any man judge them in respect of an holy day," he suffers not us to sacrifice our Christian liberty unto humane impositions of stated holy days upon us, nor a private person to impose it upon himself.

QUESTION.—*Whether it be Lawful to eat Blood, and things Strangled?*

I. PLAIN are the words of the apostle, in Rom. xiv. 14, "I know and am perswaded by the Lord Jesus that there is nothing unclean of itself;" in which passage there may be respect unto those words of our Lord Jesus, in Math. xv. 11, "Not that which goeth into the mouth, defileth the man."

II. The Scriptures of the New Testament give an allowance for "eating all sorts of meat," wherein *blood* is included. The apostle speaks of him as an *orthodox* man, in Rom. xiv. 2, "who believeth he may eat all things;" intimating that it was from "weakness in faith," and ignorance in the doctrine of the gospel, to *doubt* about it. The Scripture condemns the superstition of those, in 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4, "who abstain from meats, which God had created to be received with thanksgiving; for nothing is to be refused:" if *nothing*, then, sure, not blood. The Scripture permits us that liberty, in 1 Cor. x. 25: "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake." Now, it was usual to sell *blood* in the shambles.

III. The use of blood, in *medicine*, is not questioned: the *spirit* and the *powder* of blood is, by the warrant of the sixth commandment, freely used for our health: why then should the use of blood in *diet* be any question?

IV. If a thing *strangled* may be eaten, then blood may be so too. Christians do not ordinarily scruple to eat a thing strangled; and the eating of a thing which dies of itself (which is the same case) was never unlawful for the *Gentiles*.

V. The reason of the precept forbidding blood, unto the *Jews* was merely ceremonial: namely, because blood was typical of that great blood which makes atonement for our sins, and because, being the *organ* of life, it must be sacred unto God, the *author* of life. Now, since the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ has been shed, every precept, which is only ceremonial, is abrogated.

VI. The forbidding of blood unto Noah, in Gen. ix. 4, seems to have been *living* blood, and for the prevention of that bloody, ferocious, inhumane disposition, which was then prevailing in the world. And all the commandments given to Noah were *not moral*.

VII. The forbidding of blood unto the primitive churches, in Acts xv. 20, was a temporary advice for the avoiding of scandal. It would not only have prejudiced the Jews against all Christianity, but also it would have confirmed the Pagans, in their idolatry; for the principal entanglements of their idolatry lay in these four things: of *idolathytes*, *fornication*, *blood* and *strangulates*; which are elsewhere summed up in two: "the eating of things sacrificed unto idols," and "committing fornication." To forbear these things, was to testify "a renunciation of heathenism." To use any of these things among the heathens, was to justify their *devil-worship*. Now the world is in other circumstances, and, *Cessatio Causæ efficit, ut cessaret observatio*.* Fornication yet remains upon other, and farther, and moral, and more general accounts, a *sin*.

QUESTION.—*Whether Significant Ceremonies, in the Worship of God, not instituted by him, are Lawful to be used?*

I. THE *sign* of *internal*, are *parts* of *external* worship; in both whereof, the great God hath commanded us to *glorify* him; even "with our spirits, and with our bodies which are his."

II. There are *natural ceremonies*, with which the light of nature does direct men to the worship of God: and *these* are to be used in the worship of God, as far as we have the word of God, reinforcing and countenancing of them.

III. Some ceremonies of respect among men are used in exercises of religion, but as expressions of civility to the people of God, with whom we assemble, for the worship of God; and these are to be distinguished from those actions which we apply to the Lord himself immediately.

IV. There are *ceremonies appointed*, for some signification of *inward graces* and *moral duties* in the worship of God; which, without that appointment, would not signify what they do: and it is the *prerogative* of God alone to ordain all such rights as these.

V. For men to take upon them to declare what ceremonies of worship the God of heaven shall accept, and reward, and bless, otherwise than he hath himself in his holy laws declared, is a very criminal presumption;

* The cessation of the cause makes farther animadversion unnecessary.

and this pride of man has generally been chastized with a manifold curse of God.

VI. The second commandment forbids not all *images* (or significant ceremonies) in the worship of God, but “thy making them for thyself.”

VII. The *authority* of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the glorious king and prophet of his church, is profanely invaded when the worship of God, with the significant ceremonies of it, is taught by the inventions of men.

VIII. The sacred Scriptures pronounce it an argument sufficient for the rejecting and condemning of any thing in the worship of God, if God himself hath not prescribed it. Thus, Jer. vii. 31: “They did that which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart.” Thus, Heb. vii. 14: “Of that, Moses spake nothing.” Thus, Lev. x. 1: “They offered strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not.”

IX. 'Tis very certain that, under the *Old Testament*, there was not any one significant ceremony allow'd in the worship of God, but what God himself had instituted. If the churches of the *New Testament* will proceed in this matter, without a divine institution, let them then produce their *charter*.

X. The apostolical writings to the Galatians and the Colossians forbid us to practice any significant ceremony in the worship of God which God himself had *once* appointed, but now abolished. Much less may we now practice any which God *never* appointed at all.

QUESTION.—*Whether the Games of Cards or Dice, be lawful to be used among the Professors of the Christian Religion?*

I. THERE is, at least, a great *suspicion* brought on the lawfulness of these games by the *lottery* which they turn upon.

Lots being mentioned in the sacred oracles of the Scripture, as used only in weighty cases, and as an acknowledgment of “God sitting in judgment,” with a desire of his power and providence to be manifested, and not without an invocation of God, for the *end of strife*, therein implied; they cannot be made the tools and parts of our common sports without, at least, such an *appearance of evil* as is forbidden in the word of God.

II. The general rules which in all recreations are to be observed, are so generally transgressed in these games, that ordinarily it can be no other than a sin to use them.

These diversions *fascinate* the minds of those that practice them, at such a rate, that if ever those persons come to be converted unto God, they bitterly lament the *loss of time* in which that practice hath involved them. And the many other *passions* and *follies* almost inseparable from these diversions, render the diversions themselves to be sins against the commandments, which prohibit the evils thereby occasioned.

III. The *scandal* of these games declares it a scandalous thing for Christians to meddle with them.

The fit character given to these usages, not only by *Christians* of all sorts and ranks, and in all ages, whose just invectives against them would fill volumes, but by the sober and moral *pagans* also, has brought them among the things of evil report, which by Christians are to be avoided. That man's heart is inordinately set upon play, who had rather *do things* under such an universal condemnation, than forbear a little *play*, that may certainly be forborn without any damage.

IV. Gains of money or estate, by games, be the games what they will, are a sinful violation of the law of *honesty* and *industry*, which God has given us.

QUESTION.—*What Respect is due to Places of Public Worship?*

HOLY places were appointed under the law of old, by the great law-giver of Israel, partly to prevent idolatry among the people, but chiefly to direct the thoughts of the faithful unto the Messiah, wherein God was resolved for to dwell forever. Notwithstanding—

I. There is now no place which renders the worship of God more acceptable for its being there performed: it's foretold concerning the times of the gospel, in Zeph. ii. 11, "Men shall worship him, every one from his place." 'Tis foretold in Mal. i. 11, "In every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering." 'Tis foretold in John iv. 24, that the spiritual worship of God shall now be accepted with him in other places as well as in Jerusalem. We are commanded in 1 Tim. ii. 8, "that men pray in every place." There is a truth in the famous Dr. Usher's observation: "In times of persecution, the godly did often meet in barns, and such obscure places; which were indeed publick, because of the church of God there; as wherever the prince is, there is the court, tho' it were in a poor cottage." There were parts of worship in the Mosaick pedagogy, which could not be performed any where but at the *holy places* appointed; there are no parts of the worship confined unto any places under the New Testament. They who expect the divine regard for what they do in the worship of God, because 'tis done in this or that place, do not pray looking towards the temple; our Lord Jesus Christ, the true temple of God, is therein overlooked.

II. To prepare and repair places for the publick worship of God, and keep those places in such a condition that they be not unfit for the solemn exercises of religion; this is but an act of obedience to Him, who, when he requires worship from us, doth also suppose that there must be places for it. But the setting of these places off, with a theatrical gaudiness, does not savour of the spirit of a true Christian society.

III. While the duties of divine worship are performing in any places, an agreeable reverence is to be maintained in those places; not so much out of respect unto the places, as unto the duties therein performed, and the persons concerned with us in the duties. Nevertheless, the synagogues also are to be considered as "the houses of God."

IV. To offer affronts to places built for the worship of God, with design therein to affront the worship for which they are built, is a vile impiety. Nor will the great God hold them guiltless who so take his name in vain.

V. Places intended for the sacred worship of God may lawfully be put unto any civil service for which they may be accommodated, at the times when the sacred worship is not there to be attended; so far as contempt of God and his ordinances doth not naturally and necessarily follow thereupon; even as courts were kept in the synagogues among the Jews.

QUESTION.—*Whether, to drink Healths be a thing fit to be Practised by the Professors of the Christian Religion? Answered in the following Propositions:*

I. It is too notorious to be denied, that it was originally an heathen custom to drink those which were called, “the cups of health,” in token of respect to the object mentioned in their cups. The great Austin truly says, *De paganorum observatione remansit*:—“It is a relique of Paganism.” And inasmuch as it is not a natural action, but an action of a religious nature, and as themselves called it, “a devotion,” it is now reached by those oracles of God which forbid our learning the ways and the works of the heathen, and our walking as the Gentiles in the vanity of their minds, and our keeping the vain conversation received by tradition from our fathers.

II. That which very much adds to the obligations lying upon Christians to abandon this “relique of Paganism,” is the idolatrous and diabolical intentions that gave the first rise unto it. We are assured from all the monuments of antiquity, that the *healths* drunk by the Pagans were first of all “drink offerings” to their *demons*—they were a “cup of devils;” and then sufficiently to compliment their princes and patrons, they carried on the offerings to those mortals also; and lastly, the compliment proceeded so far as to take in any friends whom they saw cause to treat with such flourishes of affection. It becomes Christians to beware of having any “fellowship with such unfruitful works of darkness.”

III. To drink a cup, as a part or sign of our invocation upon the blessed God for the health of any person, is a superstition directly forbidden by the *second* commandment: nor is it ordinarily free from a violation of the *third*. And that the drinking of a health is thus designed, and so becomes no other than a “prophane sacrament,” was the judgment of Ambrose, when he wrote those words: *Quid memorem Sacramenta? Bibamus pro salute Imperatorum.** To drink an health implies an application to some object for that health: this way of it is unwarrantable.

IV. To begin or follow healths, which bind persons to drink off their cups, is a manifold offence against charity, justice, and reason. Such healths being, as the ancients truly called them, “the devil’s shoeing-horns to draw on drunkenness,” are scandals wherein much brutish folly is committed and more occasioned. The primitive Christians therefore justly

* Why mention sacraments? We will drink the health of emperors.

refused them and condemned them. Great Emperors have made edicts against them; Pagan writers have satyrically lashed them; and even Popish writers have reproached the Protestant profession for their being so much practised under it.

V. Not only the numberless and prodigious exorbitancies of health drinking are to be avoided by every Christian, but the very proposing our cups to the prosperity of what is therein remembered. 'Tis a vain plea, that we drink no more than a civil remembrance of the person or affairs mentioned in our cups. Why is the action of *drinking* singled out rather than any other for the token of the remembrance? and why is there such stress laid upon a concurrence in the action? It is but a continuation of the old Paganism, which had better be utterly abolished, than thus refined and preserved. Every thing that serves either to revive or to maintain the old Pagan follies, and harden men in them, should be declined by them that would adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

QUESTION.—*Whether Instrumental Musick may lawfully be introduced into the Worship of God, in the Churches of the New Testament? Considered and answered in the following Conclusions:*

I. THE instrumental musick used in the old church of Israel was an institution of God: it was (2 Chron. xxix. 25) the commandment of the Lord "by the prophets." And the instruments are called "God's instruments," (1 Chron. xvi. 42,) and "instruments of the Lord," (2 Chron. vii. 6.) Now, there is not one word of institution in the *New Testament* for instrumental musick in the worship of God. And because the holy God rejects all he does not command in his worship, he now therefore in effect says unto us, "I will not hear the melody of thy organs." But on the other side, the rule given doth abundantly intimate that no *voice* is now to be heard in the church, but what is significant and edifying, by signification; which the voice of *instruments* is not.

II. Tho' instrumental musick were admitted and appointed in the worship of God under the *Old Testament*, yet we do not find it practised in the *synagogue* of the Jews, but only in the *temple*. It thence appears to have been a part of the ceremonial pedagogy, which is now abolished; nor can any say it was a part of *moral* worship. And, whereas the common usage now hath confined instrumental musick to *cathedrals*, it seems therein too much to *Judaize*; which to do is a part of the Anti-Christian apostacy, as well as to *Paganize*.

III. In our asserting a matter of the *Old Testament* to have been *typical*, 'tis not needful that we be always able to particularize any *future mysteries* of the *New Testament* therein referred unto; *truths* which were then of a *present* consideration, were sometimes represented in the types then used among the people of God, which helps to understand the case of instrumental musick.

IV. Instrumental musick in the worship of God is but a very late

invention and corruption in the church of the New Testament. The writings that go under the name of Justin Martyr deny it and decry it. Chrysostom speaks meanly of it. Even Aquinas himself, about 400 years ago, determines against it, as *Jewish* and *carnal*. Bellarmine himself confesses that it was but late received in the church.

V. If we admit instrumental musick in the worship of God, how can we resist the imposition of all the *instruments* used among the ancient Jews?—yea, *dancing* as well as *playing*, and several other Judaic actions? or, how can we decline a whole *rabble* of church-officers, necessary to be introduced for instrumental musick, whereof our Lord Jesus Christ hath left us no manner of direction?

QUESTION.—*Whether Baptism is to be administered by any but the Ordained Ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ?*

I. WE find no commission or permission from our Lord Jesus Christ for any to be the administrators of baptism, except those whose *work* it is by his *commission* to *preach* the gospel, (Matth. xxviii. 9.) And none have a commission to make the preaching of the gospel their work, but such as are, with the call of the faithful thereunto, “set apart” for that work, (Rom. x. 15.)

Baptism is a *seal* of the *covenant*; for any but an officer to apply the seal, in the name of the great King of heaven, is a presumptuous arrogance.

Baptism is one of the *evangelical mysteries*, and none but stewards in the house of our Lord Jesus Christ may pretend unto the dispensation of those mysteries.

The apostolical writings intimate, that some are “sent to baptise.” Hence, none are to baptise, but those that are *sent*.

II. As both the primitive and Protestant churches have signified their dislike of baptism administered by common hands, thus the disorder and confusion, and the contempt of the institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ, which would be thereby introduced, is a sufficient prejudice against it.

III. The original of the allowance and countenance given in some churches unto *undue administrators* of baptism has been from gross errors in the minds of men, about the necessity and operation of that sacrament, whereof, *non Privatio sed Contemptus damnat*.*

¶ PROPOSITIONS—Concerning the Marriage of Cousin-Germans.

I. THO’ in the first propagation of mankind from *one head*, by the great God resolved and required, it was necessary for *brothers* to marry their *sisters*, yet that so the bonds of amity in humane society might be the better increased, the Lord afterwards prohibited several marriages, under the title of incest; and some were now too *near akin* to be united: there were degrees of *consanguinity*, and so of *affinity*, wherein marriages might not be contracted.

* It is not the loss, but the abuse, which condemns.

II. Albeit the light of nature teaches men to preserve a distance, and honour, for some that are very nearly related, and natural conscience relucts with horror at some conjunctions; like, what the apostle calls, "a fornication that is not so much as named among the Gentiles," and those which the poets themselves call, *Vetitos Hymenæos*,* and impieties; yet it is a *moral law* of God, positively given, or a law, the general reason whereof is in the nature of the thing, but the particular limitation of it is by revelation from God, that is to determine the *degrees* wherein marriages are to be judged unlawful and incestuous.

III. In the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus, there is a law of Heaven, declaring the degrees wherein marriages are forbidden; and there is no doubt that all that come within those degrees, are as much forbidden, tho' they be not expressly mentioned.

What is pronounced a *sin*, by that law, is to be esteemed a sin by the Gentiles as well as Jews, (which the conclusion of it abundantly intimates:) but what falls not within the reach of that *law*, is no sin: and the *canon-law*, which for some covetous and enslaving ends, hath made vast additions to this law of God, is to be rejected, as full of superstitious impositions.

IV. If we exactly consider the *line* in the fifteenth chapter of Leviticus, we shall find that the most remote relations forbidden to marry, (which are the *brother* and the *brother's daughter*) stand one degree nearer to the *root* than *cousin-germans* do. An *uncle* or an *aunt*, therefore, being the furthest, with whom a marriage is interdicted, it seems plain that the marriage of cousin-germans is not *incestuous*.

V. Altho' cousin-germans that are married unto each other now may and should, with all peace of mind, live together in the fear of God, and not give way to distressing scruples; or question the lawfulness of their marriage any more than the famous Holoman would have done, who has written to prove it, *pium et Christianum esse*;† nevertheless, there is much to be said for the dissuading of cousin-germans from coming together in marriage. *Inexpedience* we know sometimes does produce *unlawfulness*. This marriage may be very inexpedient; it borders as near as is possible to what is unlawful. There is no need of coming so near, while we have such a wide world before us. One end of marriage—namely, to promote and extend alliances—is damnified herein. Some wise and good men have been so troubled in their minds concerning these marriages, that it is an easier thing to abstain here from than to extirpate such a trouble from the minds of the faithful.

Some of the most considerable among the ancients—especially Ambrose and Austin, besides five several councils—have severely *censured* them; and the churches of the Augustan confession do to this day prohibit them. So that, upon the whole, the advice of the renowned Ames may seem not amiss, *Tutius est abstinere*.‡

* Unlawful marriages.

† That it is religious and Christian.

‡ It is safer to abstain.

QUESTION.—*Whether, or how far the Discipline of our Churches upon Offences in them, is to depend upon the Conviction of those Offences in the Courts of Civil Judicature?*

I. To bring the discipline of the church into a dependance on the direction of the civil magistrate, is to put it under undue and unsafe disadvantages. The mutual dependance of those on each other, as 'tis not founded in the oracles of our Lord Jesus Christ, so it has been the occasion of no little confusion in the world.

II. Some things may be censured in the *court* for transgressions of the laws, which may scarce deserve the censures of the *church*.

III. Some things may be censured in the *church* for offences, against which the *court* has no censures by any law provided.

IV. Persons may be so defective in their defence of themselves by *legal* formalities, as to fall under the censures of the court; and yet the church may see cause, and do well to acquit them.

V. Persons may be acquitted in the court of crimes laid to their charge, for want of *conviction*, and yet the evidence may be so convictive, that a church may condemn them thereupon.

VI. When a church passes a censure on any delinquent, it is convenient and advisable that the circumstances of it be so managed as to expose as little as may be the censured person unto the sentence of the court.

VII. A church may do well sometimes to express it's faithfulness unto the Lord Jesus Christ, by censuring some evils which a court may faultily neglect to animadvert upon.

VIII. Sometimes a case may be so dark, that a church may hope to be eased of *labour*, and freed from *error*, by a court first sifting of it, and then *Christian prudence* would make use of that help, to come at the knowledge of the truth.

IX. When a session of a court is very near, a church may prudently forbear, for a *little* while, a process, which the necessity of a soul fallen into sin, and the vindication of the name of the Lord, makes not proper to be forborn for a *greater* while.

X. When things are not very *apparent* or very *important*, it is prudently done of a church to defer the early decision of a matter which will produce between it and the court a controversie of dangerous consequence.

XI. As 'tis the duty of a church to see that the witness of a crime, to be judged by it, be obliged to speak, as in the special presence of the great God, so if it be feared that the witnesses will not be faithful, unless they be upon *oath*, it is prudence to defer 'till the civil magistrate have examined them.

XII. Or, if witnesses refuse to come at all unto the church, which the civil magistrate may and will compel to give in their testimonies, a church can in prudence do no other than defer 'till those witnesses can be brought to testify what is expected from them.

THE JUDGMENT OF THE MINISTERS, MET AT BOSTON, MAY 11, 1699,

UPON A CASE ADDRESSED UNTO THEM CONCERNING LOTTERIES.

I. GREAT is the difference between a lottery set up by persons acting in a *private* capacity and a lottery set up by the government, who have power to lay a *tax* upon the people, but choose to leave unto the more easie determination of a *lottery* the persons who shall pay the summ which the necessities of the publick require. A parliamentary lottery takes only from the *voluntary*, what the government might have demanded, with a more *general* imposition, and only when the people are plunged into such distress, that a more general imposition would be grievous to them; and it employs for the welfare of the publick all that is thus raised by the lottery. Whereas a more private lottery, is managed by those that have no antecedent claim unto any thing of their neighbours, and it is designed merely for private advantage.

II. It is a principle embraced among all well-informed Christians, that no calling is *lawful* but what is *useful* unto humane society, in some of its interests. Except there be in a *calling* some *tendency* to make an addition unto the enjoyments and interests of humane society, no Christians may set it up. The oracles of Heaven tell us, Christians must "learn to possess honest trades for necessary uses." To set up a *lottery* is to set up a *calling*. But tho' this or that particular man may be a *gainer*, yet it would puzzle any man to tell what necessary or convenient *uses* of humane society, where the lottery is opened, are at all served. The *minds*, the *bodies*, the *riches*, the *defence*, or the regular *delights* of humane society, have by this lottery no addition made unto them.

III. Not only the undertakers of a lottery have a certain gain unto themselves from humane society, but so likewise have they who in the lottery draw the tickets of benefit; and every one that ventures, doth it with a desire to fall upon those tickets in drawing. 'Tis very certain that, for this *benefit*, none of those can pretend that they do any one thing *beneficial* to humane society. They only hire the undertakers to transfer the estates of others unto them, without any service done by them, to the interest of any others under heaven. But we do not judge this pleasing unto God, that mens rights be ordinarily transferred from one to another, merely in a way of reference to divine Providence, without considering any service therein intended unto the community, or any help to mankind in its true interests. Nor is ventring in a lottery on shore, of the same nature with venturing in a merchandise at sea.

IV. In a lottery so contrived, that when all the prizes be drawn, they do not make up, and fetch out, near the whole summ that was deposited by the adventurers, there is a plain cheat upon the people. The undertakers in such a lottery, only resolve to pillage the people of such a con-

siderable summ; and invite a number to assist them in their action, with hopes of going shares with them in the advantage; and such is the corruption of mankind, that the mere hopes of getting the riches of other men, without the doing of any service to them for it, will engage men to run the hazzard of being losers.

Upon the whole; we cannot approve it, that any particular persons do either undertake, or countenance any such lotteries, as have been sometimes practised in other places, and the danger which there is, lest the lusts of men, once engaged in these lotteries, proceed unto a multitude of other disorders, to the ruine of their employments and their families, does further move us, to withhold our approbation from them.

§ 9. Having so often produced the propositions voted by an assembly of ministers at Cambridge, for the explanation of our platform, 'tis not, here, amiss, on this occasion to give some history of that assembly.

Know then, that according to the advice of Mr. Hooker, who about a week before he fell sick of his last, let fall these words: "We must agree upon constant meetings of ministers, and settle the consociation of churches, or else we are utterly undone!" It has been the care of the ministers, in the several *vicinages* throughout the most part of the countrey, to establish such constant meetings, whereat they have informed one another of their various exercises, and assisted one another in the work of our Lord: besides a general appearance of all the ministers in each colony, once a year, at the town, and the time of the General Court for elections of magistrates in the colonies. These meetings have not all obliged themselves to *one method* of proceedings, in pursuing of mutual edification; some do still fast and pray together, and speak in their turn to a proposed subject, much after the manner of the great Grindal's lectures, then held in the congregation of that pastor, to whose house they adjourn, confer a while together upon matters of concernment; but one of these meetings is regulated by the following orders:

It is agreed by us whose names are under-written, that we do associate ourselves for the promoting of the Gospel, and our mutual assistance and furtherance in that great work:

In order thereunto—

I. "THAT we meet constantly, at the College in Cambridge, on a Monday at nine or ten of the clock in the morning, once in six weeks, or oftener, if need be.

II. "That in such meetings, one shall be chosen moderator *pro tempore*, for the better order and decency of our proceedings, which moderator is to be chosen, at the end of every meeting.

III. "That the moderator's work be:

1. "To end the meeting, wherein he is chosen, and to begin the next with prayer.

2. "To propose matters to be debated, and receive the suffrages of the brethren.

3. "To receive, with the consent of the brethren, the subscriptions of such as shall join with us; and keep all papers belonging to the association.

4. "To give and receive notices, and appoint meetings, upon emergent occasions.

IV. "That we shall submit unto the counsils, reproofs and censures of brethren so associated and assembled, in all things in the Lord. (Eph. v. 21.)

V. "That none of us shall relinquish this association, nor forsake the appointed meetings, without giving sufficient reason for the same.

VI. "That our work, in the said meeting, shall be:

1. "To debate any matter referring to ourselves.
2. "To hear and consider any cases that shall be proposed unto us, from churches or private persons.
3. "To answer any letters directed unto us, from any other associations or persons.
4. "To discourse of any question proposed at the former meeting."

§ 10. *Such and so* hath been our "platform of church discipline:" if our brethren of the Presbyterian persuasion be still uneasie in any article of it, let these things be offered for a close:

First, The Presbyterian ministers of this country do find it no difficulty to *practise* the substance of it, in and with their several congregations; and when it comes to the *practise*, they do not find so much of difficulty as at first appear'd in the notion.

Secondly, The reverend persons of the Presbyterian way, who wrote the *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*,* as long since as the year 1654, declared:

"As we agree wholly in the same 'confession of faith,' so we agree in many things of greatest concernment in the matters of 'church discipline.' And those things wherein we differ, are not of such consequence as to cause a *schism* between us, either in worship, or in love and affection.

"Our debates are (as it was said of the disputes of the ancient fathers, one with another about lesser differences) not *contentiones*, but *collationes*. We can truly say, as our brethren do in their preface, 'that it is far from us so to *attest* the *discipline* of Christ as to *detest* the *disciples* of Christ; so to contest for the seam-less coat of Christ, as to crucifie the living members of Christ; so to divide ourselves about church-communion, as thro' breaches to open a wide gap, for a deluge of Anti-Christian and profane malignity, to swallow up both church and civil state."

Thirdly, The brethren of the Presbyterian way in England, are lately come unto such an happy union with those of the Congregational, that all former names of distinction are now swallowed up in that blessed one of UNITED BRETHREN. And now, partly because one of New-England—namely, Mr. Increase Mather, then resident at London—was very singularly instrumental in effecting of that *union*; but more because that union hath been for many *lustres*, yea, many *decads* of years, exemplified in the churches of New-England, so far, that I believe, 'tis not possible for me to give a truer description of our "ecclesiastical constitution," than by transcribing thereof the articles of that union which shall here be repeated.

* The divine right of the evangelical ministry.

HEADS OF AGREEMENT, ASSENTED TO BY THE UNITED MINISTERS, FORMERLY CALL'D "PRESBYTERIAN" AND "CONGREGATIONAL."

I. OF CHURCHES AND CHURCH-MEMBERS.

1. WE acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ to have one catholic church or kingdom, comprehending all that are united to him, whether in heaven or earth. And do conceive the whole multitude of visible believers and their infant seed (commonly call'd the "catholic visible church") to belong to Christ's spiritual kingdom in this world. But for the notion of a "catholick visible church" here, as it signifies it's having been collected into any formed society, under a visible humane head on earth, whether one person singly or many collectively, we, with the rest of Protestants, unanimously disclaim it.

2. We agree that particular societies of visible saints, who, under Christ their head, are stately joined together, for ordinary communion with one another in all the ordinances of Christ, are *particular churches*, and are to be owned by each other as instituted churches of Christ, though differing in *apprehensions* and *practice* in some lesser things.

3. That none shall be admitted as members, in order to communion in all the special ordinances of the gospel, but such persons as are knowing and sound in the "fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion," without scandal in their lives; and, to a judgment regulated by the word of God, are persons of visible holiness and honesty; credibly possessing cordial subjection to Jesus Christ.

4. A great number of such "visible saints," (as before described) do become the capable subjects of stated communion in all the "special ordinances of Christ" upon their mutual declared consent and agreement to "walk together therein according to gospel rule." In which declaration, different degrees of explicitness shall no ways hinder such churches from owning each other, as instituted churches.

5. Tho' *parochial bounds* be not of *divine right*, yet, for common edification, the members of a particular church ought (as much as conveniently may be) to live near one another.

6. That each particular church hath right to use their own officers; and being furnished with such as are *duly qualified* and *ordained* according to the gospel rule, hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and of enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself.

7. In the administration of *church power*, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church, if such there be, to *rule* and *govern*, and to the brotherhood to *consent* according to the "rule of the gospel."

8. That all professors as before described are bound in duty, as they have opportunity, to join themselves as *fixed members* of some particular church; their thus joining being part of their professed subjection to the gospel of Christ, and an instituted means of their establishment and edification; whereby they are under the pastoral care, and in case of *scandalous* or *offensive walking*, may be authoritatively admonished or censured for their recovery, and for vindication of the *truth* and the church professing it.

9. That a visible professor thus joined to a particular church ought to continue stedfast with the said church; and not forsake the ministry and ordinances there dispensed, without an orderly *seeking a recommendation* unto another church, which ought to be given, when the case of the person apparently requires it.

II. OF THE MINISTRY.

1. WE agree that the ministerial office is instituted by Jesus Christ for the gathering, guiding, edifying, and governing of his church; and continue to the end of the world.

2. They who are called to this office ought to be endued with competent learning and ministerial gifts, as also with the grace of God, sound in judgment, not novices in the faith and knowledge of the gospel; without scandal, of holy conversation, and such as *devote* themselves to the work and service thereof.

3. That ordinarily none shall be ordained to the work of this ministry but such as are *called and chosen* thereunto by a particular church.

4. That in so great and weighty a matter as the calling and chusing a pastor, we judge it ordinarily requisite that every such church consult and advise with the pastors of the neighbouring congregations.

5. That after such *advice*, the person consulted about being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained and set apart to his office over them; wherein 'tis ordinarily requisite that the pastors of neighbouring congregations concur with the preaching elder or elders, if such there be.

6. That whereas such *ordination* is only intended for such as never before had been ordained to the ministerial office, if any judge that in the case also of the removal of one formerly ordained to a new station or pastoral charge, there ought to be a like solemn recommending him and his labours to the grace and blessing of God; no different sentiments or practice herein shall be any occasion of *contention* or breach of communion among us.

7. It is expedient that they who enter on the "work of preaching the gospel" be not only qualified for communion of saints, but also that, except in cases extraordinary, they give proof of their *gifts and fitness* for the said work unto the pastors of churches of known abilities, to discern and judge of their qualifications; that they may be sent forth with solemn *approbation* and *prayer*; which we judge needful, that no doubt may remain concerning their being called unto the work; and for preventing (as much as in us lyeth) ignorant and rash intruders.

III. OF CENSURES.

1. As it cannot be avoided but that, in the purest churches on earth, there will sometimes offences and scandals arise by reason of hypocrisie and prevailing corruption; so Christ hath made it the duty of every church to reform itself by spiritual remedies appointed by him to be applied in all such cases, viz: *admonition* and *excommunication*.

2. Admonition, being the rebuking of an offending member in order to conviction, is in case of private offences to be performed according to the rule in Matth. xviii. 15, 16, 17, and in case of publick offences openly before the church, as the honour of the gospel and the nature of the scandal shall require; and, if either of the admonitions take place for the recovery of the fallen person, all further proceedings in a way of censure are thereon to cease, and satisfaction to be declared accordingly.

3. When all *due means* are used, according to the "order of the gospel" for the restoring an "offending and scandalous brother," and he notwithstanding remains impenitent, the censure of excommunication is to be proceeded unto; wherein the pastor and other elders (if there be such) are to lead and go before the church; and the brotherhood to give their consent in a way of obedience unto Christ, and to the elders, as over them in the Lord.

4. It may sometimes come to pass that a church-member, not otherwise scandalous, may sinfully withdraw, and divide himself from the communion of the church to which he belongeth; in which case, when all due means for the reducing him prove ineffectual, (he having thereby cut himself off from that church's communion) the church may justly esteem and declare itself discharged of any further inspection over him.

IV. OF COMMUNION OF CHURCHES.

1. We agree that particular churches ought not to walk so distinct and separate from each other as not to have care and tenderness towards one another. But their pastors ought to have frequent meetings together, that by mutual advice, support, encouragement, and brotherly intercourse, they may strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the "ways of the Lord."

2. That none of our particular churches shall be subordinate to one another, each being endued with equality of power from Jesus Christ. And that none of the said particular

churches, their officer or officers, shall exercise any power, or have any superiority, over any other church or their officers.

3. That known members of particular churches, constituted as aforesaid, may have occasional communion with one another in the ordinances of the gospel, viz: the word, prayer, sacraments, singing of Psalms, dispensed according to the mind of Christ; unless that church with which they desire communion hath any just exception against them.

4. That we ought not admit any one to be a member of our respective congregations that hath join'd himself to another, without endeavours of mutual satisfaction of the congregations concerned.

5. That one church ought not to blame the proceedings of another until it hath heard what that church charged, its elders or messengers, can say in vindication of themselves from any charge of irregular or injurious proceedings.

6. That we are most willing and ready to give an account of other church-proceedings to each other when desired; for preventing or removing any offences that may arise among us. Likewise we shall be ready to give the right hand of fellowship, and walk together according to the gospel rules of communion of churches.

V. OF DEACONS AND RULING-ELDERS.

WE agree the office of a deacon is of divine appointment, and that it belongs to their office to receive, lay out, and distribute the churches stock to its proper uses, by the direction of the pastor, and bretheren, if need be. And whereas diverse are of opinion, that there is also the office of ruling-elders, who labour not in word and doctrine; and others think otherwise; we agree that this difference make no breach among us.

VI. OF OCCASIONAL MEETING OF MINISTERS, ETC.

1. WE agree that, in order to concord, and in other weighty and difficult cases, it is needful, and according to the mind of Christ, that the ministers of several churches be consulted and advised with about such matters.

2. That such meetings may consist of smaller or greater numbers, as the matter shall require.

3. That particular churches, their respective elders and members, ought to have a reverential regard to their judgment, so given, and not dissent therefrom without apparent grounds from the word of God.

VII. OF OUR DEMEANOUR TOWARDS THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE.

1. WE do reckon our selves obliged continually to pray for God's protection, guidance, and blessing upon the rulers set over us.

2. That we ought to yield unto them not only subjection in the Lord, but support, according to our station and abilities.

3. That if at any time it shall be their pleasure to call together any number of us, to require an account of our affairs and the state of our congregations, we shall most readily express all dutiful regard to them herein.

VIII. OF A CONFESSION OF FAITH.

As to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the *articles* of the church of England, or the confession or catechisms, shorter or larger, compiled by the assembly at Westminster, or the confession agreed on at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule.

IX. OF OUR DUTY AND DEPORTMENT TOWARDS THEM THAT ARE NOT IN COMMUNION
WITH US.

1. We judge it our duty to bear a Christian respect to all Christians, according to their several ranks and stations, that are not of our perswasion or communion.

2. As for such as may be ignorant of the principles of the Christian religion, or of vicious conversation, we shall in our respective places, as they give opportunity, endeavour to explain to them the doctrine of life and salvation, and to our utmost persuade them to be reconciled to God.

3. That such who appear to have the essential requisites to church-communion, we shall willingly receive them in the Lord, not troubling them with disputes about lesser matters.

As we assent to the afore-mentioned "heads of agreement," so we unanimously resolve as the Lord shall enable us, to *practice* according to them.

THE THIRD PART.

THE PRINCIPLES OWNED, AND THE ENDEAVOURS USED,

BY THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND CONCERNING THE CHURCH-STATE OF THEIR POSTERITY.

*Si Ecclesia debet unquam Reflorescere, necesse est, at à puerorum Institutione
Exordium fiat.*—LUTHER.*

1. As the English nation has been honoured above most of the Protestant and reformed world, with clearer discoveries of several most considerable points in our Christian religion—particularly the points of a true evangelical church-order—so the New-English part of this nation hath had a singular share in receiving and imparting the illuminations which the light shining in a dark place hath given thereabout. Very true and just are the printed words of the well known Mr. Nathaniel Mather, on this occasion:

"Amongst all that have suffered for and searched into these truths, they of New-England justly deserve and will have a name and a glory, as long as the earth shall have any remembrance of an English nation. After-ages will honour them for that great and high adventure of theirs in transporting themselves, their wives and little ones, upon the rude waves of the vast ocean into a remote, desolate and howling wilderness, and there encountering by faith and patience with a world of temptations and streights and pressing wants and difficulties, and this upon no other inducements but that they might meet with him whom their souls loved, in the midst of his golden candlesticks, and see him, as they have there seen him in his sanctuary."

It might rationally be now expected that our compassionate Lord Jesus Christ would graciously gratifie the desires and labours of such an holy generation with as full an understanding of his revealed will about his instituted worship as he has at any time granted unto any of his people; and that especially the officers of instituted churches—humbly, prayerfully

* If the church is ever to revive, it is essential that a commencement should be made by the education of youth.

and carefully engaged in studies for their service—would lye under as direct an influence of his Holy Spirit, as any inquirers whatsoever. But there is one very important article of ecclesiastical discipline whereabouts the churches of New-England have had a most peculiar exercise and concernment; and that is “the ecclesiastical state of their posterity.”

2. When our churches were come to between twenty and thirty years of age, a numerous *posterity* was advanced so far into the world, that the first planters began apace in their several families to be distinguished by the name of *grand-fathers*; but among the immediate parents of the grandchildren, there were multitudes of well disposed persons, who, partly thro’ their own doubts and fears, and partly thro’ other culpable neglects, had not actually come up to the covenanting state of *communicants* at the table of the Lord. The good old generation could not, without many uncomfortable apprehensions, behold their off-spring excluded from the baptism of Christianity, and from the ecclesiastical inspection which is to accompany that baptism; indeed, it was to leave their off-spring under the shepherdly government of our Lord Jesus Christ in his ordinances, that they had brought their lambs into this wilderness. When the apostle bids churches to “look diligently, lest any man fail of the grace of God,” there is an ecclesiastical word used for that “looking diligently;” intimating that God will ordinarily bless a regular church-watch, to maintain the interests of grace among his people: and it was therefore the study of those prudent men, who might he call’d our *seers*, that the children of the faithful may be kept, as far as may be, under a church-watch, in expectation that they might be in the fairer way to receive the *grace* of God; thus they were “looking diligently,” that the prosperous and prevailing condition of religion in our churches might not be *Res unius ætatis*,—“a matter of one age alone.” Moreover, among the next sons or daughters descending from that generation, there was a numerous appearance of sober persons, who professed themselves desirous to renew their baptismal-covenant and submit unto the church-discipline, and so have their houses also marked for the Lord’s; but yet they could not come up to that experimental account of their own regeneration, which would sufficiently embolden their access to the other sacrament. Wherefore, for our churches now to make no ecclesiastical difference between these hopeful candidates and competents for those our further mysteries, and Pagans, who might happen to hear the word of God in our assemblies, was judged a most unwarrantable strictness, which would quickly abandon the biggest part of our country unto heathenism. And, on the other side, it was feared that, if all such as had not yet exposed themselves by censurable scandals found upon them, should be admitted unto all the priviledges in our churches, a worldly part of mankind might, before we are aware, carry all things into such a course of proceeding, as would be very disagreeable unto the kingdom of heaven.

§ 3. The questions raised about these matters came to some figures, first, in the colony of Connecticut; where the pious magistrates, observing the begun dangers of *paroxysms*, which might affect the *state* as well as the *church*, on this occasion produced a draught of the agitated *questions*, and sent them to the magistrates of the Massachusetts's colony, with a request that several of the ablest ministers in both colonies might, upon mature deliberation, give in their answers thereunto. Accordingly, the letters of the government procured an assembly of our principal ministers at Boston, on June 4, 1657, who by the 19th of that month prepared and presented an elaborate answer to twenty-one questions; which was afterwards printed in London, under the title of "*A Disputation concerning Church-members and their Children.*" Besides other cases referring to the church-state of children born in the bosom of the church, it is in this disputation asserted and maintained—

"That it is the duty of infants, who *confederate* in their parents, when grown up unto years of *discretion*, tho' not yet fit for the Lord's Supper, to own the *covenant* they made with their parents, by entering thereinto in their own persons; and it is the duty of the church to call upon them for the performance thereof; and if, being called upon, they shall refuse the performance of this great duty, or otherwise do continue scandalous, they are liable to be censured for the same by the church. And in case they understand the "grounds of religion," and are not scandalous, and solemnly own the covenant, in their own persons, wherein they give up both themselves and their children unto the Lord, and desire baptism for them, we see not sufficient cause to deny baptism unto their children."

§ 4. The *practice of church care* about the children of our churches thus directed and commended, was but gradually introduced; yea, it met with such opposition as could not be encountred with any thing less than a synod of elders and messengers from all the churches in the Massachusetts colony. Accordingly, the general court, having the necessity of the matter laid before them, at their second session in the year 1661, issued out their *desire and order* for the convening of such a synod at Boston in the spring of the year ensuing. And for the deliberations of that synod, besides the grand question about "the subject of baptism," there was another question propounded about "the consociation of churches," which was of no small consequence to the interests of Christianity in the country. As the divines of New-England were solicitous that the *propagation* of our churches might hold pace with that of our offspring, so they were industrious for the *combination* of our churches into such a bundle of *arrowes* as might not easily be broken. However, they had by their adversaries been termed *independents*; nevertheless, they solemnly on this occasion repeated and subscribed that profession of their famous bretheren in the English nation:

"That it is the most to be abhorred maxim, that any religion hath made profession of, and therefore of all other the most contradictory, and dishonourable unto that of Christianity, that a single and particular society of men, professing the name of Christ, and pretending to be endowed with a power from Christ, to judge them that are of the same body and society

with themselves, should further arrogate unto themselves an exemption from giving account, or being censurable by any other, either Christian magistrate above them, or neighbour churches about them."

Under the influence of these concernments, the elders and messengers of the churches assembled at Boston, in the year 1662; who, under the conduct of several successive moderators, at length agreed upon certain *propositions*; which being tendered unto the General Court, there was an order there passed on October 8, 1662, for the publication and commendation thereof unto all the churches in the jurisdiction. They were as followeth:

THE ANSWER OF THE ELDERS AND OTHER MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES,

ASSEMBLED AT BOSTON, IN THE YEAR 1662,

TO THE QUESTIONS PROPOUNDED TO THEM, BY ORDER OF THE HONOURED GENERAL COURT.

QUESTION I.—*Who are the Subjects of Baptism?*

ANSWER. The answer may be given in the following *propositions*, briefly confirmed from the Scriptures:

1. "They that, according to Scripture, are members of the visible church, are the subjects of baptism.
2. "The members of the visible church, according to^d Scripture, are confederate visible believers, in particular churches, and their infant seed, *i. e.* children in minority, whose next parents, one or both, are in covenant.
3. "The infant seed of confederate visible believers, are members of the same church with their parents, and when grown up are personally under the watch, discipline and government, of that church.
4. "These adult persons are not therefore to be admitted to full communion, merely because they are, and continue members, without such further qualifications as the word of God requireth thereunto.
5. "Church members who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptised.
6. "Such church members, who either by death, or some other extraordinary providence, have been inevitably hindered from publick acting as aforesaid, yet have given the church cause, in judgment of charity, to look at them as so qualified, and such as, had they been called thereunto, would have so acted, their children are to be baptised.
7. "The members of orthodox churches, being sound in the faith and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof; these occasionally coming from one church to another may have their children baptised in the church, whither they come, by virtue of communion of churches. But if they remove their habitation, they ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church where they settle their abode, and so their children to be baptised. It being the churches duty to receive such into communion, so far as they are regularly fit for the same."

The confirmation of these propositions from the Scripture, followeth:

PROPOSITION I.—*They that, according to Scripture, are Members of the Visible Church, are the Subjects of Baptism.*

THE truth hereof may appear by the following evidences from the word of God:

1. When Christ saith, "Go ye therefore and teach," or (as the Greek is) "disciple all nations, baptizing them," (Matth. xxviii. 19,) he expresseth the adequate subjects of baptism to be *disciples* or *discipled ones*. But "disciples" there, is the same with "members of the visible church." For the visible church is Christ's school, wherein all the members stand related and subjected to him, as their master and teacher, and so are his scholars or disciples, and under his teaching, as ver. 20. And it is that visible spiritual kingdom of Christ which he, there, from his kingly power (ver. 18) sendeth them to set up and administer, in ver. 19; the subjects whereof are under his laws and government, ver. 20; which subjects (or members of that kingdom, *i. e.* of the visible church) are termed *disciples*, ver. 19. Also, in the Acts of the Apostles (the story of their accomplishment of that commission) disciples are usually put for members of the visible church—Acts i. 15. "In the midst of the disciples," who, with others added to them, are called the Church (Acts ii. 47); the members whereof are again called *disciples*, (Acts vi. 1, 2; Acts ix. 1.) "Against the disciples of the Lord;" *i. e.* against the church of God, (1 Cor. xv. 9; Galat. i. 13; Acts ix. 26.) "He assayed to join himself to the disciples." The disciples of Lystra, Iconium and Antioch, (Acts xiv. 21, 22) are called the *church* in each of those places, ver. 23; so the *church*, ver. 27; the *disciples*, ver. 28. Acts xviii. 22: "The church at Cesarea;" Acts xxi. 16: "The disciples of Cesarea." So Acts xviii. 23, with chap. xv. 41, and Gal. i. 2; Acts xviii. 27, and chap. xx. 1. From all which it appeareth, that "disciples" in Matth. xxviii. 19, and "members of the visible church," are terms equivalent; and *disciples* being, there, by Christ himself made the subjects of baptism, it followeth that the members of the visible church are the subjects of baptism.

2. Baptism is "the seal of the first entrance or admission into the visible church:" as appeareth from those texts, (1. Cor. xii. 13,) "Baptised into one body," *i. e.* our entrance into the body or church of Christ, is sealed by baptism; and Rom. vi. 3. 5; Gal. iii. 27; where 'tis shewed that baptism is the sacrament of *union*, or of *ingrafting* into Christ the head, and consequently into the church his body, and from the Apostle's constant practice of baptising persons upon their first coming in, or first giving up themselves to the Lord and them. Acts viii. 12, and xvi. 15. 33, and xviii. 8, and Acts ii. 41, 42, they were baptised at their first *adding* to the church, or admission into the Apostle's fellowship, wherein they afterward *continued*. And from its answering unto circumcision, which was a seal of initiation or admission into the church, hence it belongs to all, and

only those that are entred into, that are within or that are members of the visible church.

3. "They that according to Scripture are members of the visible church, are in covenant: for it is the covenant that constituteth the church—Deut. xxviii. 12, 13. They must "enter into covenant," that they might be "established the people" or church of *God*. Now, the initiatory seal is affixed to the covenant, and appointed to run parallel therewith: Gen. xvii. 7, 9, 10, 11; so *circumcision* was, and hence called "the covenant:" Gen. xvii. 13; Acts vii. 8. And so *baptism* is, being in like manner annexed to the promise or covenant: Acts ii. 38, 39; and being the seal that answereth to circumcision: Col. ii. 11, 12.

4. "Christ doth sanctifie and cleanse the church by the washing of water;" *i. e.* by baptism—Eph. v. 25, 26. Therefore the whole church, and all the members thereof (who are also said in Scripture to be "sanctified in Christ Jesus," 1 Cor. i. 2) are the subjects of baptism. And altho' it is the "invisible church," unto the spiritual and eternal good whereof this and all other ordinances lastly have respect, and which the place mentioned in Eph. v. may in a special manner look unto, yet it is the "visible church" that is the next and immediate subject of the administration thereof. For the subject of visible external ordinances, to be administered by men, must needs be visible. And so the apostle baptized sundry persons who were of the visible, but not of the invisible church—as Simon Magus, Ananias and Saphira, and others. And these are visibly purchased and sanctified by the blood of Christ, "the blood of the covenant"—Acts xx. 28; Heb. x. 29. Therefore the visible seal of the covenant and of cleansing by Christ's blood belongs to them.

5. "The *circumcision* is often put for the whole Jewish church, or for the members of the visible church under the Old Testament. Those *within* are expressed by "the circumcised"—and those *without* by "the uncircumcised"—Rom. xv. 8, and iii. 30; Eph. ii. 11; Judges xiv. 3, and xv. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 6, and xvii. 26, 36; Jer. ix. 25, 26. Hence by proportion baptism (which is our gospel circumcision, Col. ii. 11, 12,) belongs to the whole visible church under the New Testament. Actual and personal circumcision was indeed proper to the males of old, females being but inclusively and virtually circumcised, and so counted of the circumcision. But the Lord has taken away that difference now, and appointed baptism to be personally applied to both sexes—Acts viii. 12, and xvi. 15; Gal. iii. 28—so that every particular member of the visible church is now a subject of baptism. We conclude, therefore, that baptism pertains to the whole visible church, and to all and every one therein, and to no other.

PROPOSITION II.—*The Members of the Visible Church, according to Scripture, are Confederate Visible Believers, in Particular Churches, and their Infant-seed, i. e. Children in minority, whose next Parents, one or both, are in covenant.*

Sundry particulars are comprised in this proposition, which we may consider and confirm distinctly:

Partic. 1. ADULT PERSONS, who are members of the visible church, are by rule confederate visible believers—Acts v. 14: "Believers were added to the Lord." The believing Corinthians were members of the church there: Acts xviii. 8, with 1 Cor. i. 2, and xii. 27. The inscription of the Epistles written to churches, and calling the members thereof *saints* and *faithful*, shew the same thing: Eph. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 2. And that consideration, *i. e.* covenanting explicite or implicate (the latter preserveth the essence of confederation, the former is duty and most desirable) is necessary to make one a member of the visible church, appears—1, Because the church is constituted by covenant; for there is between Christ and the church the mutual engagement and relation of king and subjects, husband and spouse; this cannot be but by covenant (internal, if you speak of the invisible church, external of the visible); a church is a company that can say, God is our God, and we are his people, this is from the covenant between God and them: Deut. xxix. 13; Ezek. xvi. 8. 2, The church of the *Old Testament* was the church of God by covenant—Gen. xvii.; Deut. xxix.—and was reformed still by the renewing of the covenant: 2 Chron. xv. 16, and xxiii. 12, and xxxiv. 31, 32; Neh. ix. 38. Now, the churches of the Gentiles, under the *New Testament*, stand upon the same basis or root with the church of the *Old Testament*, and therefore are constituted by covenant, as that was: Rom. xi. 17, 18; Eph. ii. 11, 12, 19, and iii. 6; Heb. viii. 10. 3, Baptism enters us into the church sacramentally, *i. e.* by sealing the covenant. The covenant, therefore, is that which constitutes the church, and infers membership, and is the *vow* in baptism commonly spoken of.

Partic. 2. The members of the visible church are such as are confederate in particular churches. It may be minded that we are here speaking of members, so stated in the visible church, as that they are subjects to whom church ordinances may regularly be administered, and that according to ordinary dispensation. For were it granted, that "the Apostles and Evangelists" did sometimes baptise such as were not members of any particular church, yet their extraordinary office, large power and commission renders them not imitable therein by *ordinary* officers; for then they might baptise in private, without the presence of a Christian assembly, as Philip did the Eunuch. But that, in ordinary dispensation, the members of the visible church, according to the Scripture, are such as are members of some particular church, appears—1, Because the visible believer that professedly covenants with God doth therein give up himself to wait on God in all his ordinances: Deut. xxvi. 17, 18; Matt. xxviii.

19, 20. But all the ordinances of God are to be enjoyed only in a particular church. For how often do we find in the Scripture that they came "together into one place," (or met as a Congregational particular church) for the observation and enjoyment of the ordinances?—Acts ii. 1. 44. 46, and iv. 31, and xi. 26, and xx. 7; 1 Cor. v. 4, and xi. 18, and xx. 33, and xiv. 23. 2, The Apostle in his Epistles, writing to *saints* or *believers*, writes to them as in particular churches: 1 Cor. i. 2; Eph. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 2. And when the story of the Acts speaks of disciples, other places show that those are understood to be members of particular churches: Acts xviii. 23, with Gal. i. 2; Acts xxi. 16, with xviii. 22, and xi. 26, and xiv. 22, 23. 27, 28. All which shows that the Scripture acknowledgeth no settled orderly estate of visible believers in covenant with God, but only in particular churches. 3, The members of the visible church are disciples, as was above cleared. Now, disciples are under discipline, and liable to church censures; for they are stated subjects of Christ's laws and governments: Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; but church government and censures are extant now in ordinary dispensation only in a particular church: Matt. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 4.

Partic. 3. The infant-seed of confederate visible believers are also members of the visible church. The truth of this is also evident from the Scriptures and the reasons following:

ARGUM. 1. *The covenant of Abraham, as to the substance thereof, viz: that whereby God declares himself to be the God of the faithful and their seed, (Gen. xvii. 7,) continues under the Gospel, as appears—1, Because the believing inchurched Gentiles, under the New Testament, do stand upon the same root of covenanting Abraham; which the Jews were broken off from: (Rom. xi. 16, 17, 18.) 2, Because Abraham in regard of that covenant was made "a father of many nations," (Gen. xvii. 4, 5,) even of Gentiles as well as Jews, under New Testament as well as Old; (Rom. iv. 16, 17; Gal. iii. 29,) i. e. in Abraham as a Pattern and root, God not only sheweth how he justifies the believer, (Gal. iii. 6. 9; Rom. iv.) but also conveyed that covenant to the faith, and their seed in all nations: (Luke xix. 9.) If a son of Abraham, then salvation—i. e. the covenant-dispensation of salvation—is "come to this house." 3, As that covenant was communicated to proselyte Gentiles under the New Testament, so its communication to the inchurched Gentiles under the New Testament is clearly held forth in diverse places: (Gal. iii. 14.) The blessing of Abraham compriseth both the internal benefits of justification by faith, &c., which the Apostle is there treating of, and the external dispensation of grace in the visible church to the faithful and their seed, (Gen. xxviii. 4,) but the whole blessing of Abraham (and so the whole covenant) is come upon the Gentiles thro' Jesus Christ: Eph. ii. 12. 19. They had been strangers, but now were no more strangers from the covenants of grace, which had often been renewed, especially with Abraham and the house*

of Israel, and had been in the external dispensation of it, their peculiar portion, so that the Ephesians, who were afar off, being now called and made nigh, (ver. 13. 17,) they have the promise or the covenant of promise to them and to their children, according to Acts ii. 39, and so are Partakers of that covenant of Abraham, that we are speaking of: Eph. iii. 6. The inchurched Gentiles are put into the same inheritance for substance, (both as to invisible and visible benefits, according to their respective conditions) are of the same body, and partakers of the same promise with the Jews, the children of Abraham, of old. The same may be gathered from Gen. ix. 27; Mat. viii. 11, and xxi. 43. 4, Sundry Scriptures which extend to gospel-times do confirm the same interest to the seed of the faithful which is held forth in the covenant of Abraham, and consequently do confirm the continuance of that covenant, as Exod. xx. 6, there in the sanctions of a moral and perpetual commandment, and that respecting ordinances, the portion of the Church, God declareth himself to be a God of mercy to them that love him, and to their seed after them in their generations, consonant to Gen. xvii. 7: compare herewith Psalm cv. 8, 9, and Deut. vii. 9; Deut. xxx. 6. The grace signified by *circumcision* is there promised to parents and children, importing the covenant to both, which circumcision sealed, Gen. xvii., and that is a gospel promise, as the Apostles, citing part of that context, as the voice of the gospel, shews Rom. x. 6. 8, with Deut. xx. 11. 14, and it reacheth to the Jews in the latter days, ver. 1. 5: Isa. lxxv. 23. In the most glorious gospel state of the church, ver. 17. 19. The blessing of the Lord is the promised portion of the offspring or children, as well as of the faithful parents, so Isa. xxxiv. 40. 21; Ezek. xxxvii. 25, 26. At the future calling of the Jews, which those texts have reference (Rom. xi. 26; Ezek. xxxvii. 19. 22, 23, 24,) their children shall be under the promise or covenant of special grace to be conveyed to them in the ordinances, (Isa. lix. 21,) and be subjects of David, *i. e.* Christ their king, (Ezek. xxxvii. 25,) and have a portion in his sanctuary, ver. 26, and this according to the tenor of the ancient covenant of Abraham, whereby God will be their God (*viz:* both of parents and children) "and they shall be his people," ver. 26, 27. Now, altho' more abundant fruits of the covenant may be seen in those times, and the Jews then may have more abundant grace given to the body of them to continue in the covenant, yet the tenor and frame of the covenant it self is one and the same both to Jews and Gentiles under the New Testament: Gal. iii. 28; Col. iii. 11; Heb. viii. 10. "The house of Israel," *i. e.* the church of God, both among Jews and Gentiles, under the New Testament, have that covenant made with them, the sum whereof is, "I will be their God, and they shall be my people," which is a renewing of that covenant of Abraham in Gen. xvii. (as the same is very often over in those terms renewed in Scripture, and is distinguished from the law: Gal. iii. 16, 17; Heb. viii. 9, wherein is implied God's being

“a God to the seed,” as well as parents, and taking *both* to be his *people*, tho’ it be not expressed; even as it is often plainly implied in that expression of the covenant in other places of Scripture: Deut. xxix. 13; Jer. xxxi. 1, and xxxii. 38, 39, and xxx. 22. 20; Ezek. xxxvii. 27. 25. Also, the “writing of the law in the heart,” in Heb. viii. 10, is that heart circumcision, which (Deut. xxx. 6,) extends both to parents and seed. And the term “house of Israel” doth, according to Scripture use, fitly express and take in (especially as to the eternal administration of the covenant) both parents and children; among both which are found that elect and saved number that make up the invisible Israel: compare Jer. xiii. 11, and ix. 26; Isaiah v. 7; Hos. i. 6; Ezek. xxxix. 25. Neither may we exclude the “least in age” from the good of that promise, (Heb. viii. 11,) (they being sometimes pointed to by that phrase, “from the least to the greatest,” Jer. xlv. 12, with ver. 7,) no more than the least in other respects: compare Isaiah liv. 13. In Acts ii. 39, at the passing of those Jews into New Testament Church-state, the Lord is so far from “repealing the covenant interest” that was granted unto children in the former testament, or from making the children there losers by their parents’ faith, that he doth expressly *renew* the old grant, and tells them that the promise or covenant (for the promise and the covenant are terms that do mutually infer each other: compare Acts iii. 25; Gal. iii. 16, 17, 18. 29; Rom. iv. 16; Heb. vi. 17,) “is to them and their children,” the same is asserted to be the appointed portion of the *far off* Gentiles, when they should be *called*. By all which it appears that the “covenant of Abraham,” (Gen. xvii. 7,) whereby “God is the God of the faithful and their seed,” continues under the Gospel. Now, if the seed of the faithful be still in the covenant of Abraham, then they are “members of the visible church.”

1, Because that covenant of Abraham (Gen. xvii. 7,) was properly church covenant, or “the covenant which God makes with his visible church,” *i. e.* the covenant of grace considered in the external dispensation of it, and in the promises and priviledges that belong to that dispensation. For many were taken into that covenant, that were never of the *invisible* church, and by that covenant the family of Abraham, as also by the renewing thereof the house of Israel afterwards, were established the visible church of God, (Gen. xvii., and Deut. xxix. 12, 13,) and from that covenant men might be broken off, (Gen. xvii. 14; Rom. xi. 17. 19,) and to that covenant, *circumcision*, the badge of church-membership, was annexed. Therefore the covenantees therein were and are church-members.

2, Because in that covenant the seed are spoken of in terms describing or inferring church-membership, as well as their parents; for they “have God for their God” and are “his people” as well as the parents, (Gen. xvii. 7, 8, with Deut. xxix. 11. 13.) They have the covenant made with them, (Deut. xxix. 14, 15,) and the covenant is said to be “between God and them,” (“between me and thee, and between thy seed

after thee;" so the Hebrew runs.)—Gen. xvii. 7. They are also in that covenant appointed to be the subjects of the "initiatory seal" of the covenant, the seal of membership, (Gen. xvii. 9, 10, 11. Therefore the seed are, according to that covenant, members of the visible church as well as their parents.

ARGUM. 2. *Such seed or children are federally holy*—1 Cor. vii. 14. The word [*Holy*] as applied to any sort of persons, is never in Scripture used in a lower sense than for *federal* or *covenant holiness*, (the covenant holiness of the visible church,) but very often in that sense: Ezr. ix. 2; Deut. vii. 6, and xiv. 2. 21, and xxvi. 19, and xxviii. 9; Exod. xix. 6; Dan. viii. 24, and xii. 7; Rom. xi. 16. So that to say, they are holy in this sense—viz: by covenant relation and separation to God in his church—is as much as to say, "They are in the covenant of the visible church, or members of it."

ARGUM. 3. From Mark x. 14, 15, 16; Matt. xix. 14: Children's membership in the visible church is either the next and immediate sense of those words of Christ, "of such is the kingdom of heaven;" and so "the kingdom of heaven" or "of God," is, not rarely, used in other Scriptures to express the visible church, or church estate: Matth. xxv. 1, and xxi. 43, and viii. 11, 12, or it evidently follows from any other sense that can rationally be given of the words. For those may not be denied a place or portion in the visible church, whom Christ affirms to have a portion in the kingdom either of invisible grace or of eternal glory: Nor do any in ordinary course pass into the kingdom of glory hereafter, but thro' the kingdom of grace in the visible church here. And also, that Christ, there, graciously invites and calls little children to him, is greatly displeased with those that would hinder them, asserts them, notwithstanding their infancy, to be exemplary in their receiving the kingdom of God, embraceth them in his arms and blesseth them: all which shews Christ's dear affection to, and owning of the children of the church, as a part of his kingdom; whom we, therefore, may not disown, lest we incur his displeasure, as the disciples did.

ARGUM. 4. *Such seed or children are disciples*, according to Matth. xxviii. 19, as appears—1, Because subjects of Christ's kingdom are equivalent with disciples there, as the frame of that text shews, ver. 18, 19, 20, but such children are subjects of Christ's kingdom, or "of the kingdom of heaven," Matth. xix. 14. In the disciplining of all nations intended in Matth. xxviii. 19, "the kingdom of God," which had been the portion of the Jews, was communicated to the Gentiles, according to Matth. xxi. 43. But in the kingdom of God these children have an interest or portion: Mark x. 14. 2, The apostles, in accomplishing that commission, (Matth. xxviii. 19,) did disciple some children, viz: the children of disciplined parents: Acts ii. 39, and xv. 10. They are there called and accounted disciples, whom the false teachers would have brought under the yoke of circumcision after the manner of Moses, ver. 1. 4. But many of those

were children: Exod. xii. 48; Acts xxi. 21. Lydia and her household, the jaylor and all his, were disciplined and baptized: Acts xvi. 15. 31. 33. Paul at Corinth took in the children into the holy school of Christ: 1 Cor. vii. 14. 3, Such children belong unto Christ; for he calls them unto him, as his, to receive his blessing: Mark x. 13. 16. They are to be received in his name: Mark ix. 37; Luke ix. 48. They have a part in the Lord, (Josh. xxii. 24, 25;) therefore they are his disciples: for to belong to Christ, is to be a disciple of Christ, (Mark ix. 41, with Matth. x. 42.) Now, if they be disciples, then they are members of the visible church, as from the equivalency of those terms was before shewed.

ARGUM. 5. *The whole current and harmony of Scripture shews, that ever since there was a visible church on earth, the children thereof have by the Lord's appointment been a part of it.* So it was in the *Old*, and it is and shall be so in the *New Testament*. "Eve, the mother of all living," hath a promise made, (Gen. iii. 15,) not only of Christ the head-seed, but thro' him also of a church-seed, to proceed from her in a continued lineal succession, which should continually be at visible enmity with, and stand at a distance, or be separated from the seed of the serpent. Under that promise, made to Eve and her seed, the children of Adam are born, and are a part of the church in Adam's family; even Cain was so, (Gen. iv. 1. 3,) till "cast out of the presence of God," therein, (ver. 14) being now manifestly one of the seed of the serpent, (1 John iii. 12,) and so becoming the father of a wicked unchurched race. But, then God appointed unto Eve another, viz: Seth, in whom to continue the line of her church-seed, (Gen. iv. 25.) How it did continue in his seed in their generations, Gen. v. sheweth. Hence the children of the church are called "sons of God," (which is as much as members of the visible church) in contradistinction to the daughters of men, (Gen. vi. 2.) If righteous Noah be taken into the ark (then the only preserving place of the church) his children are taken in with him, (Gen. vii. 1,) tho' one of them, viz: Ham, after proved degenerate and wicked; but till he so appears, he is continued in the church with his brethren. So (Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27,) as the race of Ham or his son Canaan (parents and children) are cursed; so Shem (parent and children) is blessed, and continued in the place of blessing, the church, as Japhet also, or Japhet's posterity (still parent and children) shall in time be brought in. The holy line mentioned in Gen. xi. 10. 26, shews how the church continued in "the seed of Shem," from him unto Abraham. When that race grew degenerate, (Josh. xxiv. 2,) then God called Abraham out of his country, and from his kindred, and "established his covenant with him," which still took in parents and children, (Gen. xvii. 7. 9,) so it did after in the house of Israel, (Deut. xxix. 11, 12, 13,) and when any eminent restoration or establishment is promised to the church, the children thereof are still taken in as sharers in the same: Psal. cii. 16. 23, and lxix. 35, 36; Jer. xxxii. 38, 39; Isa. lxv. 18, 19. 23. Now, when Christ comes to set

up the gospel administration of his church in the New Testament, under the term of the "King of Heaven, (Mat. viii. 2, and xi. 11,) he is so far from taking away children's portion and membership therein, that himself asserts it, Mat. xix. 14: the children of the Gentile, but now *believing* Corinthians, are holy: 1 Cor. vii. 14. The apostle, writing to the church of Ephesus and Colosse, speaks to children as a part thereof: Eph. vi. 1; Col. iii. 20. The inchurched Romans and other Gentiles stand on the "root of covenanting Abraham," and in the *olive* or visible church, they and their children, till broken off (as the Jews were) by positive unbelief, or rejection of Christ, his truth or government: Rom. xi. 13. 16, 17. 22. The children of the Jews, when they shall be called, shall be as aforetime in church-estate, (Jer. xxx. 20, with xxxi. 1; Ezek. xxxvii. 25. 28,) from all which it appears that the series, or whole frame and current of Scripture expressions, doth hold forth "the continuance of children's membership in the visible church," from the beginning to the end of the world.

Partic. 4. The seed or children, who become members together with their parents (i. e. by means of their parents covenanting) are children in minority. This appears—1, Because such children are holy by their parents covenanting, who would "else be unclean," (1 Cor. vii. 14,) but they would not else necessarily be unclean, if they were adult: for then they might act for themselves, and so be holy by their personal covenanting; neither, on the other hand, would they necessarily be *holy*, if adult, (as he asserts the children there to be,) for they might continue Pagans. Therefore the apostle intends only infants, or children in minority. 2, It is a principle, that carries evidence of light and reason with it, as to all transactions, civil and ecclesiastical, that "if a man be of age, he should answer for himself:" Joh. ix. 21. They that are come to years of discretion, so as to "have knowledge and understanding" fit to act in a matter of that nature, are to covenant by their own personal act: Neh. x. 28, 29; Isa. xliv. 5. 3. They that are regularly taken in with their parents, are reputed to be visible "entertainers of the covenant and avouchers of God" to be their God: Deut. xxvi. 7. 18, with Deut. xxix. 11, 12. But if adult children should, without regard to their own personal act, be taken in with their parents, then some might be reputed "entertainers," that are manifest *rejectors* of the covenant, for so an adult son or daughter of a godly parent may be.

Partic. 5. It is requisite unto the membership of children, that the next parents, one or both, being in a covenant. For altho' after-generations have no small benefit by their pious ancestors, who derive federal holiness to their succeeding generations in case they keep their standing in the covenant, and be not apostates from it; yet the *piety* of ancestors sufficeth not, unless the next parent *continue* in covenant: Rom. xi. 22.

1. Because, if the next parent be cut or broken off, the following seed

are broken off also, (Exod. xx. 5; Rom. xi. 17. 19, 20,) as the Gentile believing parents and children were taken in; so the Jews, parents and children, were then broken off.

2. One of the parents must be a believer, or "else the children are unclean:" 1 Cor. vii. 14.

3. If children may be accounted members, and baptised, though the next parents be not in covenant, then the church should be bound to baptise those whom she can have "no power over nor hope concerning," to see them brought in the true Christian religion, and under the ordinances; for the next parents being wicked, and not in covenant, may carry away and bring up their children "to serve other gods."

4. If we stop not at the next parent, but grant that ancestors may, notwithstanding the apostacy of the next parents, convey membership unto children, then we should want a ground where to stop, and then all the children on earth should have right to membership and baptism.

PROPOSITION III.—*The Infant-Seed of Confederate Visible Believers, are Members of the same Church with their Parents, and when grown up are personally under the watch, discipline, and government of that Church.*

1. THAT they are members of the same church with their parents appears—1, Because so were Isaac and Ishmael of Abraham's family-church, and the children of Jews, and *proselytes* of Israel's national church: and there is the same reason for children now to be of the *same* Congregational-church with their parents; Christ's care for Children and the scope of the covenant, as to obligation unto order and government, is as great now as then. 2, Either they are members of the same church with their parents, or of some other church, or non-members: but neither of the latter; therefore the former. That they are not non-members was before proved in PROPOS. II., Particul. 3; and if not members of the *same* church with their parents, then of *no other*. For if there be not reason sufficient to state them members of that church, where their parents have covenanted for them, and where ordinarily they are baptised and do inhabit, then much less is there reason to make them members of any other: and so they will be members of no particular church at all, and it was before shewed that there is no ordinary and orderly standing estate of church-members, but in some particular church. 3, *The same covenant-act is accounted the act of parent and child*; but the parent's covenanting rendered himself a member of that particular church; therefore so it renders the child also. How can children come in, with and by their parents, and yet come into a church wherein and whereof their parents are not, so that as they should be of one church, and their parents of another? 4, Children are in "an orderly and regular state;" for they are in that state wherein the order of God's covenant, and his institution therein hath placed them; they being members by virtue of the covenant of God. To say their standing is disorderly, would be to impute disorder to the order

of God's covenant, or irregularity to the rule. Now, all will grant it to be most orderly and regular, that every Christian be a member in some particular church, and in that particular church where his regular habitation is, which to children usually is where their parents are. If the rule call them to remove, then their membership ought orderly to be translated to the church whither they remove. Again, order requires that *the child* and *the power of government over the child* should go together. It would "bring shame" and confusion for the child to be from under government, (Prov. xxix. 15;) and parental and ecclesiastical government concurring, do mutually help and strengthen each other. Hence the parent and the child must be members of the same church, unless the child be by some special providence so removed, as that some other person hath the power over him.

2. *That when these children are grown up, they are personally under the watch, discipline and government of that church*, is manifest; for—1, Children were under patriarchal and Mosaical discipline of old, (Gen. xviii. 19, and xxi. 9, 10, 12; Gal. v. 3,) and therefore under Congregational discipline now. 2, They are within the church, or members thereof, (as hath been, and after will be further proved) and therefore subject to church judicature (1 Cor. v. 12.) 3, They are disciples, and therefore under discipline in Christ's school, (Mat. xxviii. 19, 20.) 4, They are "in church-covenant," and therefore subject to church-power, (Gen. xvii. 7, with chap. xviii. 19.) 5, They are "subjects of the kingdom of Christ," and therefore under the laws and government of his kingdom, (Ezek. xxxvii. 25, 26.) 6, Baptism leaves the baptised (of which number these children are) in a state of subjection to the "authoritative teaching" of Christ's ministers, and to the "observation of all his commandments," (Mat. xxviii. 19, 20,) and therefore in a state of subjection unto discipline. 7, Elders are charged "to take heed unto, and to feed," (that is, both to teach and rule, compare Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 4,) "all the flock," or church, "over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers," (Acts xx. 28.) That children are a part of the flock, was before proved: and so Paul accounts them, writing to the same flock or church of Ephesus, (Eph. vi. 1. 8,) otherwise irreligion and apostacy would inevitably break into churches, and no church-way left by Christ to prevent or heal the same; which would also bring many church-members under that dreadful judgment of being let alone in their wickedness, (IIoz. iv. 16, 17.)

PROPOSITION IV.—*These Adult Persons are not therefore to be admitted to full Communion, merely because they are and continue Members, without such further Qualifications as the Word of God requireth unto.*

THE TRUTH hereof is plain—1, From 1 Cor. xi. 28, 29, where it is required that such as come to the Lord's Supper, be able "to examine themselves, and to discern the Lord's body;" else they will "eat and drink unworthily, and eat and drink damnation," or judgment, "to themselves,"

when they partake of this ordinance; but mere membership is separable from such ability to examine one's self, and discern the Lord's Body: as in the children of the covenant that grow up to years is too often seen. 2, In the Old Testament, though men did continue members of the church, yet, for ceremonial uncleanness, they were to be kept from full communion in the holy things, (Levit. vii. 20, 21; Numb. ix. 6, 7, and xix. 13. 20;) yea, and the priests and porters in the Old Testament had special charge committed to them, that men "should not partake in all the holy things," unless duly qualified for the same, notwithstanding their membership, (2 Chr. xxiii. 19; Ezek. xxii. 26, and xlv. 7, 8, 9. 23;) and therefore much more in these times, where moral fitness and spiritual qualifications are wanting, *membership alone* is not sufficient for *full communion*. More was required to adult persons "eating the Passover," than mere membership; therefore so there is now to the Lord's Supper.

For they were to "eat to the Lord," (Ex. xii. 14,) which is expounded in 2 Chro. xxx., where "keeping the Passover to the Lord," (ver. 5,) imports and requires exercising repentance, (ver. 6, 7,) their actual giving up themselves to the Lord, (ver. 8,) "Heart preparation" for it, (ver. 19,) and holy rejoycing before the Lord, (ver 21. 25.) See the like in Ezra vi. 21, 22. 3, Tho' all members of the church are subjects of baptism, they and their children, yet all members may not partake of the Lord's Supper, as is further manifest from the different nature of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism first and properly seals *covenant-holiness*; as circumcision did (Gen. xvii.) *church-membership*: Rom. xv. 8. "Planting into Christ," (Rom. vi.) and so members, *as such*, are the subjects of baptism: Matt. xxviii. 19. But the Lord's Supper is the sacrament of "growth in Christ," and of "special communion" with him, (1 Cor. x. 16,) which supposeth "a special renewing and exercise" of faith and repentance, in those that partake of that ordinance. Now, if persons, even when adult, may be and continue members, and yet be debarred from the Lord's Supper until meet qualifications for the same do appear in them; then may they also (until like qualifications) be debarred from that power of *voting* in the church, which pertains to males in full communion. It seems not rational that those who are not themselves fit for all ordinances, should have such an influence referring to all ordinances, as voting in election of officers, admission and censures of members doth import. For how can they, that are not able to examine and judge themselves, be thought able and fit to discern and judge in the weighty affairs of the house of God?—1 Cor. xi. 28. 31, with 1 Cor. v. 12.

PROPOSITION V.—*Church-members who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of Faith, and publickly professing their assent thereto; not Scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and Children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, their Children are to be Baptised.*

THIS is evident from the arguments following:

ARG. 1. *These children are partakers of that which is the main ground of baptising any children whatsoever, and neither the parents nor the children do put in any bar to hinder it.*

1. That they "partake of that which is the main ground of baptising any," is clear; because interest in the covenant is the main ground of title to baptism, and this these children have. 1, "Interest in the covenant is the main ground of title to baptism;" for so in the Old Testament this was the ground of title to circumcision, (Gen. xvii. 7. 9, 10, 11,) to which baptism now answers, (Col. ii. 11, 12, and Acts ii. 38, 39;) they are on this ground exhorted to "be baptised," because "the promise" or covenant "was to them, and to their children." That a member, or one in covenant, *as such*, is the subject of baptism, was further cleared before, Propos. I. 2, That these children "have interest in the covenant" appears; because "if the parent be in covenant, the child is also:" for the covenant is to parents and "their seed in their generations," (Gen. xvii. 7. 9,) "the promise is to you, and to your children," (Acts ii. 39.) If the parent stands in the church, so doth the child among the Gentiles now, as well as among the Jews of old, (Rom. xi. 16. 20, 21, 22.) It is unheard of in Scripture that the progress of the covenant stops at the infant-child. But the parents in question are in covenant, as appears—1, Because they were once in covenant, and never since discovenanted. If they had not once been in covenant, they had not warrantably been baptised; and they are so still, except in some way of God they have been discovenanted, cast out, or cut off from their covenant relation, which these have not been: neither are persons once in covenant, "broken off" from it, according to Scripture, save for notorious sin and incorrigibleness therein, (Rom. xi. 20,) which is not the case of these parents. 2, Because the tenor of the covenant is "to the faithful, and their seed after them, in their generations," (Gen. xvii. 7,) even to "a thousand generations," *i. e.* conditionally, provided that the parents successively do continue to be *keepers* of the covenant, (Exod. xx. 6; Deut. vii. 9. 11; Psalm cv. 8,) which the parents in question are, because they are not (in Scripture account in this case) forsakers or rejecters of the God and covenant of their fathers: see Deut. xxix. 25, 26; 2 Kings xvii. 15, 20; 2 Chro. vii. 22; Deut. vii. 10.

2. That these parents, in question, "do not put any bar to hinder" their children from baptism, is plain from the words of the proposition, wherein they are described to be such as "understand the doctrine of faith, and publickly profess their assent thereto:" therefore, they put not

in any bar of gross ignorance, Atheism, Heresie or Infidelity: also, they are "not scandalous in life, but solemnly own the covenant, before the church," therefore they put not in any bar of prophaneness, or wickedness, or apostacy from the covenant, whereinto they entred in minority: that the infant children in question do themselves put any bar, none will imagine.

ARG. 2. The children of the parents in question, are either "children of the covenant," or "strangers from the covenant," (Eph. ii. 12,) either "holy or unclean," (1 Cor. vii. 14,) either "within" the church or "without," (1 Cor. v. 12,) either such as "have God for their God" or "without God in the world," (Eph. ii. 12.) But he that considers the proposition will not affirm *the latter* concerning these children; and *the former* being granted, infers their right to baptism.

ARG. 3. To deny the proposition would be—1, To straiten the grace of Christ in the gospel dispensation, and to make the church in New Testament times in a worse case, relating to their children successively, than were the Jews of old. 2, To render the children of the Jews, when they shall be called, in a worse condition than under the legal administration; contrary to Jer. xxx. 20; Ezek. xxxvii. 25, 26. 3, To deny the application of the initiatory-seal to such as regularly stand in the church and covenant, to whom the Mosaical dispensation—nay, the first institution in the covenant of Abraham—appointed it to be applied: Gen. xvii. 9, 10; Joh. vii. 22, 23. 4, To break God's covenant by denying the initiatory seal to those that are in covenant: Gen. xvii. 9, 10, 14.

ARG. 4. Confederate visible believers, tho' but in the lowest degree such, are to have their children baptized; witness the practice of John Baptist and the apostles, who baptised persons upon the first beginning of their Christianity. But the parents in question are confederate visible believers, at least in some degree. For—1, Charity may observe in them sundry positive arguments for it; witness the terms of the proposition, and nothing evident against it. 2, Children of the Godly, qualified but as the persons in the proposition, are said to be faithful: Tit. i. 6. 3, Children of the covenant (as the parents in question are) have frequently the beginning of grace wrought in them in younger years, as Scripture and experience shews. Instance, Joseph, Samuel, David, Solomon, Abijah, Josiah, Daniel, John Baptist and Timothy. Hence this sort of persons, showing nothing to the contrary, are in charity, or to ecclesiastical reputation, visible believers. 4, They that are regularly in the church (as the parents in question be) are visible saints in the account of Scripture (which is the account of truth); for the church is, in Scripture-account, a company of saints: 1 Cor. xiv. 33, and i. 2. 5, Being in covenant and baptized, they have faith and repentance *indefinitely given* to them in the promise, and sealed up in baptism, (Deut. xxx. 6,) which continues valid, and so a valid testimony for them while they do not reject it. Yet it does not necessarily follow, that these persons are immediately fit for the Lord's Supper,

because, tho' they are, *in a latitude of expression*, to be accounted visible believers, or *in Numero Fidelium*,* as even infants in covenant are, yet they may want that ability to examine themselves, and that special exercise of faith, which is requisite to that ordinance; as was said upon Proposit. IV.

ARG. 5. *The denial of baptism to the children in question, hath a dangerous tendency to irreligion and apostacy*; because it denies them, and so the children of the church successively, "to have any part in the Lord:" which is the way to make them "cease from fearing the Lord:" Jos. xxii. 22. 24, 25. 27. For if they have a "part in the Lord," *i. e.* a portion in Israel, and so in the Lord the God of Israel, then they are in the church, or members of it, and so to be baptized, according to Propos. I. The owning of the children of those that successively continue in covenant to be a "part of the church," is so far from being destructive to the purity and prosperity of the church and of religion therein, (as some conceive,) that this imputation belongs to the contrary tenet. To seek to be more pure than the rule, will ever end in impurity in the issue. God hath so framed his covenant, and consequently the constitution of his church thereby, as to design a continuation and propagation of his kingdom therein, from one generation to another. Hence the covenant runs, "to us, and to our seed after us in their generations." To keep in the line, and under the influence and efficacy of this covenant of God, is the true way to the church's glory: to cut it off and disavow it, cuts off the posterity of Zion, and hinders it from being (as in the most glorious times it shall be) "an eternal excellency and the joy of many generations." This progress of the covenant establisheth the church: Deut. xxix. 13; Jer. xxx. 20. The contrary therefore doth disestablish it. This obligeth and advantageth to the conveyance of religion down to after generations; the care whereof is strictly commanded, and highly approved by the Lord: Psalm lxxviii. 4, 5, 6, 7; Gen. xviii. 19. This continues a nursery still in Christ's orchard or vineyard, (Isa. v. 1. 7;) the contrary neglects that, and so lets the whole run to ruine. Surely, God was an holy God, and loved the *purity* and *glory* of the church in the Old Testament: but when he went in this way of a successive *progress* of the covenant to that end: Jer. xiii. 11. If some did then, or do now, decline to unbelief and apostacy, *that* doth not make "the faith of God" in his covenant "of none effect," or the advantage of interest therein, inconsiderable; yea, the more holy, reforming and glorious that the times are, or shall be, the more eminently is successive continuation and propagation of the church therein designed, promised and intended: Isa. lx. 15, and lix. 21; Ezek. xxxvii. 25. 28; Psalm cii. 16. 28; Jer. xxxii. 39.

ARG. 6. *The parents, in question, are personal, immediate, and yet continuing members of the church.*

1. That they are personal members, or members in their own persons,

* On the list of the faithful.

appears—1, Because they are personally holy, (1 Cor. vii. 14.) not parents only, but [your children] are holy. 2, They are personally baptized, or have had baptism, the seal of membership, applied to their own persons; which being regularly done, is a divine testimony that they are in their own persons members of the church. 3, They are personally under discipline, and liable to church censures in their own persons; *vide* Propos. III. 4, They are personally (by means of the covenant) in a visible state of salvation. To say they are not members in their own persons, but in their own parents, would be as if one should say, they are saved in their parents, and not in their persons. 5, When they commit iniquity, they personally break the covenant; therefore are personally in it: Jerem. xi. 2. 10; Ezek. xvi.

2. By the like reasons, it appears, that children are immediate members, as to the essence of membership, (*i. e.* that they themselves, in their own persons, are the immediate subjects of this adjunct of church-membership,) though they come to it by means of their parents' covenanting. For as touching that distinction of mediate and immediate, as applied to membership, (which some urge) we are to distinguish—1, Between the efficient and essence of membership. 2, Between the instrumental efficient, or means thereof, which is the *parents' profession* and covenanting; and the principal efficient, which is divine institution. They may be said to be *mediate* (or rather *mediately*) members, as they become members *by means* of their parents' covenanting, as an instrumental cause thereof: but that doth nothing vary or diminish *the essence* of their membership. For divine institution giveth or granteth a real and personal membership unto them, as well as unto their parents, and maketh the parent a publick person, and so his act theirs to that end. Hence the essence of membership, that is, "covenant-interest, or a place and portion within the visible church," is really, properly, personally and immediately the portion of the child, by divine gift and grant, (Jos. xxii. 25. 27;) their *children* "have a part in the Lord," as well as themselves. "A part in the Lord," there, and "church membership" (or "membership in Israel") are terms equivalent. Now "the children" there, and "a part in the Lord," are *subject* and *adjunct*, which nothing comes between, so as to sever the adjunct from the subject; therefore they are *immediate subjects* of that adjunct of *immediate members*. Again, their visible ingrafting into Christ the head, and so into the church his body, is sealed in their baptism: but, in ingrafting, nothing comes betwixt the graft and the stock: their union is immediate; hence they are immediately inserted into the visible church, or immediate members thereof. The "little children" in Deut. xxix. 11, were personally and immediately a part of the "people of God," or members of the church of Israel, as well as their parents. To be in covenant, or to be a *covenantee* is the *formalis ratio** of a church member. If one come to be in covenant

* Formal requisite.

one way, and another in another, but both are in covenant or covenantees (*i. e.* parties with whom the covenant is made, and whom God takes into covenant) as children here are, (Gen. xvii. 7, 8,) then both are in their own persons the immediate subjects of the *formalis ratio* of membership, and so immediate members. To *act* in covenanting is but the instrumental means of membership, and yet children are not without this neither. For the act of the parent (their publick person) is accounted theirs, and they are said to "enter into covenant:" Deut. xxix. 11, 12. So that what is it that children want unto an actual, compleat, proper, absolute and immediate membership—so far as these terms may with any propriety or pertinency be applied to the matter in hand? Is it *covenant-interest*, which is the *formalis ratio* of membership? No; they are in covenant. Is it *Divine grant and institution*, which is the *principal efficient*? No; he hath clearly declared himself that he grants unto the children of his people a portion in his church, and appoints them to be members thereof. Is it an *act of covenanting*, which is the *instrumental means*? No; they have this also reputatively by divine appointment, making the parent a *publick person*, and accounting them to covenant in his covenanting. A different manner and means of conveying the covenant to us, or of making us members, doth not make a different sort of the membership: we now are as truly personally and immediate members of the body of fallen mankind, and, by nature, heirs of the condemnation pertaining thereto, as Adam was, though he came to be so by his *own personal act*, and we by *the act of our publick person*. If a prince give such lands to a man and his heirs successively, while they continue loyal, the following heir is a true and immediate owner of that land, and may be personally disinherited, if disloyal, as well as his father before him. A member is one that is, according to rule, (or according to divine institution) *within* the visible church. Thus the child is properly and personally, or immediately. Paul casts all men into two sorts, those *within* and those *without*—*i. e.* Members and non-members: 1 Cor. v. 12. It seems he knew of no such distinction of *mediate* and *immediate* as puts a *medium* between these two *objects*. If children be compleat and immediate members, as their parents are, then they shall immediately have all church privileges, as their parents have, without any further act or qualification.—*Answ.* It follows not. All privileges that belong to members, *as such*, do belong to the children as well as the parents: but all church privileges do not so. A member as such (or all members) may not partake of all privileges; but they are to make progress, both in memberly duties and privileges, as their age, capacity and qualifications do fit them for the same.

3. That their membership still continues in adult age, and ceaseth not with their infancy, appears—1, Because in Scripture, persons are "broken off" only for notorious sin, or incorrigible impenitency and unbelief, not for growing up to adult age: Rom. xi. 20. 2, *The Jew children circumcised*

did not cease to be members by growing up, but continued in the church, and were by virtue of their membership, received in infancy, bound unto various duties, and in special unto those solemn personal professions that pertained to adult members, not, as then, entring into a *new* membership, but as making a progress in memberly duties: Deut. xxvi. 2. 10, and xvi. 16, 17, with Gal. v. 3. 3, Those relations of *born-servants* and *subjects*, which the Scripture makes use of to set forth the state of children in the church (by Lev. xxv. 41, 42; Ezek. xxxvii. 25,) do not (as all men know) cease with infancy, but continue in adult age. Whence also it follows, that one special end of membership received in infancy, is to leave persons under engagement to service and subjection to Christ in his church, when grown up, when they are fittest for it, and have most need of it. 4, There is no ordinary way of cessation of membership, but by death, dismission, excommunication, or dissolution of the society: none of which is the case of the persons in question. 5, Either they are, when adult, members or non-members: if non-members, then a person admitted a member, and sealed by baptism, not cast out, nor deserving so to be, may (the church whereof he was still remaining) become a non-member and out of the church, and of the unclean world; which the Scripture acknowledgeth not. Now, if the parent stand member of the church, the child is a member also; for now the root is holy, therefore so are the branches: Rom. xi. 16; 1 Cor. vii. 14. The parent is in covenant; therefore so is the child, (Gen. xvii. 7;) and if the child be a member of the visible church, then he is a subject of baptism, according to Propos. I.

PROPOSITION VI.—*Such Church-members, who either by Death, or some other extraordinary Providence, have been inevitably hindred from Publick acting as aforesaid, yet have given the Church cause, in judgment of charity, to look at them as so qualified, and such as had they been called thereunto would have so acted, their children are to be baptised.*

THIS MANIFEST—1, Because the main foundation of the right of the child to privilege remains, viz: God's institution, and the force of his covenant carrying it to the generations of such as continue keepers of the covenant, *i. e.* not visibly breakers of it. By virtue of which institution and covenant, the children in question are members, and their membership being distinct from the parents' membership, ceaseth not, but continues, notwithstanding the parents' decease or necessary absence; and, if members, then subjects of baptism. 2, Because the parents' not doing what is required in the fifth proposition, is through want of opportunity; which is not to be imputed as their guilt, so as to be a bar to the child's privilege. 3, God reckoneth that as done in his service, to which there was a manifest desire and endeavour, albeit the acting of it were hindered; as in David to build the temple, (1 King. viii. 18, 19;) in Abraham to sacrifice his son, (Heb. xi. 17,) according to that in 2 Cor. viii. 12: "Where there is a willing mind, it is accepted according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not:" which is true of this church duty, as well

as of that of alms. It is a usual phrase with the ancients to stile such and such martyrs *in voto*, and baptised *in voto*, because there was no want of desire that way, though their desire was not actually accomplished. 4, The terms of the proposition import that in charity, that is here done *interpretatively*, which is mentioned to be done in the fifth proposition *expressly*.

PROPOSITION VII.—*The Members of Orthodox Churches, being sound in the faith, and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof; these occasionally coming from one church to another, may have their children baptized in the church, whither they come by virtue of communion of churches; but if they remove their habitation, they ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, where they settle their abode, and so their children to be baptised—it being the church's duty to receive such unto communion, so far as they are regularly fit for the same.*

1. SUCH members of other churches, as are here described, occasionally coming from one church to another, their children are to be baptised in the church whither they come, by virtue of communion of churches. 1, Because he that is regularly a member of a true particular church, is a subject of baptism according to *propos.* first and second. But the children of the parents here described are such, according to *propos.* fifth and sixth; therefore they are meet and lawful subjects of baptism, or have right to be baptised. And “communion of churches” infers such acts as this is, viz: to baptize a fit subject of baptism, tho’ a member of another church, when the same is orderly desired. (See “Platform of Discipline,” CHAP. XV. Sec. 4.) For, look, as every church hath a double consideration—viz: 1, Of its own constitution and communion within itself; 2, Of that communion which it holds and ought to maintain with other churches—so the officer (the pastor or teacher) thereof, is there set—1, To administer to this church *constantly*; 2, To do acts of communion *occasionally*, viz: such as belong to his office, as baptising doth, respecting the members of other churches, with whom this church holds or ought to hold communion.

2. To refuse communion with a true church, *in lawful and pious actions*, is unlawful, and justly accounted schismatical. For, if the church be true, Christ holdeth some communion with it; and therefore so must we; but, if we will not have communion with it in those acts that are good and pious, then in none at all: *Total separation* from a true church is unlawful; but to deny a communion in good actions is to make a total separation. Now, to baptize a fit subject, as is the child in question, is a “lawful and a pious action,” and therefore, “by virtue of communion of churches,” in the case mentioned to be attended.

And if baptism, lawfully administered, may and ought to be received by us, for our children, in another true church, where Providence so casts us as that we cannot have it in our own, (as doubtless it may and ought to be,) then also we may and ought in like cases to dispense baptism, when desired, to a meet and lawful subject, being a member of another church.

To deny or refuse either of these, would be an unjustifiable refusing of communion of churches, and tending to sinful separation.

3. *Such as remove their habitation, ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, where they settle their abode, and so their children to be baptised.* 1, Because the regularly baptised are disciples, and under the discipline and government of Christ; but they that are absolutely removed from the church, whereof they were, so as to be incapable of being under discipline there, shall be under it no where, if not in the church where they inhabit. They that would have *church-privileges* ought to be *under church-power*: but these will be under no church-power, but as lambs in a large place, if not under it there, where their settled abode is. 2, Every Christian ought to covenant for himself and for his children, or professedly to give up himself and his to the Lord, and that in the way of his ordinances, (Deut. xxvi. 17, and xii. 5,) and explicate covenanting is a duty, especially where we are called to it, and have opportunity for it: nor can they well be said to covenant implicitly, that do explicitly refuse a professed covenanting, when called thereunto. And especially this covenanting is a duty when we would partake of such church-privilege, as baptism for our children is. But the parents, in question, will now be professed covenanters no where, if not in the church where their fixed habitation is. Therefore they ought orderly to covenant there, and so their children to be baptised. 3, *To refuse* covenanting and subjection to Christ's government in the church where they live, being so removed as to be utterly incapable of it elsewhere, would be a "walking disorderly," and would too much savour of "profaneness and separation;" and hence to administer baptism to the children of such as "stand in that way," would be to administer Christ's ordinances to such as are in "a way of sin and disorder;" which ought not to be, (2 Thes. iii. 6; 1 Chron. xv. 13,) and would be contrary to that rule, (1 Cor. xiv. 40,) "Let all things be done decently and in order."

QUESTION II.—*Whether, according to the Word of God, there ought to be a Consociation of Churches, and what should be the manner of it?*

ANSWER.—THE answer may be briefly given in the proposition following:

1. Every church or particular congregation of visible saints in gospel-order, being furnished with a presbytery, at least with a teaching elder, and walking together in truth and peace, hath received from the Lord Jesus full power and authority ecclesiastical within itself, regularly to administer all the ordinances of Christ, and is not under any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever. For to such a church Christ hath "given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that what they bind or loose on earth, shall be bound or loosed in heaven," (Mat. xvi. 19, and xviii. 17, 18.) Elders are "ordained in every church," (Acts xiv. 23; Tit. i. 5,)

and are therein authorised officially to administer in the word, prayer, sacraments and censures, (Mat. xxviii. 19, 20; Acts vi. 4; 1 Cor. iv. 1, and v. 4. 12; Acts xx. 28; 1 Tim. v. 17, and iii. 5.) The reproving of the church of Corinth, and of the Asian churches severally, imports they had power each of them within themselves to reform the abuses that were amongst them, (2 Cor. v.; Rev. ii. 14. 20.) Hence it follows that consociation of churches is not to hinder the exercise of this power; but by counsel from the word of God to direct and strengthen the same upon all just occasions.

2. The churches of Christ do stand in a sisterly relation each to other, (Cant. viii. 8,) being united in the same faith and order, (Eph. iv. 5; Col. ii. 5.) To walk by the same rule, (Phil. iii. 16.) In the exercise of the same ordinances for the same end, (Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13; 1 Cor. xvi. 1,) under one and the same political head, the Lord Jesus Christ, (Eph. i. 22, 23, and iv. 5; Rev. ii. 1,) which union infers a communion suitable thereunto.

3. "Communion of churches is the faithful improvement of the gifts of Christ bestowed upon them, for his service and glory, and their mutual good and edification, according to capacity and opportunity, (1 Pet. x. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 4. 7, and x. 24; 1 Cor. iii. 21, 22; Cant. viii. 9; Rom. i. 15; Gal. vi. 10.)

4. "Acts of communion of churches are such as these:

1. "Hearty care and prayer one for another, (2 Cor. xi. 28; Cant. viii. 8; Rom. i. 9; Col. i. 9; Eph. vi. 18.)
2. "To afford relief by communication of their gifts in temporal or spiritual necessities, (Rom. xv. 26, 27; Acts xi. 22. 29; 2 Cor. viii. 1. 4. 14.)
3. "To maintain unity and peace, by giving an account one to another of their publick actions, when it is orderly desired, (Acts xi. 2, 3, 4—18: Josh. xxii. 13. 21. 30; 1 Cor. x. 32,) and to strengthen one another in their regular administrations; as in special by a concurrent testimony against persons justly censured, (Acts v. 41, and xvi. 4, 5; 2 Tim. iv. 15; 2 Thes. iii. 14.)
4. "To seek and accept help from, and give help unto each other:
 1. "In case of divisions and contentions whereby the peace of any church is disturbed, (Acts xv. 2.)
 2. "In matters of more than ordinary importance, (Prov. xxiv. 6, and xv. 22,) as ordination, translation and deposition of elders and such like, (1 Tim. v. 22.)
 3. "In doubtful and difficult questions and controversies, doctrinal or practical, that may arise, (Acts xv. 2. 6.)
 4. "For the rectifying of male-administrations, and healing of errors and scandals, that are unhealed among themselves, (3 Joh. ver. 9. 10; 2 Cor. ii. 6. 11; 1 Cor. xv.; Rev. ii. 14, 15, 16; 2 Cor. xii. 20, 21, and xiii. 2.) Churches now have need of help in like cases, as well as churches then; Christ's care is still for whole churches, as well as for particular persons; and apostles being now ceased, there remains the duty of brotherly love, and mutual care, and helpfulness, incumbent upon churches, especially elders for that end.
5. "In love and faithfulness to take notice of the troubles and difficulties, errors and scandals of another church, and to administer help, (when the case necessarily calls for it) tho' they should so neglect their own good and duty, as not to seek it, (Exod. xxiii. 4, 5; Prov. xxiv. 11, 12.)

6. "To admonish one another, when there is need and cause for it, and after due means with patience used, to withdraw from a church, or peccant party therein, obstinately persisting in error or scandal; as in the Platform of Discipline (Cap XV. Sect. 2, Partic. 3,) is more at large declared, (Gal. ii. 11. 14; 2 Thes. iii. 6; Rom. xvi. 17.)

5. "Consociation of churches is their mutual and solemn agreement to exercise communion in such acts, as aforesaid, amongst themselves, with special reference to those churches which by Providence are planted in a convenient vicinity, though with liberty reserved without offence, to make use of others, as the nature of the case or the advantage of opportunity may lead thereunto.

6. "The churches of Christ in this country having so good opportunity for it, it is meet to be commended to them, as their duty, thus to consociate. For—1, Communion of churches being commanded, and consociation being but an agreement to practise it, this must needs be a duty also: Psal. cxix. 106; Neh. xxviii. 29. 2, Paul an apostle sought with much labour the conference, concurrence, and right hand of fellowship of other apostles: and ordinary elders and churches have not less need of each other, to prevent their running in vain: Gal. ii. 2. 6. 9. 3, Those general Scripture rules, touching the need and use of counsel and help in weighty cases, concern all societies and polities, ecclesiastical as well as civil: Prov. xi. 14, and xv. 22, and xx. 18, and xxiv. 6; Eccles. iv. 9, 10. 14. 4, The pattern in Acts xv. holds forth a warrant for councils, which may be greater or lesser, as the matter shall require. 5, Concurrence and communion of churches in gospel times is not obscurely held forth in Isa. xix. 23, 24, 25; Zeph. iii. 9; 1 Cor. xi. 16, and xiv. 32. 36. 6, There has constantly been in these churches a possession of communion, in giving the right hand of fellowship in the gathering of churches, and ordination of elders; which importeth a consociation, and obligeth to the practice thereof. Without which we should also want an expedient, and sufficient cure for emergent church difficulties and differences: with the want whereof our way is charged, but unjustly, if this part of the doctrine thereof were duly practised.

7. "The manner of the church's agreement herein, or entring into this consociation, may be by each church's open consenting unto the things here declared in answer to the second question, as also to what is said thereabout, in CHAP. XV. and XVI. of the Platform of Discipline, with reference to other churches in this colony and countrey, as in *propos. V.* is before expressed.

8. "The manner of exercising and practising that communion, which this consent or agreement specially tendeth unto, may be by making use occasionally of elders or able brethren of other churches; or by the more solemn meetings of both elders and messengers in lesser or greater councils, as the matter shall require."

REMARKS UPON THE SYNODICAL PROPOSITIONS.

§ 1. THE Propositions thus voted by the major part, more than seven to one in the synod, were clog'd by the dissent of several reverend and judicious persons in that venerable assembly; who were jealous lest the sacred ordinance of baptism should come to be applied unto such unmeet subjects as would in a while put an end unto New-England's primitive and peculiar glory of "undefiled administrations." Tho' we cannot say that, in this our synod, the observation of Thuanus was verified, *Colloquia, quæ ut Theologocis controversiis Finis imponatur, instituuntur, majorum excitandarum sæpe initium existunt*;* yet the reciprocations of argument which ensued on this difference, quickly became sensible to mankind, as by some other common effects of *controversie*, so especially by the disquisitions which were, on this occasion, published unto the world. Here not concerning our selves with the "*Anti-synodalia Americana*,"† composed by Mr. Charles Chauncey, the president of the College, and answered by Mr. John Allen, pastor of Dedham, we shall only take notice of the two *twin-discourses*, which made most figure in the management of *this* disputation. First, Mr. John Davenport, in opposition to the synod, emitted a treatise, under the title of "*Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth*:" whereto there was by another hand prefixed, *that* which the elders of the synod judged the distinctest and exactest thing that has been written on that side, under the title of, "*An Apologetical Preface*" for the defence of the synod. Mr. Rich. Mather, being thereunto appointed, wrote a full answer to the *Essay*; and Mr. Jonathan Mitchel wrote a fuller answer to the *Preface*; both of which quickly saw the light.

§ 2. The true state of the difference cannot be better given than by epitomizing the *positions* and *arguments* in the close of the "*Apologetical Preface*" on the one part, and the *answers* to those positions and arguments, on the other. And I am the more willing to give it, because the ecclesiastical affairs of this country have so much turned upon it.

ON THE ONE SIDE, THUS REASONED THE LEARNED APOLOGIST:

1. THE Synod did acknowledge, that "there ought to be true saving faith in the parent, according to the judgment of rational charity, or else the child ought not to be baptized." We entreated and urged, again and again, that *this*, which they themselves acknowledged was a *principle of truth*, might be *set down* for a *conclusion*, and then we should *all agree*. But those reverend persons would not consent to *this*.

ON THE OTHER SIDE, THUS REPLIED THE EXCELLENT ANSWERER:

WE are to distinguish between *faith* in the hopeful *beginning* of it, the charitable judgment whereof runs upon a great latitude; and *faith* in the

* Debates, which are appointed for the purpose of putting an end to theological controversies, often give rise to greater controversies than existed before.

† Reply to the Synodical Theses.

special exercise of it, unto the visible discovery whereof, more experienced operations are to be enquired after. The words of Dr. Ames are: "Children are not to be admitted to partake of all church privileges, till first increase of faith do appear; but from those which belong to the beginning of faith and entrance into the church, they are not to be excluded."

The apostles constantly baptised persons upon the first beginning of their Christianity, but the Lord's Supper followed after, as annexed unto some progress in Christianity. The same strictness, as to *outward signs*, is not necessary unto a charitable judgment of that *initial* faith, which entitles unto baptism, as there is unto the like judgment of that *exercised* faith which is requisite unto the Supper of the Lord. We all own, that only "visible believers" are to have their children baptised; and it is expressed in the Synod's result; but the question is, "Who are visible believers?" Our brethren strove so to screw up the expressions for baptism, that all that have their children baptised must unavoidably be brought unto the Lord's table, and unto a power of voting in the churches. This, we say, will prove a *church-corrupting* principle.

APOLOGY.—II. We have no warrant in all the Scripture to apply the seal of baptism unto those children whose parents are in a state of unfitness for the Lord's Supper. Those (Acts ii. 41,) who were baptised, continued breaking bread also; unless the father were in a state of fitness for the Passover, his child might not be circumcised. Neither do we read that in the primitive times, baptism was of a greater latitude, as to the subject thereof, than the Lord's Supper. *Catechumeni ad Baptisterium nunquam admittendi sunt.**—Concil Ara, chap. xix. In the dawns of reformation in England, our Juel could plead against Harding, "that baptism was as much to be revered, as the body and blood of Christ." Nay, a grievous error has therefore been committed in former ages, and other churches, *to administer the Lord's Supper unto infants.*

ANSWER.—By a state of unfitness, must be meant either non-membership; but the parents, in the question, are members of the church; and so to them do belong all church privileges, according as they shall be capable thereof, and appear duly qualified for the same: they have a *Jus ad rem*,† though not *Jus in re*;‡ as a child has a right to his father's estate, however he have not the actual fruition of it, until he be qualified with such and such abilities. Or else is meant a want of actual qualifications fitting, whereby a person is either in himself short of actual fitness for the Lord's table, or wanteth a church-approbation of his fitness. Now, we conceive there is a warrant in Scripture for the applying of baptism to children, whose parents do want actual qualifications fitting them for the Lord's Supper. The parent might want actual fitness for the Passover, by manifold ceremonial uncleannesses, and yet that hindered not the circumcision of the child. He must be judged clean by the priest of the

* Catechumens are never to be admitted to the baptism. † Right to the thing. ‡ A right in the thing.

church whereof he was a member, and so free to partake of the holy things. Thus, the parents in the question must have their fitness for the Lord's table judged by those to whom the judgment belongs. But what fitness for the Lord's Supper had those that were baptized by John Baptist, and by Christ's disciples at his appointment, in the beginning of his publick ministry? What fitness had the jaylor, when himself and all his were baptized after an hour's instruction, wherein probably he had not so much as heard any thing of the Lord's Supper? The teaching of which, followed after disciplining and baptizing, as is hinted by that order in Matth. xxviii. 19, 20, and by the ancient practice of not teaching the catechumeni any thing about the Lord's Supper till after they were baptized, as is affirmed by Hanmer and Baxter, out of *Albospinæus*. We constantly read in the Acts, that persons were baptized immediately upon their first entrance into membership; but we never do read that they did immediately upon their first membership receive the Lord's Supper. Yea, so far is baptism from being inseparable from immediate admission to the Lord's Supper, that we read of no one, (no, not of the adult) in all the New Testament, that was admitted to the Lord's Supper immediately upon his baptism.

The only place that sounds as if it were quickly after, viz: Acts ii. 41, 42, is alledged by our brethren. But it is here said, they (after their being added and baptized) continued in (or gave sedulous attendance to) the apostles doctrine [first] and then breaking of bread. There was a time of gaining further acquaintance with Christ, and with his ways and ordinances, by the apostles' instruction, between their baptizing and their participation of the Lord's Supper. And the churches of Christ in all, especially in the best ages, and the choicest lights therein, both ancient and modern, have concurred in this principle, "that baptism is of larger extent than the Lord's Supper, and that many that are within the visible church, may have baptism for themselves, at least for their children, who yet at present want actual fitness for the Lord's Supper." The authors that write of confirmation do abundantly prove this assertion. Here is not room to insert the evidences, that in the first ages of the church, there were many within the church, who were debarred from the Lord's Supper, and yet had their children baptized. And since the Reformation, the reforming divines have in their doctrine unanimously taught, and in their practice many of them endeavoured, a strict selection of those that should be admitted unto the Lord's Supper; when yet they have been more large in point of baptism. Plentiful testimonies are cited, first from Calvin, from Crotius, from Bucan, from Beza, from Polanus, from Ursin and Paræus, and from the "Harmony of Confessions;" and then from Ames, from Hooker, and from Hildersham, to this purpose.

APOLOGY.—III. The parents of the children in question, are not members of any instituted church, according to gospel rules; because they

were never under any explicit and personal covenant. If this second generation do retain their membership by virtue of their parents' covenant, made for them in minority; then in case all the pro-parents were dead, this second generation would be a true church of Christ, without any further act of covenanting. But this they are not. For then they would have the power to manage all church-affairs, as every true church hath; which the synod will not grant unto them.

ANSWER.—We doubt not to affirm with Dr. Ames, that children are members of an instituted church, according to gospel rules; and that they are under personal covenant or personally taken into covenant by God, according to his gospel rules, tho' they have not performed the act of covenanting in their own persons; yea, under the explicit covenant also, if the parent's covenanting was explicit. Though we take it for a principle granted by Congregational men, with one consent; that an implicit covenant, preserves the being of a true church, and so of true church-membership. We also say, the second generation, continuing in a visible profession of the covenant, faith and religion of their fathers, are a true church of Christ, though they have not yet made any explicit personal expression of their engagement, as their fathers did. Even, as the Israelites, that were numbered in the plains of Moab, were a true church, and under the covenant of God, made with them in Horeb, though their parents, with whom it was first made in Horeb, were all dead, and that before the solemn renewal of the covenant with them in the plains of Moab. Our denial of liberty unto these to vote in church-affairs, till they be qualified for, and admitted to the Lord's Supper, is no prejudice to our grant of their being a true church. For the case of a true church may be such, as that they may be at present unfit to exercise a power of acting in church-affairs, which yet may be radically in them; even till, by the use of needful means, they, or a select number among them, be brought up unto a better capacity for it. We might also ask whether it would prove women to be no members of an instituted church, because if all the men were dead, they could not then be a church? We may add: if discipline and other ordinances be kept up, we may hope God will so bless his ordinances, that a considerable number shall, from time to time, have such grace given them, as to be fit for full communion, and carry on the things of his house with competent strength, beauty and edification.

APOLOGY.—IV. It is not mere membership, but qualified membership that gives right unto baptism. John's baptism, which was Christian, might not be applied to some, who were members of the visible church, because they were not qualified with repentance, (Luke iii. 8, and vii. 30.) This seems to cut the sinews of the strongest argument brought by the synod, for the enlargement of baptism; which is the membership of the children in controversie.

ANSWER.—Some privileges in the church belong to persons merely

because they are members of it: so doth baptism and church-watch. But other privileges belong to them as cloathed with such and such qualifications: thus the Lord's Supper now, as the Passover of old. If children in their minority are members, as our brethren acknowledge them to be, then there are members that are not yet fit for full communion. And for the adult, when a man is by admonition debarred from the Lord's Table, and yet not excommunicated; he continues a member, yea, a personal member, in our bretheren's account, and yet is not in full communion. It is clear then that membership and full communion are separable things. Besides, 'tis a membership *de jure*, and not only *de facto*, whereof we speak, when we speak of mere membership. Now, such a membership implies a qualification, that a person being a church member, is not under such gross and incorrigible ignorance, heresie, scandal or apostacy, as renders him an immediate subject of excommunication. Hence, mere membership is not so to be opposed unto qualified membership, as if it were destitute of all qualifications. Understand "mere membership," for ["merely this, that a man is regularly a member," or, "that the church, acting regularly, may own him as accepted by rule into covenant"] and then the assertion, "that it is not sufficient to give a person a right unto baptism, that he be regularly a member of the visible church, but he must have some further qualifications than so, or else he hath not a right thereunto:" This is indeed an "anti-synodalian assertion," and we doubt not to affirm, that it is anti-scriptural.

The synod builds upon "covenant-interest," or "federal-holiness," or "visible church-membership," as that which gives *right* unto baptism: and accordingly in their fifth proposition, they have comprised both the right to baptism, and the "manner of administration;" which *manner* is not therefore to be neglected, because membership alone gives right; for God hath made it *one* commandment of *four*, to provide for the manner of his worship, that it be attended in a solemn, humble, reverent and profitable manner. Hence, all "reformed churches" do in their *directories* require *professions* and *promises* from those who present the *child* unto baptism; though they unanimously grant the child's right unto baptism, by its being "born within the visible church." Besides, what have infants more than a "mere membership," to give them right unto baptism? We know no stronger argument for "infant baptism" than this, that church-members, or *Fœderati** are to be baptised. At the transition from *Old* to *New* Testament church membership, something more might well be required than a "mere membership" in the Jewish church, which was then also under an extream degeneracy: it was necessary that the "reformed administration" should penitently be embraced. And much of what was required by John, may be referred unto the "manner of administration," which the general scandals then fallen into called for. Nor will he that reads the

* Persons formally united to the church.

Scriptures, think that the persons baptised by John, did excel those who are described in the synod's propositions. While the parent that was born in the church, regularly continues in it without scandal, he is ecclesiastically accounted to have the being of repentance; and so to have the thing that John required. But if any stand guilty of open scandals, we know not why they should not make a "particular confession" of their sin therein.

APOLOGY.—V. That which will not make a man capable of receiving baptism himself, in case he were unbaptised, doth not make him capable of transmitting right of baptism unto his child. But a man may be an unbeliever, and yet come up to all that the synod hath said in their fifth proposition. Bucer is accounted by Parker justly to mention, "that none ought to be confirmed members of the church, besides those who do hold forth not only verbal profession of faith, but apparent signs of regeneration."

ANSWER.—'Tis true, that which doth not put a man into a state of right of baptism for himself, (that is, into a state of "church membership") will not enable him to give baptism right unto his child. But it is possible for an adult person in such a state nevertheless to have something fall in, which may hinder the actual application of baptism to himself, or his actual fitness for baptism, in case he were unbaptised. And yet the same thing may not hinder a person already baptised, and standing in a covenant state, from conveying baptism right unto his child. Besides, the synod's proposition speaks of church members. Yea, and he will have an hard task of it, who shall undertake to prove, "that adult persons, understanding, believing, and professing publickly the doctrine of faith, not scandalous in life, and now solemnly entering into that covenant, wherein they give up themselves and theirs to the Lord in his church, and subject themselves to the government of the Lord therein, may be denied baptism upon their desire thereof." 'Tis not easie to believe, that multitudes baptised, in the Scriptures had more to render them visible believers, than the persons described by the synod. It is argued, a man [may be] an unbeliever, and yet come up to all this. Simon Magus, and Ananias and Sapphira, not only *might be*, but *were* unbelievers, and yet regularly baptised. But if it be said, that a man may come up to all that the synod hath said, and yet be "ecclesiastically judged an unbeliever," shew us any ground for such a judgment. As for Bucer and Parker, they plainly speak of such a confirmation, or owning men for confirmed members, as imports their admission to the Lord's Table. But if the judgment of Bucer and Parker may be taken in this controversie, it will soon be at end, for it is evident enough (by quotations too many for this place) that Bucer and Parker fully concur with the synod, in the extent of baptism.

APOLOGY.—VI. The application of the seal of baptism unto those who are not true believers, (we mean visibly, for *De Occultis non Judicat Eccle-*

sia,*) is a profanation thereof, and as dreadful a sin as if a man should administer the Lord's Supper unto unworthy receivers; which is (as Calvin saith) as sacrilegious impiety, as if a man should take the *blood* or *body* of Christ and prostitute it unto *dogs*. We marvel that any should think that the *blood* of Christ is not as much profaned and villified by undue administration of baptism, as by undue administration of the Lord's Supper. Yea, that saying of Austin's is solemn and serious: *Qui indigne accipit baptisma, Judicium accipit, non salutem*;† and the same Austin in his book, *De Fide et Operibus*,‡ pleads for strictness in the administration of baptism, and so did Tertullian before him.

ANSWER.—We readily grant, that baptism is not to be applied to any but visible believers. We marvel that any should speak as if any of us did think that the blood of Christ is not profaned by the undue administration of baptism, as well as by undue observation of the Lord's Supper: though we suppose the degree of sinful profanation of the Lord's name in any ordinance, will be intended by the decree of special communion that we have with the Lord in that ordinance; and by the danger that such profanation infers unto the whole church, and unto the particular partaker. But where is there any thing to show that the administration of baptism extended by the synod is undue? The rule concerning the two sacraments appoints baptism to all disciples; but the Lord's Supper only for self-examining disciples: hence the one may be extended further than the other, without undue administration. Neither did Calvin conceive it a profanation to extend baptism further than the Lord's Supper. Nor did ever Austin or Tertullian plead for greater strictness in baptism than the synod; except where Tertullian erroneously plead for the delay of baptism: whereas Austin requires not more of adult converts from heathenism, than is in the parents, who are described by the synod.

APOLOGY.—VII. It hath in it a natural tendency to the hardening of *unregenerates* in their sinful condition, when life is not only promised, but sealed unto them, by the precious blood of Jesus Christ. Baptism is a seal of the whole covenant of grace, as well as the Lord's Supper; and therefore those that are not interested in this covenant by faith, ought not to have the seal thereof applied unto them. We might add unto all this, that there is danger of great corruption, and pollution, creeping into the churches by the enlargement of the subject of baptism.

ANSWER.—The Lord's truth and grace, however it may be abused, by the corruption of man's perverse and sinful nature, hath not in its self any natural tendency to harden any, but the contrary. And how can our doctrine have any such natural tendency, when as men are told over and over, that only outward advantages are more absolutely sealed unto them in baptism; but the saving benefits of the covenant, conditionally;

* The church passes no judgment on the secrets of the heart.

† He who receives baptism unworthily, receives condemnation, not salvation.

‡ On Faith and Works.

so that if they fail of the condition, which is effectual and unfeigned faith, they miss of salvation, notwithstanding their baptism? The outward privileges must not be rested in, but improved as encouragements to the obtaining of internal and special grace. On the other side, the Scriptures tell us, that men's denying the children of the church to have "any part in the Lord," hath a strong tendency in it to make them "cease from fearing the Lord, and harden their hearts from his fear." But the awful obligations of covenant-interest have a great tendency to soften the heart, and break it, and draw it home to God. Hence when the Lord would powerfully win men to obedience, he often begins with this, that "he is their God." The natural tendency of man's corrupt heart is no argument against any ordinance of God. 'Tis true, baptism is a seal of the whole covenant of grace; but it is by way of initiation. Hence it belongs to all that are within the covenant, or have but a first entrance thereinto. And is there no danger of corruption by *overstraining the subject of baptism*? Certainly, it is a corruption to take from the rule, as well as add to it. Moses found danger in not applying the initiating seal, to such for whom it was appointed. Is there no danger of putting these out of the visible church, whom our Lord would have kept in? Our Lord's own disciples may be in danger of his displeasure by keeping poor little ones away from him. To pluck up all the tares, was a zealous motion; but there was danger in it. Besides, if the enlargement be beyond the bounds of the rule, it will bring in corruption; else not. Our work is therefore to keep close unto the rule, as the only true way unto the churches purity and glory. The way of the Ana-baptists, to admit none unto membership and baptism but adult professors, is the straitest way; one would think it should be a way of great purity; but experience hath shew'd that it has been an inlet unto great corruption, and a troublesome, dangerous underminer of reformation. If we do not keep in the way of a converting, grace-giving covenant, and keep persons under those church-dispensations, wherein grace is given, the church will die of a lingering, though not violent, death. The Lord hath not set up churches only that a few old Christians may keep one another warm while they live, and then carry away the church into the cold grave with them when they die; no, but that they might with all care, and with all the obligations and advantages to that care that may be, nurse up still successively another generation of subjects to our Lord, that may stand up in his kingdom when they are gone. "In church reformation, 'tis an observable truth, [saith Paræus,] that those that are for too much strictness, do more hurt than profit the church." Finally, there is apparently a greater danger of corruption to the churches, by enlarging the subjects of full communion, and admitting unqualified, or meanly qualified persons, to the Lord's table, and voting in the church; whereby the interest of the power of godliness will soon be prejudiced, and elections, admissions, censures, so carried, as will be

hazardous thereunto. Now, 'tis evident that this will be the temptation, even "to overlarge full communion," if baptism be limited unto the children of such as are admitted thereunto.

§ 3. These were the *summa capita** of the disputation between those two reverend persons; but the remarkable event and effect of this disputation is now to be related. Know, then, that Mr. Michael, partly by the light of truth fairly offered, and partly by the force of prayer for the good success of the offer, was too hard for the most learned *apologist*; who, after he had written so exactly on the *anti-synodalian* side, that,

————— *Si pergam dextrâ*
Defendi poterant, etiam hac defensa fuissent :†

finding that Scripture and reason lay most on the other side, not only surrendered himself a glad captive thereunto, but also obliged the church of God, by publishing unto the world a couple of most nervous treatises, in defence of the synodical propositions. The former of these treatises was entitled, "*The First Principles of New England, concerning the Subject of Baptism, and Communion of Churches.*" wherein, because the anti-synodists commonly reproached the doctrine of the synod, as being no less new than the practice of it, he answers this popular imputation of innovation and apostacy, by demonstrating, from the unquestionable writings of the chief and first fathers in our churches, that the doctrine of the synod was then generally believed by them: albeit the practice thereof had been buried in the circumstances of the "new plantation." Together with this essay, he shews his inexpressible value for his excellent opponent and conqueror, not only by professing a deep respect for that blessed man, and using about him the words of Beza about Calvin, "now he is dead, life is less sweet, and death will be less bitter to me;" but also by inserting an elaborate letter, which that worthy man had written to him, wherein, among other passages, there are these words: "Please to consider which of these three propositions you would deny: 1, The whole visible church under the New Testament is to be baptized. 2, If a man be once in the church, nothing less than censurable evil can put him out. 3, If the parent be in the visible church, his infant child is so too." And he adds: "Whether they should be baptized, as in a catholick or in a particular church, is another question, and I confess myself not so peremptory in this latter, as I am in the thing itself, that they ought to be baptised. Yet still I think that, when all stones are turned, it will come to this, that all the baptized are, and ought to be, under discipline in particular churches."

The other of these treatises was intituled, "*A Discourse concerning the Subject of Baptism;*" wherein having elaborately proved, "That the qualifications expressed in the fifth proposition of the synod give right to

* Main points.

† Could human arm have saved my native land,
She still should live—saved by this single hand.

baptism;" and that persons thus qualified are church-members, and visible believers, and of old had a right unto circumcision, and have church-discipline belonging to them; and that the apostles did baptize persons who were no further qualified; he then distinguishes between a particular church, as it is more strictly taken for a "particular company of covenanting believers, entrusted by our Lord with the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" and as it is more largely taken for that "special part of our Lord's visible church, which doth subsist in this or that particular place:" and he shews that a membership of the catholick church, discovered by a relation to a particular church, not in the former, but in the latter sense, is the formal reason of baptism: concluding with a full answer to all objections. Indeed, the learned author of the book, was not the least argument in the book. This alone might have passed as no inconsiderable argument for the synodical propositions, that besides divers others who did the like, so considerate a person as the apologist, after he had so openly and so solidly appeared against them, should at last as publickly declare it, "that study and prayer, and much affliction, had brought him to be of another belief." It was a notable observation of Mr. Cotton, once, in his letter to Mr. Williams, "that one might suspect the way of the RIGID SEPARATION to be not of God, because those who in tenderness of conscience had been drawn into the error of that way, yet, when they have grown in grace, they have also grown to discern the error of the *separation*." Thus it was observed, that several very excellent men, who did according to their present light conscientiously dissent from the synod, yet, as they grew in the manifold grace of God, and in ripeness for heaven, they came to see that the rigidity of their former principles had been a failing in them. And if the apologist were one who so signalized a modest sense of second thoughts unto the world, it can be reckoned no disparagement unto him; until the humility of Austin in his retractions, or the ingenuity of Bellarmine in his recognitions, come to be accounted their blemishes; or until Bucer's—yea, and Luther's—change of their opinions about consubstantiation, and the recovery of Zinglius from inclinations to Anti-pædobaptism, shall be esteemed the disgrace of those renowned men; or, until Mr. Robinson shall be blamed for composing his weighty arguments against the rigid separation which once he had zealously defended. I shall to this occasion but apply the words of Dr. Owen unto Mr. Cawdry, to take off the charge of inconstancy laid upon him, for his appearing on behalf of the Congregational church discipline: "He that can glory that in fourteen years he hath not altered nor improved his conceptions of some things, of no greater importance than that mentioned, shall not have me for his rival."

§ 4. Very gradual was the procedure of the churches to exercise that church-care of their children, which the synodical propositions had recommended: for, though the pastors were generally principled for it, yet, in

very many of the churches, a number of brethren were so stiffly and fiercely set the other way, that the pastors did forbear to extend their practice unto the length of their judgment, through the fear of uncomfortable schisms which might thereupon ensue. And there fell out one singular temptation, which had a great influence upon this matter!—that famous and faithful society of Christians, the first church in Boston, had, after much agitation, so far begun to attend the discipline directed in the doctrine of the synod, that they proceeded ecclesiastically to censure the adult children of several communicants for scandals, whereinto they had fallen. But that church, for a supply of their vacancy upon the death of their former more synodial ministers, applying themselves unto Mr. John Davenport, the greatest of the anti-synodists, all the interests of the synod came to be laid aside therein, on that occasion. Hereupon, thirty brethren of that eminent church offered several reasons of their dissent from their call of that worthy person; whereof one was in these terms:

“We should walk contrary to Rev. iii. 3: not ‘holding fast what we have received;’ nor should we, ‘as we have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him.’ [The doctrine of the synod] it having been a received and a professed truth, by the holy body of the church, who have voted it in the affirmative, and that after much patience with, and candor towards those that were otherwise minded; divers days having been spent about this great *generation-truth*, which since hath been confirmed by the synod. Full liberty hath also been granted unto those who scrupled, to propose their questions; and they were answered, with such publick satisfaction, that those few who remained unsatisfied, promised to sit down and leave the body to act, excepting one or two. Accordingly, there was an entrance upon the work; but the Lord lay it not to the charge of those that hindred progress therein, which with great blessing and success has been and is practised in neighbour churches.”

But the difference produced so much division, that the major part of the church, by far, proceeded to their election of that great man; this lesser part nevertheless carefully and exactly following the advice of councils, fetched from other churches in the neighbourhood, set up another church in the town of Boston, which hath since been one of the most considerable in the country. Very uncomfortable were the *paroxims*, which were the consequents of this ferment;

———*Longa est injuria, Longa*
*Ambages**———

and the whole people of God throughout the colony were too much distinguished into such as favored the new church; whereof the former were for it. Indeed, for a considerable while, tho’ the good men on both sides really loved, respected and honoured one another, yet, through some unhappy misunderstandings in certain particular persons, the communicants of these two particular churches in Boston, like the two distinguish’d rivers, not mixing, tho’ running between the same banks, held not communion with one another at the table of the Lord: but in two sevens of

* The wrong lasts well, and never seems to tire.

years, that breach was healed, and, unto the general joy of the Christians in the neighbourhood, both the churches kept a solemn day together, wherein, lamenting the infirmities that had attended their former contentions, they gave thanks to the great Peace-maker for effecting this joyful reconciliation. The schism was not so long lived as that which happened at Antioch, about the ordination of a minister, whereof Theodoret says, Πέντε καὶ οὐδονήκοντα διέμεινεν ἔτη—"it endured fourscore and five years." However, the two churches continued still their various dispositions to the propositions of the synod; and it is well known that the example of Boston has, from the beginning, as the prophets once intimated of Jerusalem, had no small efficacy upon the land.

§ 5. But it is, at last, come to this: that tho' some of our churches yet baptise the children of none but their communicants, and extend their church-watch to none but the persons of their communicants, and tho' some of the churches go a step further, and extend their church-watch to the children of their communicants, but yet most unaccountably will not baptise the offspring of these, till these parents become themselves communicants; nevertheless, the most of the ministers in the countrey have obtained of their churches, not only to forbear all expressions of dissatisfaction at the baptism of such as the synod has declar'd the subjects of it, but to concur with them, when their votes are upon occasion demanded for such a disciple as the synod has from the eighteenth of Matthew directed for the baptised.

Very various have been the methods of the pastors to bring their churches into the desired order; many the meetings, the debates, the prayers and the fasts, with which this matter has been accomplished; and much more many the difficulties, where the matter had been so long delayed, that the retrieval was well nigh to be despaired. Yea, it was as late as the year 1692, that the last church, which, after a long omission thereof, did effectually set upon the church care of the disciples formerly neglected, came to their duty; and they did it with such a further explanation of their principles, as diverse great opposers of the synod professed themselves, at last, able to comply withal. Now, because the particular *history* of the proceedings used, when things had run thus far into an *inveterate neglect*, may be very subservient unto one main design of our "church history," which is to give an *experimental direction* for more arduous "church cases," I shall here give it unto my reader.

Know, then, that the pastor of the church, after solemn supplications for the direction of Heaven about it, having *previously* preached and *printed* the "*State of the Truth*," which he was now reducing into practice, and having privately with *personal conferences* endeavoured the satisfaction of such *dissenters* as he counted more significant, he then, avoiding all publick meetings or debates, drew up the following instrument, which by the hands of two or three chosen persons he sent about unto the brethren:

PERSUASIONS AND PROPOSALS LAID BEFORE THE CHURCH IN—.

I. It is my persuasion, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath in the world a catholic church, which is his mystical body, and hath all his elect-called people belonging thereunto.

II. It is my persuasion, that the catholic church of our Lord Jesus Christ becomes in various degrees visible unto us; and, according to the degrees of its visibility, it becomes capable of a visible communion with its glorious head.

III. It is my persuasion, that when men profess the faith of the gospel, with obedience unto the Lord Jesus Christ, according to that gospel, and overthrow not that profession by a scandalous conversation, they are to be looked upon as members of the visible catholic church of our Lord; they are to be treated as Christians; to call them or count them heathen, is to do them a grievous injury.

IV. It is my persuasion, that when such professors regularly combine into a society for the evangelical worship and service of our Lord Jesus Christ, and furnish themselves with *officers* of his appointment, they then become a part of the *catholic church*, so visible, as to be a body politic, entrusted with the administration of those *ordinances* which are priviledges in that kingdom of heaven.

V. It is my persuasion, that a *particular church*, thus betruſted with the ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ, is to be concerned for the applying some of those ordinances unto subjects that have not yet arrived so far in visible Christianity as to be constituent parts of that holy society.

It is my persuasion, that *baptism* is an ordinance to be administered unto them that are in the visible catholic church, while those Christians have not yet joined themselves unto a particular church, but are only in a state of *initiation* and *preparation* for it. In the Scripture we do not read of any that were baptized *after* their joining to full communion in a particular church of the New-Testament, but of many that were so *before*.

Under the influence of these *persuasions*, there are now these *proposals* which I would make unto that *particular church* of God, whereof I am an unworthy-overseer in the Lord:

I. It is my proposal, that if any person, instructed and orthodox in our Christian religion, do bring testimonials of a sober and blameless conversation, and publicly submit themselves unto the bonds of such a sacred covenant as now followeth:

“You now, from your heart, professing a serious belief to the Christian religion, as it has been generally declared and embraced by the faithful in this place, do here give up yourself to God in Christ; promising with his help to endeavour to walk according to the rules of that holy religion all your days: choosing of God as your best good and your last end, and Christ, as the Prophet, and Priest, and the King of your soul forever. You do therefore submit unto the laws of his kingdom, as they are administered in this church of his; and you will also carefully and sincerely labour after those more positive and increased evidences of regeneration, which may further encourage you to seek an admission unto the table of the Lord.”

I say, I propound, that I may without offence *baptise* this person and his house, and that such persons may be watched over, if not as brethren, yet as disciples, in the porch of the Lord's temple; of whom we have cause to hope that they will shortly express their desires after the Lord's Supper, with such tokens of growth in grace upon them, as that we may chearfully receive them thereunto.

II. It is my proposal, that, as for the children thus baptized in their minority, the elders of the church may be inquisitive and industrious about their being brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. But that when they come to be adult, the elders of the church may, to confirm them in their church-state, put them upon the open renewal of their baptismal covenant, with a subjection of themselves unto the watch of the church; and if any of them do upon examination appear to have more sensible and plenary symptoms of conversion unto God, they may be exhorted immediately to make regular approaches unto

the table of the Lord; and that if any of them contumaciously despise and refuse their duty of renewing their covenant, and owning the government of the Lord over them, they may after proper admonitions be debarred from standing among the people of God, which otherwise they might lay claim unto.

I, therefore, propound, that the church may seasonably look after a full supply of *officers*, whereby this work may be fully prosecuted. In the mean time, I am willing to attend as much of this work as God shall enable me unto. Asking of you that *none* of you would object about my giving meat in due season to any part of my blessed master's family, which he hath made me a steward of; but that all of you would help me with your daily prayers, and whatever other assistances may be useful unto

YOUR SOLICITOUS PASTOR AND SERVANT.

This instrument was within a few days brought back unto the pastor, with such a return at the close of it:

"We, the brethren of the —— church in ——, consider how fully those reverend persons that have rule over us, and watch for our souls, have declared what they judge to be the mind of God, about the subject of baptism, and apprehending that we may have lain too long in the omission of duty thereabouts; do now signifie, that we are not unwilling to have the perswasions and proposals, which our pastor hath here laid before us, carefully put into practice; and that we would have no obstruction given to the holy endeavours which may be used this way, to advance the interest of religion in the midst of us,"

Hereunto the generality of the brethren, perhaps twenty to one, had subscribed their names. And those few that were not yet so wholly rescued from their anti-synodalian *scruples*, yet verbally signified their Christian and peaceable assurances that it should give no uneasiness unto their minds to see the desires of their pastor accomplished; which was done accordingly.

But thus much concerning the proceedings in a synod of New-England Churches, for the "church care of their posterity." We'll conclude all by an agreeable speech of the great Romus (in *Comment. de Relig.* l. 4. c. 6): *Liberi fidelium baptizantur, ut participes sint et hæredes divinorum beneficiorum ecclesie promisorum, utque ætate provecti parentum religionem et pietatem, profiteantur.**

* The children of the faithful are baptized, that they may be partakers and heirs of the divine blessings promised to the church, and when they reach a suitable age, may profess the religion and piety of their parents.

THE FOURTH PART.

THE REFORMING SYNOD OF NEW-ENGLAND,

WITH SUBSEQUENT ESSAYS OF REFORMATION IN THE CHURCHES.

O vera pœnitentia, quid de te Novi referam! Omnia ligata tu solvis, omnia clausa tu reseras, omnia adversa tu mitigas, omnia contrita tu sanas, omnia confusa tu lucidas, omnia desperata tu animas.—CYPRIAN.*

§ 1. THE settlement of the New-English churches, with a long series of preserving and prosperous smiles from Heaven upon them, is doubtless to be reckoned amongst the more “wonderful works of God,” in this age; the true glories of the young plantation had not upon the face of God’s earth a parallel, *our adversaries themselves being judges*. But when people began more notoriously to forget the “errand into the wilderness,” and when the enchantments of *this world* caused the rising generation more sensibly to neglect the primitive designs and interests of *religion* propounded by their fathers; *a change* in the tenour of the divine dispensations towards this country, was quickly the matter of every body’s observation. By *land*, some of the principle grains, especially our wheat and our pease, fell under an unaccountable *blast*, from which we are not, even unto this day, delivered; and besides that constant frown of Heaven upon our husbandry, recurring every year, few years have passed, wherein either worms or droughts, or some consuming disasters have not befallen the “labour of the husbandman.” By *sea*, we were visited with multiplied shipwrecks, enemies prey’d on our vessels and sailors, and the affairs of the merchant were clogged with losses abroad; or *fires*, breaking forth in the chief seats of trade at home, wasted their substance with yet more costly desolations. Nor did the *land* and the *sea* more proclaim the controversy of our God against us, than that other element of the *air*, by the contagious vapours whereof several *pestilential* sicknesses did sometimes become *epidemical* among us. Yea, the judgments of God having done first the part of the *moth* upon us, proceeded then to do the part of a *lion*, in lamentable *wars*, wherein the barbarous Indians cruelly butchered many hundreds of our inhabitants, and scattered whole towns with miserable ruins. When dismal calamities befel the primitive Christians, as acknowledged by the great Cyprian, that the cause thereof was, because they were *Patrimonio et Lucro studentes*—“too much minding to get estates and riches;” *Superbiam Sectantes*—“too proud;” *œmulationi et dissentioni vacantes*—“given to contention;” *simplicitatis fidei negligentes*—“negligent of the plain faith of the gospel;” *Secula verbis solis, et non factis, renunciantes*—“worldly;” *unusquisque sibi placentes et omnibus displicentes*—“pleas-

* O true penitence! what new can I say of thee? thou loosest all that are bound, openest all things that are shut, softenest all adversities, healest all that are bruised, makest clear all things that are confused, animatest all that despair.

ing themselves and vexing others." These were the *sins* which, he said, brought them into *sufferings*; for these, he said, *Vapulamus itaque ut merentur*.* Truly, if New-England had not abounded with the like *offences*, it may be supposed such calamities had not befallen it. It intimated a more than ordinary displeasure of God for some offences, when he proceeded so far as to put over his poor people into the hands of tawny and bloody salvages: and the whole army had cause to enquire into their own *rebellions*, when they saw the Lord of Hosts, with a dreadful *decimation*, taking off so many of our brethren by the worst of executioners. The cry of the last of the British kings, then was the cry of the New-English Christians, *Vae nobis peccatoribus ob immania seculera nostra!*†

§ 2. The serious people throughout the country were awakened by these intimations of divine displeasure, to *enquire* into the causes and matters of the *controversie*. And besides the *self-reforming* effects of these calamities on the hearts and lives of many particular Christians, who were hereby brought unto an exacter walk with God, particular churches exerted their power of *self-reformation*, especially in the time of the Indian war; wherein with much solemn fasting and prayer, they renewed their covenants with God and one another. Moreover, the general courts enacted what laws were judged proper for the extinction of those provoking evils, which might expose the land unto the anger of Heaven: and the ministers in their several congregations, by their ministry, set themselves to testify against those evils. Nor is it a thing unworthy of a great remark, that great *successes* against the enemy accompanied some notable transactions both in *church* and in *court*, for the reformation of our provoking evils. Indeed, the people of God in this land were not gone so far in *degeneracy*, but that there were further degrees of disorder and corruption to be found—I must freely speak it—in other, yea, in *all* other places, where the *Protestant* religion is professed: and the most impartial observers must have acknowledged, that there was proportionably still more of *true* religion, and a *larger* number of the *strictest* saints in this country, than in any other on the face of the earth. But it was to be confessed, that the degeneracy of New-England, in any measure, into the spirit of the *world*, was a thing extremely aggravated, by the greatness of our *obligations* to the contrary, and even sinful *omissions* in this, were no less criminal than the most odious *commissions* in some other countries.

§ 3. After *peace* was restored unto the country, the evil spirit of *apostacy* from the "power of Godliness," and the various discoveries and consequences of such an apostasie, became still more sensible to them that "feared God." Wherefore, that there might be made a more exact *scrutiny* into the causes of the divine displeasure against the land, and into the *methods* of removing and preventing the matter of lamentation, and that the *essays* of *reformation* might be as well more *extensive* as more *effectual*

* We are scourged as we deserve.

† Alas for us sinners, that we have so fearfully sinned!

than they had been hitherto, the General Court of the Massachusetts colony were prevailed withal to call upon the churches, that they would send their elders and other messengers to meet in a synod, for the solemn discussion of those two questions: "What are the provoking evils of New-England?" and, "What is to be done, that so those evils may be reformed?" It is very certain that the controversie which the God of heaven had (and still hath!) with New-England, was a matter about which many "did not enquire wisely." As of old, several of our ancients complained that the Pagans looked upon the Christians (in their way of worship) as the causes of all the plagues on the Roman empire: whatever mischief came, forthwith, *Christianos ad Leones*.^{*} Thus, among the people of New-England, many assigned the plagues upon the country unto very strange causes, as their several interests and affections led them. A synod was convened therefore, to enquire more wisely of that matter: it would astonish one to be told that an assembly of Lutherans, coming together to enquire after the cause of the *judgments* which God had brought upon their churches, most unhappily determined, "that their not paying respect enough unto images in their churches, was one cause of the Lord's controversie with them." Unhappy enquirers! instead of their dream, that they had not sinned enough against the *second* commandment, they should have thought whether they had not sinned too much against the *fourth*. But we hear not a word of their bewailing their universal prophanations of the *Lord's-day* to this day. Our New-English assembly did enquire to better purpose. The churches, having first kept a general fast, that the gracious presence and spirit of God might be obtained for the direction of the approaching synod, the synod convened at Boston, September 10, 1679, chusing Mr. John Shermon and Mr. Urian Oakes for joint moderators during the biggest part of the session. There was, at first, some agitation in this reverend assembly, about "the matter of a regular synod," raised upon this occasion, that some of the churches, notwithstanding the desires of their *elders* to be accompanied with other *messengers*, would send no messengers but their elders to the assembly. Upon the debate, it was resolved, that not only *elders*, but other *messengers* also, were to be delegated by churches, and have their suffrage in a synod, representing those churches; the primitive pattern of a synod, in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, and the primitive practice of the churches in the ages next following the apostles; and the arguments of such eminent writers as Juel, Whitaker, Parker, and others, against those who mention that *laicks* are no fit matter for such assemblies; being judiciously considered as countenancing of this assertion. The assembly kept a day of prayer with fasting before the Lord, and spent several days in discoursing upon the two *grand questions* laid before them, with utmost liberty granted unto every person to express his thoughts thereupon. A committee was appointed then to draw up the

* Away with the Christians to the lions!

mind of the assembly; which being done, it was read over once and again, and each paragraph distinctly weighed, and then, upon a mature deliberation, the whole was unanimously voted, as to the *substance, end and scope* thereof. So 'twas presented unto the General Court, who by an act of October 15, 1679, "commended it unto the serious consideration of all the churches and people in the jurisdiction, enjoining and requiring all persons in their respective capacities to a careful and diligent reformation of all those provoking evils mentioned therein, according to the true intent thereof, that so the anger and displeasure of God, many ways manifested, might be averted, and his favour and blessing obtained."

§ 4. When the punishment of *scourging* was used upon a criminal in Israel, it was the order and usage that, while the executioner was laying on his blows, with an instrument, every stroke whereof gave *three lashes* to the delinquent, there were still present *three judges*; whereof, while one did number the blows, and another kept crying out, "smite him," a third read *three scriptures* during the time of the scourging, and the scourging ended with the reading of them. The first scripture was that in Deut. xxviii. 58: "If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law, then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful." The second scripture was that in Deut. xxix. 9: "Keep therefore the words of this covenant, that ye may prosper in all that ye do." The third scripture was that in Psalm lxxviii. 38: "But he, being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity, and destroyed them not." This was done partly for the admonition, partly for the consolation, of the criminal. Truly, when the scourges of Heaven were employed upon the churches of New-England, for their miscarriages, and they were sorely lashed with one blow after another, not only particular ministers, but a whole synod of them, took upon themselves the office of reading to the whole country those words of God which were judged agreeable to the condition of such a scourged people.

Nothing shall detain my reader from the admonitions of this reforming synod, when I have recited the solemn words in the *preface* to those admonitions:

"The things insisted on [say they] have, at least many of them, been often mentioned and inculcated by those whom the Lord hath set as watchmen to the house of Israel; though, alas! not with that success which their souls have desired. It is not a small matter, nor ought it to seem little in our eyes, that the churches have in this way confessed and declared the truth, which, coming from a synod, as their joint concurring testimony, will carry more authority with it than if one man only, or many in their single capacities, should speak the same things. And undoubtedly the issue of this undertaking will be most signal, either as to mercy or misery. If New-England remember whence she is fallen, and do the first-works, there's reason to hope that it shall be better with us than at our beginnings. But if this, after all other means in and by which the Lord hath been striving to reclaim us, shall be despised, or become ineffectual, we may dread what is like to follow. 'Tis a solemn thought that the Jewish church had, as the churches in New-England have this day, an opportunity to reform, if they would in Josiah's time: but because they had no heart unto it, the Lord quickly removed them out of his sight. What God out of his sovereignty may

do for us, no man can say; but according to his wonted dispensations, we are a perishing people, if now we reform not."

And now therefore hear the synod:

THE NECESSITY OF REFORMATION

WITH THE EXPEDIENTS SUBSERVIENT THEREUNTO, ASSERTED, IN ANSWER TO TWO QUESTIONS.

QUESTION I.—*What are the Evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his Judgments on New-England?*

ANSWER.—That sometimes God hath had, and pleaded a controversie with his people, is clear from the Scripture, (Hos. iv. 1, and xii. 2; Mich. vi. 1, 2;) where God doth plainly and fully propose, state, and plead his controversie, in all the parts and causes of it, wherein he doth justify himself by the declaration of his own infinite mercy, grace, goodness, justice, righteousness, truth and faithfulness, in all his proceedings with them; and judge his people, charging them with all those provoking evils which had been the causes of that controversie, and that with the most high and heavy aggravation of their sins, and exaggeration of the guilt and punishment, whence he should have been most just in pleading out his controversie with them unto the utmost extremity of justice and judgment.

That God hath a controversie with his New-England people is undeniable, the Lord having written his displeasure in dismal characters against us. Though personal afflictions do oftentimes come only or chiefly for probation, yet, as to publick judgments, it is not wont to be so; especially when, by a continued series of providence, the Lord doth appear and plead against his people, (2 Sam. xxi. 1,) as with us it hath been from year to year. Would the Lord have whetted his glittering sword, and his hand have taken hold on judgment? Would he have sent such a mortal contagion, like a besom of destruction, in the midst of us? Would he have said, "Sword! go through the land, and cut off man and beast?" Or would he have kindled such devouring fires, and made such fearful desolations in the earth, if he had not been angry? It is not for nothing that the merciful God, who doth not willingly afflict nor grieve the children of men, hath done all those things unto us; yea, and sometimes with a cloud hath covered himself, that our prayer should not pass through; and although 'tis possible that the Lord may contend with us partly on account of secret unobserved sins, (Josh. vii. 11, 12; 2 Kings xvii. 9; Psalm xc. 8,) in which respect, a deep and most serious inquiry into the causes of his controversie ought to be attended; nevertheless, it is sadly evident that there are visible evils manifest, which without doubt the Lord is provoked by. For,

I. There is a great and visible decay of the power of Godliness amongst many professors in these churches. It may be feared that there is in too many spiritual and heart apostacy from God, whence communion with

him in the ways of his worship, especially in secret, is much neglected, and whereby men cease to know, and fear, and love, and trust in him; but take up their contentment and satisfaction in something else; this was the ground and bottom of the Lord's controversie with his people of old, (Psalm lxxviii. 8. 37, and lxxxi. 11; Jer. ii. 5. 11. 13,) and with his people under the New-Testament, also, (Rev. ii. 4, 5.)

II. The pride that doth abound in New-England testifies against us, (Hos. v. 4; Ezek. vii. 10,) both spiritual pride, (Zeph. iii. 11,) whence two great evils and provocations have proceeded, and prevailed among us. 1, A refusing to be subject to order, according to divine appointment, (Numb. xvi. 3; 1 Pet. v. 5.) 2, Contention, (Prov. xiii. 10,) an evil that is most eminently against the solemn charge of the Lord Jesus Christ, (Josh. xiii. 34, 35,) and that for which God hath by severe judgments punished his people, both in former and latter ages. This malady hath been very general in the country; we have, therefore, cause to fear that the wolves, which God in his holy providence hath let loose upon us, have been sent to chastise his sheep for dividings and strayings one from another; and that the wars and fightings, which have proceeded from the lust of pride in special, have been punished with the sword, (Jam. iv. 1; Job. xix. 29.) Yea, and pride in respect of apparel hath greatly abounded; servants and the poorer sort of people are notoriously guilty in this matter, who (too generally) go above their estates and degrees, thereby transgressing the laws both of God and man, (Matth. xi. 8.) Yea, it is a sin that even the light of nature and laws of civil nations have condemned, (1 Cor. xi. 14.) Also, many, not of the meaner sort, have offended God by strange apparel, not becoming serious Christians, especially in these days of affliction and misery, wherein the Lord calls upon men to put off their ornaments, (Exod. xxxiii. 5; Jer. iv. 30.) A sin which brings wrath upon the greatest that shall be found guilty of it, (Zeph. i. 8, with Jer. lii. 13.) Particularly the Lord hath threatened to visit with sword and sickness, and with loathsome diseases, for this very sin, (Isa. iii. 16.)

III. Inasmuch as it was in a more peculiar manner with respect to the second commandment, that our fathers did follow the Lord into this wilderness, whilst it was a land not sown, we may fear that the breaches of that commandment are some part of the Lord's controversie with New-England. Church-fellowship and other divine institutions are greatly neglected. Many of the rising generation are not mindful of that which their baptism doth engage them unto, viz: to use utmost endeavours that they may be fit for, and so partake in all the holy ordinances of the Lord Jesus, (Matth. xxviii. 20.) There are too many that with profane Esau slight spiritual priviledges. Nor is there so much of discipline extended towards the children of the covenant, as we are generally agreed ought to be done. On the other hand, humane inventions and will-worship have been set up even in Jerusalem. Men have set up their thresholds by

God's threshold, and their posts by his post. Quakers are false worshippers; and such Anabaptists as have risen up among us, in opposition to the churches of the Lord Jesus, receiving into their society those that have been for scandal delivered unto Satan; yea, and improving those as administrators of holy things who have been (as doth appear) justly under church-censures, do no better than set up an altar against the Lord's altar. Wherefore it must needs be provoking to God if these things be not duly and fully testified against, by every one in their several capacities respectively, (Josh. xxii. 19; 2 Kings xxiii. 13; Ezek. xliii. 8; Psalms. xcix. 8; Hos. xi. 6.)

IV. The holy and glorious name of God hath been polluted and profaned amongst us, more especially. 1, By oaths and imprecations in ordinary discourse; yea, and it is too common a thing for men in a more solemn way to swear unnecessary oaths; when as it is a breach of the third commandment, so to use the blessed name of God. And many (if not the most) of those that swear, consider not the rule of an oath, (Jer. iv. 2.) So that we may justly fear that because of swearing the land mourns, (Jer. xxiii. 10. 2.) There is great prophaneness in respect of irreverent behaviour in the solemn worship of God. It is a frequent thing for men (though not necessitated thereunto by any infirmity) to sit in prayer time, and some with their heads almost covered, and to give way to their own sloth and sleepiness, when they should be serving God with attention and intention, under the solemn dispensation of his ordinances. We read but of one man in Scripture that slept at a sermon, and that sin had like to have cost him his life, (Acts xx. 9.)

V. There is much Sabbath-breaking; since there are multitudes that do profanely absent themselves or theirs from the public worship of God on his holy day, especially in the most populous places of the land; and many, under pretence of differing apprehensions about the beginning of the Sabbath, do not keep a seventh part of time holy unto the Lord, as the fourth commandment requireth; walking abroad, and travelling (not merely on the account of worshipping God in the solemn assemblies of his people, or to attend works of necessity or mercy) being a common practice on the Sabbath-day, which is contrary unto that rest enjoined by the commandment. Yea, some that attend their particular servile callings and employments after the Sabbath is begun, or before it is ended. Worldly, unsuitable discourses are very common upon the Lord's day, contrary to the Scripture, which requireth that men should not on holy times find their own pleasure nor speak their own words, (Isa. lviii. 13.) Many that do not take care so to dispatch their worldly businesses, that they may be free and fit for the duties of the Sabbath, and that do (if not wholly neglect) after a careless, heartless manner, perform the duties that concern the sanctification of the Sabbath. This brings wrath, fires and other judgments upon a professing people, (Neh. iii. 17, 18; Jer. xvii. 27.)

VI. As to what concerns families and government thereof, there is much amiss. There are many families that do not pray to God constantly morning and evening, and many more, wherein the Scriptures are not daily read, that so the word of Christ might dwell richly with them. Some, and too many houses, that are full of ignorance and prophaneness, and these not duly inspected, for which cause wrath may come upon others round about them, as well as upon themselves, (Jos. xxii. 20; Jerem. v. 7, and x. 25.) And many householders who profess religion, do not cause all that are within their gates to become subjects unto good order, as ought to be, (Exod. xx. 10.) Nay, children and servants, that are not kept in due subjection, their masters and parents especially being sinfully indulgent towards them. This is a sin which brings great judgments, as we see in Eli's, and David's family. In this respect Christians in this land have become too like unto the Indians, and then we need not wonder if the Lord hath afflicted us by them. Sometimes a sin is discerned by the instrument that Providence doth punish with. Most of the evils that abound amongst us, proceed from defects as to family government.

VII. Inordinate passions. Sinful heats and hatreds, and that among church-members themselves, who abound with evil surmisings, uncharitable and unrighteous censures, back-bitings, hearing and telling tales, few that remember and duly observe the rule, with an angry countenance to drive away the tale-bearer; reproachful and reviling expressions, sometimes to or of one another. Hence law-suites are frequent, brother going to law with brother, and provoking and abusing one another in publick courts of judicature, to the scandal of their holy profession, (Isa. lviii. 4; 1 Cor. vi. 6, 7.) And in managing the discipline of Christ, some (and too many) are acted by their passions and prejudices, more than by a spirit of love and faithfulness towards their brother's soul, which things are, as against the law of Christ, so dreadful violations of the church-covenant, made in the presence of God.

VIII. There is much intemperance. That heathenish and idolatrous practice of health-drinking is too frequent; that shameful iniquity of sinful drinking is become too general a provocation. Days of training, and other publick solemnities, have been abused in this respect; and not only English, but Indians, have been debauched by those that call themselves Christians, who have put their bottles to them, and made them drunk also. This is a crying sin, and the more aggravated, in that the first planters of this colony did (as is in the patent expressed) come into this land with a design to convert the heathen unto Christ: but if, instead of that, they be taught wickedness, which before they were never guilty of, the Lord may well punish us by them. Moreover, the sword, sickness, poverty, and almost all the judgments which have been upon New-England, are mentioned in the Scripture, as the woful fruit of *that sin*, (Jer. v. 11, 12, and xxviii. 1, 2, and lvi. 9. 12; Prov. xxiii. 21. 29, 30, and xxi. 17; Hos. vii.

5, and xxviii. 9. There are more temptations and occasions unto *that sin*, publicly allowed of, than any necessity doth require; the proper end of taverns, &c., being for the entertainment of strangers, which, if they were improved to that end only, a far less number would suffice: But it is a common practice for town-dwellers—yea, and church-members—to frequent publick houses, and there to misspend precious time, unto the dishonour of the gospel, and the scandalizing of others, who are by such examples induced to sin against God. In which respect for church-members to be unnecessarily in such houses, is sinful, scandalous, and provoking to God, (1 Cor. viii. 9, 10; Rom. xiv. 21; Matth. xvii. 27, and xviii. 7.)

And there are other hainous breaches of the seventh commandment. Temptations thereunto are become too common, viz: such as immodest apparel, (Prov. vii. 10,) laying out of hair, borders, naked necks and arms, or, which is more abominable, naked breasts, and mixed dancings, light behaviour and expressions, sinful company-keeping with light and vain persons, unlawful gaming, an abundance of idleness, which brought ruining judgment upon Sodom, and much more upon Jerusalem, (Ezek. xvi. 49,) and doth sorely threaten New-England, unless effectual remedies be thoroughly and timously applied.

IX. There is much want of truth amongst men. Promise-breaking is a common sin, for which New-England doth hear ill abroad in the world. And the Lord hath threatened for that transgression to give his people into the hands of their enemies, and that their dead bodies should be for meat unto the fowls of heaven, and to the beasts of the earth, which judgments have been verified upon us, (Jer. xxxiv. 18. 20.) And false reports have been too common, yea, walking with reproaches and slanders, and that sometimes against the most faithful and eminent servants of God. The Lord is not wont to suffer such iniquity to pass unpunished, (Jer. ix. 4, 5; Numb. xvi. 41.)

X. Inordinate affection unto the world. Idolatry is a God-provoking, judgment-procuring sin. And covetousness is idolatry (Eph. v. 5.) There hath been in many professors an insatiable desire after land and worldly accommodations; yea, so as to forsake churches and ordinances, and to live like heathen, only that so they might have elbow-room enough in the world. Farms and merchandisings have been preferred before the things of God. In this respect the interest of New-England seemeth to be changed. We differ from other out-goings of our nation, in that it was not any worldly considerations that brought our fathers into this wilderness, but religion, even that so they might build a sanctuary unto the Lord's name; whereas now religion is made subservient unto worldly interests. Such iniquity causeth war to be in the gates, and cities to be burnt up, (Judg. viii. 5; Mat. xxii. 5. 7.) Wherefore, we cannot but solemnly bear witness against that practice of settling plantations without any ministry amongst them, which is to prefer the world before the gos-

pel: When Lot did forsake the land of Canaan, and the church, which was in Abraham's family, that so he might have better worldly accommodations in Sodom, God fired him out of all, and he was constrained to leave his goodly pastures, which his heart (though otherwise a good man) was too much set upon. Moreover, that many are under the prevailing power of the sin of worldliness is evident—

1, From that oppression which the land groaneth under. There are some traders who sell their goods at excessive rates, day-labourers and mechanicks are unreasonable in their demands; yea, there have been those that have dealt deceitfully and oppressively towards the heathen among whom we live; whereby they have been scandalized and prejudiced against the name of Christ. The Scripture doth frequently threaten judgments for the sin of oppression, and in special the oppressing sword cometh as a punishment of that evil, (Ezek. vii. 11, and xxii. 15; Prov. xxviii. 8; Isa. v. 7.)

2, It is also evident that men are under the prevailing power of a worldly spirit, by their strait-handedness as to publick concerns. God, by a continued series of providence, for many years, one after another, hath been blasting the fruits of the earth in a great measure; and this year more abundantly. Now, if we search the Scriptures, we shall find that when the Lord hath been provoked to destroy the fruits of the earth, either by noxious creatures, or by his own immediate hand in blastings, or droughts, or excessive rains, (all which judgments we have experience of,) it hath been mostly for this sin of strait-handedness with reference unto publick and pious concerns, (IIag. i. 9. 11.) As when people's hearts and hands are enlarged upon these accounts, God hath promised (and is wont in his faithful providence to do accordingly) to bless with outward plenty and prosperity, (Prov. iii. 9, 10; Mal. iii. 10; 1 Cor. ix. 6. 8. 10; 2 Chron. xxxi. 10;) so, on the other hand, when men withhold more than is meet, the Lord sends impoverishing judgments upon them, (Prov. xi. 24.)

XI. There hath been opposition to the work of reformation. Although the Lord hath been calling upon us, not only by the voice of his servants, but by awful judgments, that we should return unto Him who hath been smiting of us, and notwithstanding all the good laws that are established for the suppression of growing evils, yet men will not return every one from his evil way. There hath been great incorrigibleness under lesser judgments; sin and sinners have many advocates. They that have been zealous in bearing witness against the sins of the times, have been reproached, and other ways discouraged; which argueth an heart unwilling to reform. Hence the Lord's controversie is not yet done, but his hand is stretched out still, (Lev. xxvi. 23, 24; Isa. xii. 13.)

XII. A publick spirit is greatly wanting in the most of men. Few that are of Nehemiah's spirit, (Neh. v. 15;) all seek their own, not the

things that are Jesus Christ's; serving themselves upon Christ and his holy ordinances. Matters appertaining to the kingdom of God, are either not at all regarded, or not in the first place. Hence, schools of learning and other publick concerns are in a languishing state. Hence also are unreasonable complaints and murmurings because of publick charges, which is a great sin; and a private self-seeking spirit, is one of those evils that renders the last times perilous, (2 Tim. iii. 1.)

XIII. There are sins against the gospel, whereby the Lord has been provoked. Christ is not prized and embraced in all his offices and ordinances as he ought to be. Manna hath been loathed, the pleasant land despised, (Psal. cvi. 24.) Though the gospel and covenant of grace call upon men to repent, yet there are multitudes that refuse to repent, when the Lord doth vouchsafe them time and means. No sins provoke the Lord more than impenitency and unbelief, (Jer. viii. 6; Zech. vii. 11, 12, 13; Heb. iii. 17, 18; Rev. ii. 21, 22.) There is great unfruitfulness under the means of grace, and that brings the most desolating judgments, (Isa. v. 4, 5; Mat. iii. 10, and xxi. 43.)

Finally, there are several considerations which seem to evidence that the evils mentioned are the matters of the Lord's controversie: 1, In that (though not as to all) as to most of them, they are sins which many are guilty of. 2, Sins which have been acknowledged before the Lord on days of humiliation appointed by authority, and yet reformed. 3, Many of them not punished (and some of them not punishable) by men; therefore the Lord himself doth punish for them.

QUESTION II.—*What is to be done, that so these evils may be reformed?*

ANSWER.—I. It would tend much to promote the interest of reformation, if all that are in place above others, do, as to themselves and families, become every way exemplary. Moses, being to reform others, began with what concerned himself and his. People are apt to follow the example of those that are above them, (2 Chron. xii. 1; Gal. ii. 14.) If, then, there be a divided heart, or any other of the sins of the times, found in any degree among those (or any of them) that are leaders, either as to civil or ecclesiastical order, reformation there would have a great and happy influence upon many.

II. In as much as the present standing generation (both as to leaders and people) is for the greater part another generation than what was in New-England forty years ago, for us to declare our adherence to the faith and order of the gospel, according to what is in Scripture, expressed in the Platform of Discipline, may be likewise a good means, both to recover those that have erred from the truth, and to prevent apostacy for the future.

III. It is requisite that persons be not admitted unto communion in the Lord's Supper, without making a personal and public profession of their faith and repentance, either orally or in some other way, so as shall be to

the just satisfaction of the church; and that therefore both elders and churches be duly watchful and circumspect in this matter, (1 Cor. xi. 28, 29; Acts ii. 41, 42; Ezek. xlv. 7, 8, 9.)

IV. In order to reformation, it is necessary that the discipline of Christ in the power of it should be upheld in the churches. It is evident from Christ's epistles to the church in the lesser Asia, that the evils and degeneracies then prevailing among Christians, proceeded chiefly from the neglect of discipline. It is a known and true observation, that remissness in the exercise of discipline, was attended with corruption of manners, and that did provoke the Lord to give men up to strong delusions in matters of faith. Discipline is Christ's ordinance, both for the prevention of apostacy in churches, and to recover them when collapsed. And these New-English churches are under peculiar engagements to the faithful unto Christ, and unto his truth in this matter, by virtue of the church covenant, as also that the management of discipline, according to the Scripture, was the special design of our fathers in coming into this wilderness. The degeneracy of the rising generation (so much complained of) is in a great measure to be attributed unto neglects of this nature. If all church discipline, in these respects, were faithfully and diligently attended, not only towards parents, but also towards the children of the church, according to the rules of Christ, we may hope that the sunk and dying interest of religion will be revived, and a world of sin prevented for the future; and that disputes respecting the subjects of baptism would be comfortably issued.

V. It is requisite that utmost endeavours should be used, in order unto a full supply of officers in the churches, according to Christ's institution. The defect of these churches, on this account, is very lamentable, there being in most of the churches only one teaching officer for the burden of the whole congregation to lye upon. The Lord Christ would not have instituted pastors, teachers, ruling-elders (nor the apostles have ordained elders in every church—Acts xiv. 23; Titus i. 5,) if he had not seen there was need of them for the good of his people; and therefore for men to think they can do well enough without them, is both to break the second commandment, and to reflect upon the wisdom of Christ, as if he did appoint unnecessary officers in his church. Experience hath evinced that personal instruction and discipline hath been an happy means to reform degenerated congregations; yea, and owned by the Lord for the conversion of many souls: but where there are great congregations, it is impossible for one man, besides his labours in publick, fully to attend these other things of great importance, and necessary to be done, in order to an effectual reformation of families and congregations.

VI. It is incumbent on the magistrate to take care that these officers have due encouragement and maintenance afforded to them. It is high injustice and oppression—yea, a sin, that cries in the Lord's ears for judg-

ment—when wages are withheld from faithful and diligent labours, (James v. 4.) And if it be so to those that labour about carnal things, much more as to those who labour day and night about the spiritual and eternal welfare of souls, (1 Cor. ix. 11. 13, 14.) And the Scripture is express, that not only the members of churches, but all that are taught in the word, are bound to communicate to him that teacheth in all good things, (Gal. vi. 4; Luke x. 7; 1 Tim. v. 17, 18.) If therefore people be unwilling to do what justice and reason calls for, the magistrate is to see them do their duty in this matter. Wherefore, magistrates, and that in Scriptures referring to the days of the New-Testament, are said to be the church's nursing fathers, (Is. xlix. 23;) for that it concerns them to take care that the churches be fed with the bread and water of life. The magistrate is to be a keeper of both tables, which as a magistrate he cannot be, if he do not promote the interest of religion by all those means which are of the Lord's appointment. And we find in Scripture that when the Lord's ministers have been forced to neglect the house of God, and go every one into the field (as too much of that hath been amongst us) because the people did not allow them that maintenance which was necessary, the magistrate did look upon himself as concerned to effect a reformation, (Neh. xiii. 10.)

VII. Due care and faithfulness, with respect unto the establishment and execution of wholesome laws, would very much promote the interest of reformation. If there be no laws established in the common-wealth but what there is Scripture warrant for, and those laws so worded as that they may not become a snare unto any that are bound to animadvert upon the violaters of them, and that then they be impartially executed; profaneness, heresie, schism, disorders in families, towns, churches, would be happily prevented and reformed. In special it is necessary that those laws for reformation of provoking evils, enacted and emitted by the general court in the day of our calamity, should be duly considered, lest we become guilty of dissembling and dallying with the Almighty, and thereby sin and wrath be augmented upon us: in particular, those laws which respect the regulation of houses for publick entertainment, that the number of such houses do not exceed what is necessary, nor any so entrusted but persons of known approved piety and fidelity, and that inhabitants be prohibited drinking in such houses, and those that shall without licence from authority sell any sort of strong drink, be exemplarily punished. And if withal inferior officers, constables and tithing-men, be chosen constantly of the ablest and most prudent in the place, authorized and sworn to a faithful discharge of their respective trusts, and duly encouraged in their just informations against any that shall transgress the laws so established, we may hope that much of that profaneness which doth threaten the ruine of the uprising generation will be prevented.

VIII. Solemn and explicit renewal of covenant is a Scripture expedient for reformation. We seldom read of any solemn reformation but it was

accomplished in this way, as the Scripture doth abundantly declare and testifie. And as the judgments which befel the Lord's people of old are recorded for our admonition, (1 Cor. x. 11,) so the course which they did (according to God) observe, in order to reformation, and averting those judgments, is recorded for our imitation, and this was an explicit renovation of covenant. And that the Lord doth call us to this work, these considerations seem to evince: 1, If implicit renewal of covenant be an expedient for reformation, and to divert impending wrath and judgment, then much more an explicit renewal is so; but the first of these is indubitable. In prayer, and more especially on days of solemn humiliation before the Lord, there is an implicit renewal of covenant, and yet the very dictates of natural conscience put men upon such duties, when they are apprehensive of a day of wrath approaching. If we may not renew our covenants with God, for fear lest men should not be true and faithful in doing what they promise, then we must not observe days of fasting and prayer; which none will say. 2, When the church was overrun with idolatry and superstition, those whom the Lord raised up as reformers put them upon solemn renewal of covenant: so Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah. By a parity of reason, when churches are over-grown with worldliness (which is spiritual idolatry) and other corruptions, the same course may and should be observed in order to reformation; nay—3, We find in Scripture that when corruption in manners (though not in worship) hath prevailed in the church, renovation of covenant hath been the expedient whereby reformation hath been attempted, and in some measure attained.

The Jews have dreaded the sin of idolatry ever since the Babylonian captivity, (John viii. 41.) But in Ezra's and Nehemiah's time, too much sensuality and Sabbath-breaking, oppression, strait-handedness respecting the publick worship of God (the very same sins that are found with us) were common, prevailing iniquities. Therefore did those reformers put them upon renewing their covenant, and solemnly to promise God that they would endeavour not to offend by those evils, as formerly, (Ezr. x. 3; Neh. v. 12, 13, and x. *per totum*,* and xiii. 15.) 4, The things which are mentioned in the Scripture, as grounds of renewing covenant, are applicable unto us, *e. g.*: The averting of divine wrath is expressed, as a sufficient reason for attendance unto this duty, (2 Chr. xxix. 10; Ezra x. 14.) Again, being circumstanced with difficulties and distresses is mentioned as the ground of explicit renovation of covenant, (Neh. ix. 9. 38.) Hence the Lord's servants, when so circumstanced, have been wont to make solemn vows (and that is an express covenanting) (Gen. xxviii. 20, 21; Judg. xi. 30; Numb. xxi. 1, 2.) Now, that clouds of wrath are hanging over these churches, every one seeth; and that we are circumstanced with some distressing difficulties, is sufficiently known. This consideration alone might be enough to put us upon more solemn engagements unto the

* Throughout.

Lord our God. 5, Men are hereby brought under a stronger obligation unto better obedience. There is an awe of God upon the consciences of men when so obliged. As it is in respect of oaths, they that have any conscience in them, when under such bonds, are afraid to violate them. Some that are but legalists and hypocrites, yet solemn covenants with God have such an awe upon conscience as to enforce them unto an outward reformation, and that doth divert temporal judgments. And they that are sincere, will thereby be engaged unto a more close and holy walking before the Lord, and so become more eminently blessings unto the societies and places whereto they do belong. 6, This way is to prevent (and therefore also to recover out of) apostacy. In this respect, although there were no visible degeneracy amongst us, yet this renovation of covenant might be of singular advantage. There was no publick idolatry (or other transgression) allowed of in the days of Joshua, (Judg. ii. 7; Josh. xxiii. 8,) yet did Joshua perswade the children of Israel to renew their covenant; doubtless that so he might thereby restrain them from future idolatry and apostacy, (Josh. xxiv. 25.)

Lastly, The churches, which have lately and solemnly attended this Scripture expedient for reformation, have experienced the presence of God with them, signally owning them therein; how much more might a blessing be expected, should there be a general concurrence in this matter?

IX. In renewing of covenant, it is needful that the sins of the times should be engaged against, and reformation thereof (in the name and by the help of Christ) promised before the Lord, (Ezra x. 3; Neh. v. 12, 13, and chap. x.)

X. It seems to be most conducive unto edification and reformation that, in renewing covenant, such things as are clear and indisputable be expressed, that so all the churches may agree in covenanting to promote the interest of holiness and close walking with God.

XI. As an expedient for reformation, it is good that effectual care should be taken respecting schools of learning. The interests of religion and good literature have been wont to rise and fall together. We read in Scripture of masters and scholars, and of schools and colleges, (1 Chron. xxv. 8; Mal. ii. 12; Acts xix. 9, and xxii. 3.) And the most eminent reformers amongst the Lord's people of old thought it their concern to erect and uphold them. Was not Samuel (that great reformer) president of the college at Nayoth, (1 Sam. x. 18, 19,) and is thought to be one of the first founders of colleges? Did not Elijah and Elisha restore the schools erected in the land of Israel? And Josiah (another great reformer) shewed respect to the college at Jerusalem, (2 Kings xxii. 14.) Ecclesiastical story informs that great care was taken by the apostles and their immediate successors for the settling of schools in all places where the gospel had been preached, that so the interest of religion might be preserved, and the truth propagated to succeeding generations. It is men-

tioned as one of the greatest mercies that ever God bestowed upon his people Israel, that he raised up their sons for prophets, (Amos ii. 11,) which hath respect to their education in schools of learning. And we have all cause to bless God, that put it into the hearts of our fathers to take care concerning this matter: for these churches had been in a state most deplorable, if the Lord had not blessed the college, so as from thence to supply most of the churches, as at this day. When New-England was poor, and we were but few in number comparatively, there was a spirit to encourage learning, and the college was full of students, whom God hath made blessings, not only in this, but in other lands; but it is deeply to be lamented that now, when we are become many, and more able than at our beginnings, that society and other inferior schools are in such a low and languishing state. Wherefore, as we desire that reformation and religion should flourish, it concerns us to endeavour that both the college, and all other schools of learning in every place, be duly inspected and encouraged.

XII. In as much as a thorough and hearty reformation is necessary, in order to obtaining peace with God, (Jer. iii. 10,) and all outward means will be ineffectual unto that end, except the Lord pour down his spirit from on high; it doth, therefore, concern us mightily unto God, both in ordinary and extraordinary manner, that he would be pleased to rain down righteousness upon us, (Isa. xxxii. 15; Hos. x. 12; Ezek. xxxix. 29; Luke xi. 13.)—AMEN.

REMARKS UPON THE REFORMING SYNOD.

§ 1. THAT a *reforming synod* could not accomplish an universal REFORMATION of *provoking evils* in the country, has been acknowledged as a matter of most sensible observation; and the increased frowns of Heaven upon the country, since that synod, have been but agreeable to such an increase of provocation. Alas! how many instances have we seen, upon which our God might say unto us: "When I would have healed New-England, then its iniquities were but the more discovered!" Nevertheless, it must be mentioned unto the glory of God, that the admonitions of the synod were not without very desirable effects upon many of his people. Faithful ministers were thereby strengthened in lifting up their voices like trumpets to shew us "our transgressions and our sins," and private Christians were awakened unto an exacter walk with God. But of all the effects that followed upon the synod, there was none more comprehensive and significant than the "renewal of covenant," which was attended by many of our churches, in pursuance of the largest article of the *reforming expedients*, which had been recommended. In this "renewal of covenant," there were some churches, who, from I know not what objections, of "there being no express warrant for it in the New Testament," and "their doing it, implicitly in every act of divine worship," and "the

imaginary danger of innovations," would not comply with the advice of the synod: but all the "virgins" were not so *sleepy*, and very remarkable was the blessing of God upon the churches which did not so *sleep*, not only by a great *advancement* of *holiness* in the people, who, in their lesser *societies* for the exercises of religion, as well as in their *privacies* and *retirements*, often perused the copies of their covenants; but also by a great *addition* of converts unto their holy fellowship. In short, many of the churches, under the conduct of their holy pastors, having on previous days of fasting and prayer, set apart for that purpose, considered the expectations of God concerning them, they were willing anew to declare their most "explicit consent" unto the "covenant of grace," and most explicitly to engage a growing "watchfulness" in such duties of the covenant as were more peculiarly accommodated unto their present circumstances. When their preparatory church-meetings had produced a concurrence in this resolution, they publicly devoted another day to fasting and prayer, whereat a vast confluence of other neighbours were usually present; and on this day the minister of the place having in the forenoon pray'd and preach'd suitably to the occasion, he proceeded then to read the covenant; whereunto the assent of the churches was then expressed, by the brethren lifting up their hands, and by the women only standing up; and tho' in some churches none but the *communicants*, yet in others those also which we call "the children of the church," were actively concerned in these transactions. But ordinarily, in the afternoon, some other minister prayed and preached, and inculcated the "covenant obligations:" and many thousands of spectators will testify, that they never saw the "special presence" of the "great God our Saviour," more notably discovered, than in the *solemnities* of these opportunities.

§ 2. The forms used by the several churches, in the "renewal of covenant," were not in all points the same, nor did our churches at all find that this *variformity* was an inconvenience; but that it gave them a *liberty* and *advantage* to consult their own edification, by adapting their *forms* unto their own special circumstances. However, the *form* which, with little variation, was most used, shall be now recited:

"WE, who, thro' the exceeding riches of the grace and patience of God, do continue to be a church of Christ, being now assembled in the holy presence of God, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, after humble confession of our manifold breaches of the covenant, before the Lord our God, and earnest supplication of pardoning mercy thro' the blood of Christ, and deep acknowledgment of our great unworthiness to be own'd to be the Lord's covenant-people; also acknowledging our own inability to keep covenant with God or to perform any spiritual duty unless the Lord Jesus do enable us thereto by his Spirit dwelling in us; and being awfully sensible, that it is a dreadful thing for sinful dust and ashes personally to transact with the infinitely glorious Majesty of Heaven and Earth; we do in humble confidence of his gracious assistance and acceptance thro' Christ, each one of us, for ourselves, and jointly as a church of the living God, and one with another, in manner following, *i. e.*:

"We do give up ourselves to that God, whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son and

Holy Ghost, the one only true and living God, and to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, as our only blessed Saviour, prophet, priest and king, over our souls, and only mediator of the covenant of grace, promising (by the help of his spirit and grace) to cleave unto God, as our chief good, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, by faith, and gospel-obedience, as becometh his covenant-people for ever. We do also give up our *offspring* unto God in Jesus Christ, avouching the Lord to be our *God* and the *God of our children*, and ourselves with our children to be *his people*; humbly adoring the grace of God, that we and our offspring with us may be looked upon to be *the Lord's*.

"We do, also, give up ourselves *one to another* in the Lord, and according to the will of God; freely covenanting and binding ourselves to walk together as a right ordered *congregation* and *church* of Christ, in all the ways of his worship, according to the holy rules of the word of God; promising in *brotherly love* to watch over one another's souls faithfully, and to submit ourselves unto the *discipline* and *government* of Christ in his church, and duly to attend all those ordinances which Christ hath instituted in his church, and commanded to be attended by his people, according to the order of the gospel and degrees of communion unto which we have attained; not resting in measures attained, but pressing after all. And whereas the messengers of these churches, who have met together in the name of Christ, to enquire into the reason of God's *controversie* with his people, have taken notice of many *provoking evils*, as the procuring causes of the judgments of God upon New-England; so far as we or any of us have been guilty of provoking God by any sin therein discovered to us, we desire from our hearts to bewail it before the Lord, and humbly to entreat for pardoning mercy, for the sake of the 'blood of the everlasting covenant.' And as an *expedient* to the *reformation* of those evils, or whatsoever else, have provoked the eyes of God's glory amongst us, we do freely engage and promise, as in the presence of God;

"First, That we will (Christ's helping) endeavour every one of us to *reform* our heart and life, by seeking to mortifie all our sins, and labouring to walk more closely with God than ever yet we have done; and will continue to worship God in publick, private, secret; and this without formality or hypoerisie: and, more fully and faithfully than heretofore, to discharge all covenant duties, one to another in *church communion*.

"*Secondly*, To walk before God *in our houses, with a perfect heart*, and that we will uphold the worship of God therein continually, according as he in his word doth require; both in respect of prayer and reading the Scriptures, that so the word of God may dwell richly in us: and we will do what in us lies to bring up our children for Christ, that they may be such as have the Lord's name put upon them by a solemn dedication to God in Christ, ought to be. And will therefore (as need shall be) *catechise*, exhort, and charge them to the fear of the Lord; and endeavour to set an holy *example* before them, and be much in prayer for their conversion and salvation.

"*Thirdly*, To endeavour to be pure from the 'sins of the times,' especially those sins which have been by the late synod solemnly declared and evidenced to be the evils that have brought the judgments of God upon New-England; and in our places to endeavour the suppression thereof, and be careful so to walk, as that we may not give occasion to others to sin, or speak evil of our holy profession.

"Now, that we may observe and keep this sacred covenant and all the branches of it inviolable for ever, we desire to deny ourselves, and to depend wholly upon the power of the eternal Spirit of Grace, and on the free mercy of God, and merit of Christ Jesus: and where we shall fail, there to wait upon the Lord Jesus for pardon, acceptance, and healing for his name's sake."

§ 3. The Massachusetts colony was not alone in such essays of reformation: but the colonies of Plymouth and Connecticut shewed themselves in like manner concerned; that they might avert the *tokens* of the divine displeasure, "whereat they who dwelt in these uttermost parts were afraid."

The rulers, both in *church* and *state*, had their serious deliberations with one another, and they together "enquired of the Lord," as the oracle of his written word, what might be the grounds of the divine-controversie. The ministers drew up the results of their deliberations, which the magistrates recommended unto the consideration of the inhabitants in the several jurisdictions. The pastors of the churches, hence took occasion, in their lively sermons, to prosecute the ends of these admonitions; and some of them reduced their instructions into a *catechetical method*, that so the young people in their congregations might *echo* back, upon fit questions, those things which were needful to be *known* and to be *done*, relating to the reformation of the land. Thus, particularly, did that most worthy man, Mr. James Fitch, at Norwich; who has obliged more than his whole colony, by suffering to be published, (as well as another elaborate catechism, containing, "a body of divinity,") in form of a catechism, "*An Explanation of the Solemn Advice, recommended by the Council of the Colony to the Inhabitants, respecting the Reformation of those Evils, which have been the Procuring Cause of the late Judgments upon New-England.*"

§ 4. Our manifold indispositions to recover the dying "power of godliness," was punished with successive calamities; under all of which our *apostacies* from that godliness have rather proceeded than abated. Although there hath been a glorious *profession* of religion made by the body of this people unto this day; yea, and although there be thousands which by "keeping their hearts with all diligence," and by "ordering their conversations aright," justifie their profession, yet the number of them that so strictly "walk with God," has been wofully decaying. The *old spirit* of New-England hath been sensibly going out of the world, as the *old saints* in whom it was have gone; and instead thereof the *spirit of the world*, with a lamentable neglect of *strict piety*, has crept in upon the rising generation. At last the country, by some *changes* passing over it, was thrown into a condition, in which not only the *pastors*, without whom no reformation is to be hoped, were miserably cripled as to the doing of any *notable thing* in *reforming*, but also the *churches* were many ways incapable of doing any *general thing* to retrieve our growing *defections*. However, when the compassion of God, by strange providences, fetched the country out of that condition, the General Court, returning to the exercise of their former authority, were willing to shew their sense of the present circumstances, by publishing the following instrument:

"BY THE GOVERNOUR AND GENERAL COURT OF THE COLONY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS-BAY IN NEW-ENGLAND.

"It having been a thing too sensible and obvious to escape the observation of all who are not wholly strangers in our Israel, that this poor land hath laboured under a long *series* of afflictions, and calamities, whereby we have suffered successively in all our 'precious and pleasant things,' and have seen the anger of the righteous God against us, expressed in characters which ought to be as *terrible* as they must needs be *visible* unto us; it having also

both by the *testimonies* of those that, after the most humble and exact enquiries into the mind of God, have discovered the same unto us, and, by their own general and repeated confessions, become undeniable: that a *corruption of manners*, attended with inexcusable *degeneracies* and *apostacies*, found in too many of his people, is the cause of that *controversie*, which the God of our fathers has for many years been maintaining with us: It being likewise at this day such a *probation-time* with all New-England as the country has never before seen from the first foundation of it, and the judgments of that Holy God, who hath beheld how incorrigible we have hitherto been, under all his dispensations, now arriving to such an extremity, that the 'ax is laid to the root of the trees,' and we are in eminent danger of perishing, if a speedy REFORMATION of our *provoking evils* prevent it not: This Court have therefore thought it needful to preface their other endeavours for the publick welfare with a very solemn *admonition* unto this whole people, that they every where give demonstrations of a thorough *repentance*, without which we have little reason to hope for any good success in our affairs.

"Wherefore, it is ordered that the *laws* of this colony against *vice*, and all sorts of *debauchery* and *profaneness* (which laws have too much lost their edge by the late interruption of the government) be now faithfully and vigorously put in execution; particularly the laws against blasphemy, cursing, prophane-swearing, lying, unlawful-gaming, Sabbath-breaking, idleness, drunkenness, uncleanness, and all the enticements and nurseries of such impieties: together with all other the wholesome laws and orders agreeable to the present circumstances of the country; by the execution whereof we may approve our selves, 'a peculiar people, zealous of good works.'

"And as all persons are hereby warned to avoid those vices, which these laws are designed for the prevention and chastisement of, (the *lovers* of and *pleaders* for such iniquities being among the principal *troublers* of their country,) so all inferiour officers are enjoined to perform their duty in finding and bringing out offenders against the aforesaid laws, and withal to give notice to such offenders that they must expect the justice of an exemplary punishment.

"And that no attempt towards reformation may want that assistance which all good men will be willing to give thereunto, 'tis hoped that the ministers of God will, to the publick reading of this proclamation, adjoin their own fervent labours, not only for the rebuking and suppressing of those 'provoking evils,' which are marked for *common hatred*, but also to witness against more *spiritual sins*, which fall not so much under the cognizance of humane laws; namely, such as unbelief, worldliness, heresie, pride, wrath, strife, envy, and neglect of communion with God in both natural and instituted worship, and the contempt of the everlasting gospel, with a shameful want of due *family-instruction*, which are the 'roots of bitterness' in the midst of us.

"Moreover, after the example of *pious rulers* commended in the sacred writ, the churches are every where hereby advised to give utmost encouragement unto the faithful, and watchful pastors of their souls; to seek (where they lack) a full settlement and enjoyment of such *officers* as the Lord Jesus Christ hath appointed for their edification; to reflect seriously and frequently on their covenants; to sharpen their *discipline* against those that 'walk disorderly;' and immediately to compose their *differences* and *contentions* (if *such* there be) whereby any of them may be distempered and enfeebled, that so they may become 'terrible as an army with banners.'

"Furthermore, it is expected that the several towns within this jurisdiction do speedily furnish themselves with the means for the good *education of youth*, and take special care to avoid *factions* and *quarrels* in their other town affairs; and all plantations are strictly forbidden to continue without the advantages of having the *word* of God constantly preached unto them, or without a sincere and active industry to obtain the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ in all his blessed ordinances.

"And finally, this whole people are hereby advertised, that if these *essays* for an universal reformation shall be obstructed (as those in the days of the reforming Josiah were) by men's being 'settled on their lees, and hating to be reformed;' they can reasonably look for no other issue than this, that the jealous God 'will punish them yet seven times more for

their iniquities.' But if the God of heaven shall grant unto them the grace to 'remember whence they are fallen, and repent, and do the first works,' it will give a greater prospect of *prosperity*, than can arise from the best *counsels* and biggest *armies*.

"The work of reformation, thus *endeavoured*, is now recommended unto the blessing of the Almighty, with whom alone it is to recover a backsliding people; persuading our selves that the event thereof would be 'salvation nigh unto us, and glory dwelling in our Lord.'

"March 13, 1689."

"ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secr.

§ 5. The lamentable disasters, wherewith our God presently after punished us for our not being "reformed by all these things," rendred this instrument worthy to be called a *prophesie*, rather than a *proclamation*. A *war* made against the country by both *Pagan* and *Popish* adversaries in the East; and an almost universal miscarriage of our affairs both by *sea* and *land*, and especially of the most important expedition ever made by this people, even that against Canada; together with epidemical diseases which swept away near a thousand persons within a few months, in one town; these testimonies from Heaven against the land, kept alive the solicitous enquiries of good men, "how all that was amiss might be amended?" Many things this way were propounded and attended by good men in all orders; but, among other things, there was especially *one* voted by an assembly of ministers, met at Cambridge, in such terms as these:

"WHEREAS the most heavy and wasting *judgments* of Heaven upon our distressed land, loudly call upon us no longer to delay the taking of some hitherto-untaken steps towards the *reformation* of our 'provoking evils,' and the *recovery* of *practical religion* in our hearts and lives:

"Among other expedients, in order hereunto, we cannot but recommend it, as very advisable, that the several churches, having, in an *instrument* proper for that purpose, made a *catalogue* of such things as can indisputably be found amiss among them, do with all seriousness and solemnity pass their *votes* that they count such things to be very *offensive evils*, and that, renouncing all dependence upon their own strength to avoid such evils, they humbly ask the help of the Divine Grace to assist them in *watching* against the said evils, both in themselves and in one another. And that the *communicants* do often reflect upon those their *acknowledgments* and *protestations*, as perpetual *monitors* unto them, to prevent the miscarriages wherewith too many professors are so easily overtaken."

Copies of this vote were communicated unto many parts of the country; in pursuance whereof, there were several churches which did in the year 1692 solemnly make the recommended *recognitions* of duty: hoping that God would accept such acknowledgments of duty, their declarations for him, whereupon he would also declare for them; and thinking that such humble acknowledgments were the *new-covenant-way* for the obtaining of help from Heaven for the doing of duty. Particularly, to avoid the length of *tedious varieties*, there was *one* church, among the rest, that voted that they did accept of the following *instrument*, as containing the serious *acknowledgments* and *protestations* of their souls; whereupon they would often reflect, for the discovering of what may be amiss in their hearts and lives; as, also, for the directing of the *prayers*, and strengthening of the *cares*, which they would use in their more *watchful walk* with God. And a printed copy thereof was accordingly put into the hands of the communicants:

“ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND PROTESTATIONS VOTED, AS EXPLAINING THE OBLIGATIONS
LAID UPON US BY OUR MOST HOLY COVENANT.

“WE, that through the goodness of God have been combined, and are still continued a church of his, having heretofore consented unto the COVENANT of GRACE, according to the gracious terms whereof, we have made choice of the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son and Spirit, as our God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the glorious Mediator, upon whose fulness of merit and power we rely, as well to be *strengthened* for the *duties*, as to be *invested* with the *blessings*, of that well-ordered covenant; and have, therefore, according to his will, incorporated our selves into that evangelical church-state, wherein our desires after the ‘sure mercies of that covenant’ are to be expressed, maintained and answered: being herewithal sensible, that our *justification*, only by *faith* in the *righteousness* of him who is a Saviour and a surety for us, does very strongly oblige us to close with all the commandments of God, as *holy*, and *just*, and *good*; and as those *rules*, in conformity to which alone our *peace* can be lengthened out, and, being also awakened by the most heavy *judgments* of Heaven, under which the country hath been weltering and wasting for many later years, to suspect, lest in the hearts and lives of us in particular, there may be found some of those *accursed things* which have brought upon the land such a long variety of sore calamity;

“Do therefore acknowledge, that we are under peculiar bonds to ‘walk circumspectly,’ not only by avoiding the ‘grosser miscarriages’ of ungodliness, but also by guarding against whatever *corruptions* do sometimes more easily obtain among the professing people of God; behaving our selves, ‘not as fools but as wise,’ and ‘redeeming the time, because the days are evil.’

“And in special manner to revive the sense of the *tyes* which are laid upon us by the *covenant* of God, that has not only been *accepted*, but also *renewed* amongst us—

“I. We acknowledge it would be a great evil in us, if our love to the *world* should make us omit our *communion* with God, and abate of that *zeal* and *watch*, which we should always keep alive in our souls; or hinder us from the most affectionate reading of his *word*, and seeking of his *face*, every day in our houses, or from the daily use of meditation and supplication in our closets.

“II. It would be a great evil in us, if, while on the one hand we *protest* against any thing in divine worship, for which we have not a divine warrant, and against the usage of all Papal and Pagan *superstitions*; on the other side, we should not, according to the best of our capacities *attend* and *support* the *institutions* of God, in the midst of us, with endeavours that there may be nothing wanting thereunto.

“III. It would be a great evil in us, if, when we draw near to God in his ordinances, we should allow our selves to be *formal*, *carnal*, or *sleepy* in what we do; especially, if we should ordinarily come to the table of the Lord, without serious *examinations* and *humiliations* preparatory thereunto; or if, in managing of church discipline, we should vent our own *passions*, and serve our own *humours*, instead of acting entirely for the Lord.

“IV. It would be a great evil in us, if we should abuse the *good creatures* of God by sensualities in *eating*, *drinking*, and *recreation*; or by extravagancies in our *apparel*; and if, whenever we use the *titles*, and the *Scriptures* of our God, it should not be with much *reverence* in our souls.

“V. It would be a great evil in us, if we should not keep a strict guard both on our own *thoughts*, as well as *words* and *works*, on the Lord’s day, and also on all that are under our influence, to restrain them from the violations of that *sacred rest*.

“VI. It would be a great evil in us, if we should not make it our careful study to have our *families* well instructed, and well governed, and in such a condition as is agreeable to the *fear* of God.

“VII. It would be a great evil in us, if, by the prevalence of a *private spirit*, we should be backward unto any *public service* wherein God shall call us, with our *persons* or *estates* to serve our generation; or if we should, with unjust *neglect* and *censure*, ill requite such as have been serviceable; more especially such as in government are the ‘ministers of God unto us for our good.’

“VIII. It would be a great evil in us, if we should put off a *patient*, *peaceable*, *forgiving* temper towards our neighbours; or not with ‘meekness of wisdom’ decline and smother all causes of contention.

“IX. It would be a great evil in us, if we should spend our days in *idleness*, and not be diligent in such employments as may ‘adorn the doctrine of God,’ by rendering us useful unto those that are round about us.

“X. It would be a great evil in us, if we should in any of our *carriage*, or so much as in our *discourse*, admit any thing that may savour of a *lascivious* or a *licentious* disposition in our souls.

“XI. It would be a great evil in us, if we should use any *dishonesty* in our dealings, and, either by *fraud* or *force*, exact unreasonably upon those with whom we are concerned.

“XII. It would be a great evil in us, maliciously to *make* or injuriously to *spread* any *FALSE REPORTS*, or too easily to *receive* slanders against the innocent, or to countenance the broachers of them.

“XIII. It would be a great evil in us, if we should not conscientiously observe and fulfil what *promises* we have lawfully given one unto another.

“XIV. It would be a great evil in us, to be discontented either at the *prosperity* which God would have others enjoy, or at the *adversity* wherein the providence of God has at any time confined our selves.

"XV. It would be a great evil in us, if we should not be ready charitably and liberally to relieve the necessities of the *poor* that call for our bounties.

"XVI. It would be a great evil in us, if we should not with a most brotherly affection either *give* or *take* reproofs, when there is a cause for them; or if we should with-hold any due *testimony* against whatever may fall out among us displeasing unto God.

"Wherefore, by a solemn *vOTE*, we *declare* against all these evils, as abominable things; and, utterly despairing of any *strength* in our selves to keep clear thereof, we do most humbly ask the all-sufficient *grace* of God in Christ, that neither these, nor any such iniquities, may have 'dominion over us;' but that we *watch* against them all, both in our selves and in one another."

§ 6, Many and various are the *deliberations* continued by good men, unto this day, concerning the methods of preventing our *apostacies*. But I shall supersede the mention of them all, with a copy of certain *expedients* and *proposals* about *reformation* lately agreed by an assembly of ministers at Cambridge;

"I. There is a large number of people in this country, which, not lying within the reach of our ecclesiastical discipline, do from thence encourage themselves in the liberty which they take to do things for which the wrath of God comes upon the land. It would very much promote the design of reformation among us, if all due means were used for the bringing of more than there are, and as many as may be, to submit unto the *church-watch*; 'twere highly desirable that the body of this professing people should thus be brought into the way of reformation. It hath been by an happy experience found that God has given a singular success unto the admonitions of our churches, applied unto such as have by their miscarriages thereto exposed themselves; many have been thereby savingly brought home to God.

"II. The *expedients* for the reformation of our land, offered by the synod in the year 1679, ought not to be forgotten; but the remembrance and consideration thereof should be revived.

"III. The concurrence of such as do sustain place in the *civil* government, is of great importance in the prosecution of our desired reformation: and that we may enjoy this, it must be endeavoured that there should be no misunderstanding between any in the *government* and the *ministry*. This being observed, a *general consultation* upon the methods of reformation is to be asked for.

"IV. For the pastors of our churches, in visiting their flocks, to inform themselves about the *morals* of their people in every quarter, and thereupon both publickly and privately set themselves to cure what shall be found amiss, would signifie very much in a glorious reformation.

"V. *Particular churches* have a *power* of self-reformation; and they would contribute more than a little to an *universal one*, if they would be *exemplary* unto one another in deliberations upon their own circumstances, and in renewing, explaining and enforcing of their covenants.

"VI. It would be well if the ministers in this (as well as any other) association would single out the more *observable iniquities* in the country, and successively at fit seasons publish brief, but full *testimonies* against those iniquities. A manifold advantage might accrue to the attempts of reformation by those testimonies.

"VII. Solemn days of prayer with fasting celebrated in our churches, to implore the *grace* of God for the rising generation, would probably be of blessed consequence for the turning of our young people unto the God of our fathers. The more there is this way ascribed unto *grace*, the more is the *grace* of God like to be communicated; and there is in this way a *natural* and *plentiful* tendency to awken our unconverted youth unto a sense of their everlasting interests. Which, were it generally accomplished, a marvellous reformation were therein effected."

FINIS.

THAUMATURGUS: VEL ספר דברניא, i. e. *Liber Memorabilium*;
[THE WONDER-WORKER; OR, BOOK OF MEMORABLE EVENTS]

THE SIXTH BOOK.

OF

THE NEW-ENGLISH HISTORY:

WHEREIN VERY MANY

ILLUSTRIOUS DISCOVERIES AND DEMONSTRATIONS

OF

THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE

IN

REMARKABLE MERCIES AND JUDGMENTS ON MANY PARTICULAR PERSONS

AMONG THE PEOPLE OF NEW-ENGLAND,

ARE OBSERVED, COLLECTED, AND RELATED.

BY COTTON MATHER.

PSALM CVII. 43: WHO SO IS WISE, WILL OBSERVE THESE THINGS.

HARTFORD:

SILAS ANDRUS & SON.

1853.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

REMARKABLES OF THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE, AMONG THE PEOPLE OF NEW-ENGLAND.

§ 1. To *regard* the illustrious displays of that PROVIDENCE wherewith our Lord Christ governs the world, is a work, than which there is none more *needful* or *useful* for a Christian: to *record* them is a work, than which, none more proper for a minister: and perhaps the Great Governour of the world will ordinarily do the most *notable* things for those who are most ready to take a wise notice of what he does. Unaccountable therefore and inexcusable is the *sleepiness*, even upon the most of good men throughout the world, which indisposes them to *observe* and much more to *preserve* the remarkable dispensations of Divine Providence towards themselves or others. Nevertheless, there have been raised up, now and then, those persons who have rendered themselves worthy of *everlasting remembrance*, by their *wakeful zeal* to have the memorable providences of God remembred through all generations. Among those worthy men, a most “embalmed memory” is particularly due unto the Reverend MATTHEW POOL, who, about the year 1658, set a-foot a glorious design among some divines of no little figure throughout England and Ireland, for the faithful registering of remarkable providences. But, alas! it came to nothing that was *remarkable*. The like holy design was, by the Reverend INCREASE MATHER, proposed among the divines of New-England, in the year 1681, at a general meeting of them; who thereupon desired him to begin, and publish an essay; which he did in a little while; but therewithal declared, “that he did it only as a *specimen* of a larger volume, in hopes that this work, being so set on foot, posterity would go on with it.”

§ 2. But as the national synods in France could not, by their frequent admonitions unto the churches to procure a good *register* of remarkable providences, effectually rouse their good men out of their stupidity, so the pastors in the churches of New-England have mostly been too much under the power of a like indisposition, to “regard the works of the Lord and the operation of his hands.” That this indisposition might, if it were possible, be shaken off, there were proposals again made and sent thro’ the country; whereof I will here annex the copy; and yet I must complain of it, that unto this hour there have not half *ten* considerable *histories* been transmitted unto us in answer unto these proposals.

CERTAIN PROPOSALS,

Made by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, to the Reverend Ministers of the Gospel in the several Churches of New-England.

"I. To observe and record the more illustrious discoveries of Divine Providence in the government of the world, is a design so holy, so useful, so justly approved, that the too general neglect of it in the churches of God is as justly to be lamented.

"II. For the redress of that neglect, although all Christians have a duty incumbent on them, yet it is in a peculiar manner to be recommended unto the ministers of the gospel, to improve the special advantages which are in their hands, to obtain and preserve the knowledge of such notable occurrences as are sought out by all that have pleasure in the great works of the Lord.

"III. The things to be esteemed *memorable*, are especially all *unusual accidents*, in the heaven, or earth, or water: all wonderful *deliverances* of the distressed: *mercies* to the godly; *judgments* on the wicked; and more glorious fulfilment of either the *promises* or the *threatnings* in the Scriptures of truth; with *apparitions*, *possessions*, *inchantments*, and all extraordinary things wherein the existence and agency of the *invisible world* is more sensibly demonstrated.

"IV. It is therefore proposed that the ministers throughout this land would manifest their pious regards 'unto the works of the Lord and the operation of his hands,' by reviving their cares to take written accounts of such *remarkables*; but still well attested with credible and sufficient witnesses.

"V. It is desired that the accounts thus taken of these *remarkables*, may be sent in unto the PRESIDENT or the FELLOWS of the college; by whom they shall be carefully reserved for such an use to be made of them as may, by some fit assembly of ministers, be judged most conducive to the glory of God and the service of his people.

"VI. Tho' we doubt not that 'love to the name of God,' will be motive enough unto all good men to contribute what assistance they can unto this undertaking, yet, for further encouragement, some singular *marks of respect* shall be studied for such good men as will actually assist it by taking pains to communicate any important passages proper to be inserted in this collection.

INCREASE MATHER, *President.*

JAMES ALLEN,	}	<i>Fellows.</i>
CHARLES MORTON,		
SAMUEL WILLARD,		
COTTON MATHER,		
JOHN LEVERET,		
WILLIAM BRATTLE,		
NEHEM. WALTER,		

"Cambridge, March 5, 1693-4."

§ 3. Tho' we have been too slack in doing what hath been desired and directed in these proposals, yet our church history is become able to entertain the world with a collection of *remarkable providences* that have occur'd among the inhabitants of New-England. Besides a considerable number of *memorables*, which lie scatter'd here and there in every part of our church-history, there is a number of them, enough to make an intire book by themselves; whereof having received sufficient attestations, I shall now invite the reader to consider them.

A certain critick so admired those verses of the poet Claudian,

*Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,
Curarent superi terras, an ullus inesset
Rector, an incerto fluerent mortalia cursu,**

* To doubts like these my thoughts are oft betrayed—
Is God e'er mindful of the world He made?

| Does Providence control our mortal state?
| Or Chance direct our dark and wavering fate?

that he said, whoever would be a poet, must perfectly settle them in his memory. This critick might perhaps be something of a deist. But, reader, if any doubts like these of Claudian's, about the *existence* and *providence* of God begin to poison thy soul, there are six or seven chapters of history now before thee that may be thy antidote.

It is observ'd that the name *τυχη* (or *Fortune*) is not once used in all the works of Homer. We will now write a book of rare occurrences, wherein a blind *fortune* shall not be once acknowledged. Austin in his retractations complains of himself that he had used the word *fortune* too much; but the use of it shall be confuted, as well as avoided, in the book now before us, wherein all the *rare occurrences* will be evident operations of the Almighty God, "whose kingdom ruleth over all."

CHAPTER I.

CHRISTUS SUPER AQUAS;*

RELATING WONDERFUL SEA-DELIVERANCES.

Vela damus, vastumque cava trabe currimus æquor.†

THEY "that go down to the sea in ships, these do see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." And what if our collection of remarkable providences do begin with a relation of the wonderful works which have been done for them that "go down to the sea in ships," by that great Lord "whose is the sea, for he made it?" I will carry my reader upon the huge Atlantick, and, without so much as the danger of being made sea-sick, he shall see "wonders in the deep."

I. A PIOUS ANCHORITE.—Let Mandelstoe tell of his poor Fleming, who lived an Insulary Anchorite upon a desolate island many months together; I have a story that shall in most things equal it, and in some exceed it.

On August 25, 1676, Mr. Ephraim Howe, with his two sons, did set sail from New-Haven for Boston, in a small ketch of about seventeen tun; and returning from Boston for New-Haven, September 10, contrary winds detained him for some time, and then illness and sickness till a month expired. He then renewed his voyage as far as Cape-Cod; but suddenly the weather became so tempestuous, that it forced them off to sea, where the outrageous winds and seas did often almost overwhelm them; and here in about eleven days his elder son died, and in a few days more his younger. It is noted in 1 Chron. vii. 22, that when the

* Christ on the sea.

† We set our sails, and plough the mighty deep.

sons of Ephraim were dead, Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him." This our mourning Ephraim could not have any comfort from his friends on shoar, when his two sons were thus dead; but they died after so holy and hopeful a manner, that their father was not without his consolations. However, their straits and fears were now increased, as their hands diminished; and another of the company soon after died like the former. Half the company was now gone; and Mr. Howe, though in a very weak state of health, now stands at the helm twenty four hours and thirty six hours at a time, with the rude waves flying over the vessel at such a rate, that if he had not been lashed fast, he must have been washed over-board. In this extremity he was at a loss whether he should persist in striving for the New-England shore, or bear away for the southern islands; and proposing the matter to one Mr. Augur, (who, with a boy, was all that were left for his help,) they first sought unto God by earnest prayer in this difficult case, and then determined the difficulty by casting a lot. The lot fell for New-England, and 'ere a month was expired, they lost the rudder of their vessel, with which they lost all hope of being saved. In this deplorable condition they continued a fortnight; and thus, for six weeks together, Mr. Howe, though laboring under much infirmity, was hardly ever dry: nor had they in all this while the benefit of warm food more than thrice, or thereabouts. When the seventh week dawned upon them, the vessel was driven on the tailings of a ledge of rocks, where the sea broke with no little violence; and, looking out, they spied a dismal, doleful rocky island unto the lee-ward; upon which, if the providence of God had not by the breakers given 'em timely notice, they had been dashed in pieces. This *extremity* was Heaven's opportunity! They immediately let go an anchor, and got out the boat, and *God made that storm a calm; so that the waves were still.* Being under the astonishments of the circumstances now upon them, they took little out of the vessel; but when they came a shoar, they found themselves upon a desolate island (near Cape Sables) which had not either man or beast upon it; and a prospect of being therefore starved quickly to death now stared upon them. While they were under this deadly prospect, a storm arose that staved their vessel to pieces, from whence a cask of powder was brought a shoar, a barrel of wine, and half a barrel of *mollosa's*, together with several other things, which assisted them in making a sort of a tent for their preservation from the terrible cold. However, new and sore distresses now attended them: for tho' they had *powder*, with other necessities for *fowling*, there were seldom any *fowls* to be seen upon this forlorn island, except a few gulls, crows and ravens; and these were so few, that there could be rarely more than one shot at a time. Oftentimes half a one of these fowls, with the liquor, made a meal for *three*: once they lived five days without any sustenance at all; during all which space, they did not feel themselves pinched with hunger as at

other times, which they esteemed a special favour of Heaven unto them. When they had been twelve weeks in this lonesome condition, Mr. Howe's dear friend Mr. Augur died; and the lad also died in the April following: so that his *lonesomeness* was now become as much as any *hermit* could have wished for. For a long and a sad quarter of a year together now, he saw fishing vessels ever now and then sailing by; but tho' he used all possible means to acquaint them with his distresses, either they saw him not, or they feared lest some of the Indians then in hostility against the English might be quartered there.

The good man, while thus deserted, kept many days in prayer, with fasting, wherein he confessed and bewailed the many sins which had rendered him worthy of these calamities, and cried unto God for his deliverance. But at last it came into his mind that he ought very solemnly to *give thanks* unto God for the marvellous preservations which he had hitherto experienced; and accordingly he set apart a day for solemn thanksgiving unto God, his gracious preserver, for the divine favours which had been intermixed with all his troubles. IMMEDIATELY after *this* a vessel belonging to Salem did pass by that island; and seeing this poor servant of God there, they took him in. So he arrived at Salem, July 8, 1677, and returned unto his family at Newhaven.

II. A MAN STRANGELY PRESERVED ON THE KEEL OF A BOAT AT SEA.—A ship's long-boat, having five men in her, was by a violent gust of wind over-set. The men all got upon the keel, upon which, being driven to sea, they were *four days* floating there. In this time three of them dropped off, and perished in the deep; on the *fifth day*, the *fourth man*, being sorely pained with hunger, and sadly bruised with the boisterous and furious waves, willfully fell off into the sea, and was drowned after the rest of his companions. Quickly after this, the wind coming up at south east, carried the boat with the *fifth man* into Long-Island, where, being scarce able to creep a shoar, the Indians found him, cherished him, and preserved him. With *fasting*, and *watching* and *cold*, he must, according to reason, in this time have perished; but he constantly affirmed, that *he saw certain persons come and put meat into his mouth when he was ready to perish for want of sustenance*.

III. THE WONDERFUL STORY OF MAJOR GIBBONS.—Among remarkable sea-deliverances, no less than three several writers have published that wherein Major Edward Gibbons of Boston in New-England was concerned. A vessel bound from Boston to some other parts of America was, through the continuance of contrary winds, kept so long at sea, that the people aboard were in extream straits for want of provisions; and seeing that nothing here below could afford them any relief, they look'd upwards unto Heaven in humble and fervent supplications. The winds continuing still as they were, one of the company made a sorrowful motion

that they should by a *lot* single out *one* to die, and by death to satisfy the ravenous hunger of the rest. After many a doleful and fearful debate upon this motion, they come to a result, that *it must be done!* The *lot* is cast; one of the company is taken; but where is the executioner that shall do the terrible office upon a poor innocent? It is a death now to think who shall act this bloody part in the tragedy; but before they fall upon this involuntary and unnatural execution, they once more went unto their zealous prayers; and, behold! while they were calling upon God, he answer'd them: for there leaped a mighty *fish* into their boat, which, to their double joy, not only quieted their outrageous hunger, but also gave them some token of a further deliverance. However, the *fish* is quickly eaten; the horrible famine returns, the horrible distress is renew'd; a black despair again seizes their spirits; for another morsel they come to a second *lot*, which fell upon another person; but still they cannot find an executioner: they once again fall to their importunate prayers: and behold, a second answer from above! A great *bird* lights and fixes itself upon the mast: one of the men spies it; and there it stands until he took it by the wing with his hand. This was a second *life from the dead*. This fowl, with the omen of a further deliverance in it, was a sweet feast unto them. Still their disappointments follow them; they can see no land, they know not where they are; irresistible hunger once more pinches them; they have no hope to be saved, but by a third miracle: they return to another *lot*; but before they go to the heart-breaking task of slaying the person under *designation*, they repeat their addresses unto the God of heaven, their former "friend in adversity." And now they look, and look again, but there is nothing: their *devotions* are concluded, and nothing appears: yet they hoped, yet they stayed, yet they lingered. At last one of 'em spies a ship, which put a new hope and life into 'em all. They bear up with their ship, they man their long-boat, they beg to board their vessel, and are admitted. It proves a French *pirate*. Major Gibbons petitions for a little bread, and offers all for it; but the commander was one who had formerly received considerable kindnesses of Major Gibbons at Boston, and now replied cheerfully, "Major Gibbons, not a hair of you or your company shall perish, if it lies in my power to preserve you." Accordingly he supplied their necessities, and they made a comfortable end of their voyage.

IV. TWELVE MEN LIVING FIVE WEEKS FOR FIVE HUNDRED LEAGUES IN A LITTLE BOAT.—A small vessel, whose master's name was Philip Hungare, coming upon the coast of New-England, suddenly sprang a leak and foundered. Eighteen persons were in the vessel, whereof twelve got into the long-boat, into which they threw some little matter of provision; but of that necessary thing *fire*, they were wholly unprovided. These twelve men went five hundred leagues in this poor long-boat,*and were

therein miraculously preserved five weeks together; for the God of heaven sent them a strange relief, by causing some flying fish to fly and fall among them, which being eaten raw, were a pleasant food unto them; and once, when they must otherwise have perish'd for thirst, they caught a *shark*, whose blood being suck'd by them, was as "cool waters to their thirsty souls;" but that which was more so was their safe arrival then at the West Indies.

V. SOME SHIPWRACK'D FOLKS HAPPILY RESCUED.—Mr. John Grafton being bound from New-England for the West-Indies in a ketch call'd the Providence, the vessel suddenly struck upon a rock, in a dark, rainy, stormy night; and the force of the wind and the sea broke the vessel immediately to pieces. Six of the ten men, whereof the company did consist, were drown'd; but the master and the mate were left upon the rock, where the sea came up unto their waste, and there they embrac'd each other, looking for death every moment; which, if the sea had risen higher, must have been unavoidable. By the rock was one of the seamen grievously wounded, and groaning: But in the morning they saw an island about half a mile from them. The rocks were so cragged, that these persons, who were bare-footed, were not able to tread thereupon; but they found a piece of tarpoling, which they wrapp'd and fastned about their feet with rope-yarns; and so getting each of them a stick, they sometimes *walk'd*, and sometimes they *crept*, until at last they came unto the island, where they found another of their crew, carried ashore by a piece of the vessel. Eight days they continu'd on the island, and four of them without any fire. Salt-fish was their food, and rain-water found in the holes of the rocks their drink. They then found a piece of touchwood which had been in the mate's chest; and a flint, with a knife, being in like manner brought 'em, they struck fire; and a barrel of their flower being also cast ashore, they made cakes thereof. But there must be no long stay made upon this desolate island. Wherefore, finding a piece of the main-sail, and some hoops of a cask, and a fragment of a board, with some nails, and a box wherein was a bolt-rope needle and a tarr-barrel, with which they tarr'd their canvas, out of these wretched materials they patch'd up a pitiful, unlikely, dangerous tool, which they call'd a *boat*; and meeting with some thin boards which came out of the cabin, of these they made their paddles. In this odd *vehicle* they made a voyage of ten leagues, even until they came to Anguilla, where the people entertained them with *courtesie* and *wonderment*.

VI. SORE CALAMITIES AT SEA SURVIVED.—A small vessel set sail from Bristol to New-England, September 22, 1681, with the master, whose name was William Dutten; there were seven men aboard, having provisions for three months; but by contrary winds they were twenty weeks

before they could make any land; and by other disasters and distresses, it was rendred very unlikely that ever they should make any land at all. The fierce winds upon the coasts of New-England made them conclude, on December 12, that they would bear away for Barbadoes; but before this they lost one barrel of their beer, by the head being broken out; and having but seven barrels of water, three of them leak'd away. When their victuals fail'd them, the "merciful God whose is the sea, for he made it," sent them a supply, by causing dolphins every now and then to come so near their vessel as to be catch'd; yet it was observable that they could never catch any but in an extream necessity; nor any more than would serve their *present* necessity. But their misery, thro' the want of water, was very sore upon them: For tho' they tried much to take the rain water, when any fell, the winds were usually so furious, that they could save little, if any of it. However, when they came near the latitude of Bermudaz, they did, unto their great joy, save two barrels of rain water; but then, the rats unexpectedly eating holes in the barrels, all that water was lost again. Once, when a shower of rain fell, they sav'd a pint; which, tho' it were made very bitter by the tar, yet it was a "sweet water unto their thirsty souls;" and they divided it among seven, drinking a thimble-full at a time, which went five times about. On January 27, a good shower of rain fell; and, that they might preserve it, they laid their linnens open to the rain; and wringing them dry, they obtain'd seven gallons of water, which, being bottl'd up, was a great and a long refreshment unto them. New straits then came upon them. They catch'd, with much ado, three or four of the rats, that had cheated them of their drink, and made of 'em a *meat*, which to their famished souls did seem very delicate. But the torment of their drought grew insupportable; for sometimes they had not a drop of any fresh water for a whole week together. When they killed a dolphin, they would suck his blood for the relief of their thirst; yea, their thirst caused them to drink large quantities of salt water, which yet they found allayed it not. They would go over board with a rope fastned about them, that by drenching themselves a while in the sea, they might ease the internal heat which parched them; and when they stood any of them to steer the vessel, they would have their feet in a pail of sea water to refrigerate 'em. In this calamity some of the seamen penitently confessed, "how just it was with God thus to punish them, who had intemperately abused themselves with drink, so often in their former conversation." But at length, on February 7, they met with a Guinea-man, who supplied 'em with necessaries, and so they got safe in unto Barbadoes, from whence they afterwards made their voyage to New-England.

VII. SEASONABLE SUCCOURS.—A ship of Dublin, whereof Andrew Bennet was master, being bound from thence unto Virginia, and got as far as the latitude of thirty-nine, about an hundred and fifty leagues from

Cape Cod in New-England (on April 18, 1681,) in a very stormy time, suddenly there sprang a plank in the fore-part of the ship. Whereupon the sea broke in so fast, that they could not by all their endeavours keep the ship from sinking above *half an hour*. Wherefore, when the ship was just sinking, some of the company resolved that they would launch out the boat, which was a very small one; and in this action the master, the mate, the boatswain, the cook, two fore-mast men, and a boy, kept such hold of it, when a cast of the sea suddenly help'd them off with it, that they got into it. The heaving of the sea now suddenly thrust them from the ship, in which there were left nineteen persons, namely, sixteen men and three women, who all perish'd in the deep, while they were trying to make rafters, by cutting down the masts for the preservation of their lives as long as they could. The seven in the boat apprehended themselves to be in a condition little better than that of them in the ship; for they had neither sails, nor oars, nor bread, nor water, nor any sort of instrument, except a knife and a piece of a deal-board, with which they made sticks, and set them up in the sides of the boat, covering them with some of their own garments to keep off the spray of the sea. In this condition they drove with an hard wind and an high sea all this day, with the night following; but the next morning their dismal distress met with an happy relief; when they saw a ketch (whereof Edmund Henfield, of Salem in New-England, was master) under sail; which ketch coming right with them, took 'em up, and brought 'em safe to New-England. Now, none of the least remarkable circumstances in this matter was, that when the ship founderd, the ketch was many leagues to the *westward* of her; but a contrary wind caused her to stand back again unto the *eastward*, where these poor men were met and saved.

VIII. DISTRESSED PEOPLE AT SEA, HAPPILY MEETING AND HELPING ONE ANOTHER.—A ship, whereof William Laiton was master, bound from Piscataqua in New-England to Barbadoes, being two hundred and fifty leagues off the coast, sprang a leak; which, notwithstanding their constant plying of the pump for fourteen hours together, so fill'd the vessel with water, that all the eight persons aboard betook themselves to their boat, with a good supply of bread for them there to live upon. The master would utter a strange perswasion, that they should meet with a ship at sea, whereby they should be reliev'd: But before they did so, they had so far spent their small supply of water, that they were come to the allowance of each man a spoonful a day. In this boat they continu'd upon the Atlantick Ocean for *nineteen* days together; after *twelve* of which they met with a storm, which did much endanger their lives; but God preserv'd them. At the end of eighteen days a flying fish fell into their boat; and having with them an hook and line, they made use of that fish for bait, whereby they caught a couple of dolphins. A ship then at sea, whereof

Mr. Samuel Scarlet was commander, apprehending a storm to be near, they suffer'd their vessel to drive before the wind, while they were fitting of the rigging to entertain that approaching storm; and by this means they met with a boat full of their distress'd brethren. Captain Scarlet's vessel was then destitute of provisions; only they had water enough, and to spare: For which cause the mariners desir'd him that he would not go to take the men in, lest they should all die by famine. But the Captain was a man of too generous a charity to follow the *selfish proposals* thus made unto him. He reply'd, "It may be, these distress'd creatures are our own country men: Or, however, they are distress'd creatures. I am resolved I will take them in; and I'll trust in God, who is able to deliver us all." Nor was he a looser by this charitable resolution; for Captain Scarlet had the *water* which Laiton wanted, and Mr. Laiton had the *bread* and *fish* that Scarlet wanted: So they refresh'd one another, and in a few days arriv'd safe to New-England. But it was remark'd, that the chief of the mariners who urg'd Captain Scarlet against his *taking in* these distress'd people, did afterwards, in his distress at sea, perish without any to take him in. In another voyage he perish'd at sea, and was never heard of.

IX. WONDERFUL DISTRESSES, AND MORE WONDERFUL DELIVERANCES.—A number of mariners, in a small pink, belonging to Boston, (call'd the Blessing) were taken by an half-galley of cruel Spaniards, on April 1, 1683, who put them all immediately into their hold, except the master and mate, the latter of which they tormented by twisting a piece of sea-net about his head, until his eyes were ready to start out, and then hanging him up by the two thumbs to make him confess what money they had aboard; but when they saw he would confess nothing, they made fast a rope about his neck, and ask'd their commander whether they should hoise him up or not: they consulted also whether they should not hang all the men; but not agreeing on that point, they concluded on somewhat no less truculent and barbarous. They kept one of the men on board, on whom they afterwards exercis'd bloody cruelties; and the other six belonging to the vessel, they thus disposed of: They carry'd the poor men among the mangrove trees, that grew upon an adjacent island, and, stripping them stark naked, they caus'd each of 'em to turn their backs unto the branch of a tree, and spread their arms abroad: in which posture they bound the arms of each man to the branches, two by two, about a quarter of a miles distance between the several couples, thus leaving them to perish without any pity. They stood up to the mid-leg in water, their feet contiguous, and their faces turn'd so that they might behold each others' miseries. But about three hours after, one of these men espy'd a stick with a crook at one end, not far from him; whereupon he said unto his companion, "If it please God that we might get that stick into our hands, it might be a means to work our deliverance;" and thereupon trying to

bring the stick towards them with their feet, in a little time they happily effected it, and so bore it up with their feet, that at last the man got hold of it with his hand; and herewith by degrees they loos'd the knot that was upon the bowing of their arms; and shifting it into their fingers, did by little and little get so far in loosing it, that they quite undid it, setting themselves at liberty. Now, returning their thanks to the God of heaven for helping them thus far, they hastened unto the help of their despairing friends. But their next care was how to keep themselves out of the sight of those barbarous wretches, from whom they had receiv'd this usage: Yet they had not gone above a mile, before they spy'd some of 'em got upon an high tree to discover ships that pass'd that way. Upon this they were so affrighted, that they ran among the thickets and lost one another, and met not again till the third night after; in all which time they found no water, but lick'd the dew from the leaves of the plants thereabout: At which business, while they were imploy'd, an alligator suddenly got the arm of the master into his mouth; but he, with the rest, crying out, the alligator let go his hold, therewithal tearing away a great piece of the flesh. After this, they got upon an high tree, and sate there till it was day; but within a day or two they kill'd a wild coney, which they flay'd with the help of a sharp stone; and applying the inside of it unto the master's arm, they eat the flesh raw with no little satisfaction. The night following they got upon an high rock, thinking there to be secure from the alligators; yet even there, one of those terrible creatures came upon 'em, and hall'd one of the men off the rock; at which they all crying out, the monster let go his hold, and the man was recover'd. However, this made 'em retire into the trees for safety. Their drink all this while was the rain water, found in holes among the rocks. At length also they rais'd a little wall, two yards high to keep off the numerous alligators: and whilks and crabs were their best food, whilst they had much ado to preserve themselves from being food to those devourers. But anon they found a well with a barrel in it, where they resolv'd they would wait for help or death. On April 13, the mate (namely, Charles Cretchet) with two more (namely, Robert Pierce and Peter Clement) of these distress'd people, made a raft with such wood as they found on the island, and put to sea. The master (whose name was David East) with two more (whose names were John Bath and Peter Rowland) being left behind, were extreemly hungry and feeble, and had not the least garment to cover them from the sun, while they were at the same time so grievously infested with *moschetos*, that they could not go to the rocks for whilks, but must content themselves with gnawing such dry bones of turtles as had been half a year lying there. In this extremity Heaven sent them some supply; for they found a dead eel, which they suppos'd had been dropt by an hern: This they took, they skin'd, they divided, and it seem'd an incomparable feast unto them. On April 19, the master and the two left with him follow'd

the example of the mate and his two, in making a raft for a voyage to sea: but as they were going to put off, they espy'd a couple of sails: upon which they betook themselves unto the water, that they might get unto these vessels, which at length took them up. These two vessels were a couple of canoes, having three men apiece, who kept 'em thirty-two days, and then carry'd 'em into Havana; where the governour, notwithstanding they fairly related unto him their circumstances, kept 'em in prison eighteen days, without allowing 'em any food. So that, if they had 'not receiv'd some sustenance from a few poor English prisoners who had been there before 'em, they had been perfectly starved. At last they understood that their ship was in that harbour, and the persons who took her: Whereupon they petition'd the governour that they might have their ship again; inasmuch as they could make no legal prize of her; for she had no Spanish goods aboard. Their petition was granted; and their ship (tho' empty'd of every thing but her ballast) was restor'd unto 'em: Nor could they by a new petition obtain any thing but her sails, and some small part of her lading that had not been dispos'd of.

On June 10, the hunters having taken up Robert Pierce and Peter Clement, and brought 'em into Havana, the governour examin'd 'em what was become of their mates; and they told him that they were five days at sea upon the raft, and had only two crabs all this while to subsist upon; and then by the wind they were driven upon the same island which they had left, where they wander'd up and down for a month together; and in their travels lost their mate, who was thro' weakness unable to travel. Hereupon the governour sent 'em aboard also; and the night before they sail'd the hunters informed the governour that they had likewise taken up the mate alive. But the governour hurry'd 'em away in such haste, that they could not know the certainty thereof; and so they prosecuted their voyage for Boston, whither they came, well nigh starv'd with cold, not having any more clothes than a canvass frock for each man, which the *turtlers* had bestowed upon them.

X. A NOTABLE STORY OF ONE SAV'D FROM THE HANDS OF THE TURKS.
—A *decad* of remarkable sea deliverances may be sufficient for the present entertainment. One of my honest neighbours, whose name is Christopher Monk, brought me this account of what had befallen himself:

—“In a ship of Bermudas, call'd the *John's Adventure*, whereof I was master, July 28, 1681, we departed from Torbay in the west of England. Eight days after this we saw a ship about 8 h. A. M. that gave us chase; and tho' we made what sail we could to run from it, by 2 h. P. M. it came up with us. It prov'd to be the '*Half Moon*' of Algier, who sent their launch on board of us, and carry'd us all on board the Turk's ship, except one, whom they left to help 'em in sailing of ours. The captain having examin'd us of divers things, and robb'd us of what silver or gold we had about us, sent us forward among the other Christians that were there before us, who entertain'd us with sorrowful lamentations.

“I have since reflected on it, that tho' formerly I used morning and evening prayers with my

company; yet in the time of our chase, my fears and cares made me have no heart for the duty. But our application of our selves unto outward reliefs and second causes, prov'd all in vain.

"However now, being in Turkish and cruel hands, I thought it fit to pray with them that were formerly of my family, that is to say, my company; and I was enabl'd to do it in the presence of my enemies, without receiving disturbance from 'em. I encourag'd my self in the Lord my God, when I heard 'em rejoicing with shouts at the prey taken by them.

"One of the Moors took away my Bible, which I thought was a sore judgment on me, because of my neglecting to read it while I had it. But, thro' the mercy of God, I had soon after an old Bible, which the Turks reckon'd of little value, given to me. This was my sweetest companion and my greatest consolation in my distress. I also met with two other books, one entitul'd '*The Godly Man's Ark*,' the other, '*The History of the Sufferings of Jesus Christ*;' which were very beneficial to me. From the sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, I was encourag'd to submit my will unto the will of God in all things; knowing that Jesus Christ had suffer'd more than I was able to undergo, and had sweetn'd all those who are His. I was likewise made willing to undergo slavery from those considerations in Lam. iii. 22. 39: 'It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consum'd: wherefore doth a living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sin?'—being convinc'd that my sins had deserv'd far more than could be inflicted upon me in this life. I thought with my self that if I met with a good master, my life would be the more comfortable; but that, if I met with a bad master, the time which I had here to live, was but short, compar'd with eternity: and if I could but secure my eternal happiness, it would make amends for all; and why could not I endure slavery as well as the negroes in my own nation? I usually read those places which, at my opening of the Bible, first offer'd themselves unto me; and often they would happen to be exceedingly pertinent unto my present condition; especially many passages in the 37th Psalm very much affected me. Once, coming upon the deck in the morning, and finding most of all the Turks and Moors asleep, I thought that, if I had been owner of a sharp knife, I could have cut the throats of a great many, without making any noise, and withal communicated the notion to some of the English aboard, how easily we might conquer our adversaries, and master the ship. Some consented, and prescrib'd a way; but one, more fearful than the rest, bid me have a care what I said; for some among us, he affirmed, would willingly betray our design, unto the loss of our own lives. Hereupon I spoke no more of it, but went down between decks to advise with my Bible; and this was the scripture which then occur'd unto me: 'Cease from anger, and forsake wrath; fret not thy self in any wise to do evil, for evil-doers shall be cut off; but they that wait on the Lord, shall inherit the earth; for yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be.' Upon this, I wholly desisted from my evil intent; and resolving to take the advice of the Psalm, I also apply'd unto my self that scripture in Lam. iii. 26: 'It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord.' And that in Isa. xlix. 24, 25, and that in Isa. liii. 3, 4.

"One morning, as I slept upon some old sails between decks, I dream'd that I was upon an hill, where was a little sort of a log-house, like some houses that I have seen in Virginia; that some who were with me had young eagles in their hands, bruising and squeezing 'em in their hands till they made 'em cry; that there appear'd at length two great white eagles upon the top of another hill coming towards us, at the cry of the young ones, to release 'em: that for fear, lest the old eagles might kill us, I with several others were put into the little house to secure us: and that hereupon the young ones were set at liberty; and somebody said unto me, 'For the crying of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; and I will set him at liberty from him that puffeth at him.' I thought also that I heard somebody cry out 'A sail, a sail!' and I thought my self upon the upper deck; imagining that there I saw a ship or two. With this, I awoke, and went upon the deck; but seeing no other ship, I considered a little upon my dream, telling it unto my mate, and adding, 'that I expected a speedy redemption.'

"I continu'd thus with the Turks, until the 9th of September; all which time they never offer'd me any abuse, tho' they did beat other Christians very much. On that day, about 8 in the morning, a Christian at the fore top-mast head saw three ships; one of which was a Frenchman, which had been in our company the night before; and now told the other two ships that they had seen a Turk the preceding evening. The two ships were two small English frigates, the James-Galley, and the Seaface. The Seaface having a man at the top-mast head, espy'd us, and made sail towards us, and so did the James-Galley. We lay still until I saw their sails above the water, like my two

white eagles, as white as snow, thro' the sun shining on them. The Turks made sail to run from 'em; yet at night the James-Galley came up with us; whereupon I, with the rest of the Christians, was chain'd down in the hold. After a little discourse they fired on our Turks a volley of small shot, and a broad-side. The Seaface seeing that, boarded us: but in less than an hour's time she lost her fore-mast, and boltsprit, and head, and about five and twenty men, and fell a-stern. Yet the other, which was less than she, shot all her masts away by 2 in the morning; and when it was day, the 'Turks yielded their ship. Then they that were leading us captive, were themselves carry'd into captivity, September 10, 1681.

"CHRISTOPHER MONK."

MANTISSA.*

OVER and above the number of *sea-deliverances* intended for this chapter, we will add one more, which is a late and a fresh instance, and attested beyond all contradiction.

On the 16th of October, in this present year 1697, there arriv'd at New-Haven a sloop of about 50 tuns, whereof Mr. William Trowbridge was master: the vessel belong'd unto New-Haven, the persons on board were seven; and seventeen long weeks had they now spent since they came from their port, which was Fayal. By so unusually tedious a passage, a terrible famine unavoidably came upon them; and for the five last weeks of their voyage they were so destitute of all food, that thro' faintness they would have chosen death rather than life. But they were a praying and a pious company; and when "these poor men cry'd unto the Lord, he heard and sav'd them." God sent his dolphins to attend 'em; and of these they caught still one every day, which was enough to serve 'em: only on Saturdays they still catch'd a couple; and on the Lord's Days they could catch none at all. With all possible skill and care they could not supply themselves with the fish in any other number or order; and indeed with an holy *blush* at last they left off trying to do any thing on the *Lord's Days*, when they were so well supply'd on the *Saturdays*. Thus the Lord kept feeding a company that put their trust in him, as he did his Israel with his manna: and this they continu'd until the dolphins came to that change of water, where they us'd to leave the vessels. Then they so strangely surrendred themselves, that the company took twenty-seven of 'em; which not only suffic'd them until they came ashore, but also some of 'em were brought ashore dry'd, as a monument of the divine benignity.

* Over measure.

CHAPTER II.

HOSEA;* RELATING REMARKABLE SALVATIONS,

EXPERIENCED BY OTHERS BESIDES THE SEA-FARING.

*Pars mihi semper erit, servari velle, salutis
Maxima——†*

THE good people of New-England may tune their praises to a consort with those of the good Psalmist: "He that is our God, is the God of salvation, and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death." How many *extraordinary salvations* have been granted unto particular persons, among that good people, a small volume could not enumerate.

Remarkable answers of prayer have been receiv'd by the most of those who have experimentally known the meaning of wrestlings in prayer among us. How many thousands have upon very notable experiments been able to say, "This poor man cried, and the Lord heard and sav'd him!" One very surprizing instance hath been seen several times in this land, when infinite *swarms* of *caterpillars* have devour'd our fields, and carry'd whole fields before them: some very pious and praying husbandmen in the extream exigency, when the devourers have just been entering on their fields, have poured out their fervent prayers unto the God of heaven for their deliverance; immediately hereupon *flocks of birds* have arriv'd that have devoured the devourers, and preserv'd those particular fields, when others have been horribly wasted. Moreover, when any neighbours have labor'd under desperate maladies; or been tempted, or distracted, or possess'd, it hath been a common thing for a knot of godly people to meet, and fast, and pray, and see the *afflicted* gloriously deliver'd. Furthermore, when any *droughts* or *floods* have threatned the ruin of our harvests, these and those congregations mostly concern'd, have pray'd with fasting on those occasions; and God hath wondrously deliver'd them, with a distinction from others that have not so call'd upon him. The very Pagans in this wilderness have been sometimes amazed at what they have seen of this nature among us, and cried out, that "the Englishman's God was a great and a good God!" It may be added, some of our churches have once in a considerable while kept a day of prayer for the success of the word of Christ upon the souls of their children in rising generations among them: and the success hath been such, that all the churches in the land have took notice of it.

Again, remarkable rescues from death have been receiv'd by so many thousands among us, that there hath been scarce one *devout family* which hath not been able to bring in something unto the *heap* of these experiences. Fallen persons that have had carts and ploughs just running over them,

* To wish for safety is the greatest part | Of being saved.

the beasts which drew them have suddenly stop'd, unto the surprize of the spectators. Persons on the very point of mortal *bruising* or *drowning*, have been snatch'd out of the jaws of destruction in ways that are not accountable: even *ejaculatory prayers* have had astonishing answers. For instance:

An honest carpenter being at work upon an house, where eight children were sitting in a ring at some childish play on the floor below, he let fall accidentally, from an upper story, a bulky piece of timber just over these little children. The good man, with inexpressible agony, cry'd out, "O Lord, direct it!" and the Lord did so direct it, that it fell on end in the midst of the little children, and then canted along on the floor between two of the children, without ever touching one of them all. But the instances of such things would be numberless. And if I should with a most religious veracity, relate what wounds many persons have surviv'd, I should puzzle *Philosophy*, and make her have some recourse unto *Divinity*.

One Abigail Eliot had an iron struck into her head, which drew out part of her brains with it: a silver plate she afterwards wore on her skull where the orifice remain'd as big as an half crown. The brains left in the child's head would swell and swage, according to the *tides*; her intellect-uals were not hurt by this disaster; and she liv'd to be a mother of several children.

One John Symonds, about the age of ten years, had some affrighted oxen with a plough running over him; the share took hold of his ribs, a little below the left pap, and rent an hole in his breast, so large that a man might have put in his four fingers: his very heart became visible; his lungs would fly out sundry inches, as often as the place was drest. In seven or eight weeks he recover'd, and became an healthy man. But an history of rare cures in this countrey would fill more pages than may here be allow'd. Yet let me take the leave to inquire, what shall be thought of the case of one Sarah Wilkinson, who dy'd of a dropsie? For a long while before her death she had no evacuation, except only by a frequent and forc'd vomit of water in huge quantities, with which her *dissolv'd bowels* came up in successive potions of them. When she was open'd, there were no bowels to be found in her, except her heart, which was exceeding small, and as it were perboil'd; and her *milt* or *spleen*, one end whereof stuck to her back, and the other to her ribs; as also a small part of her liver or lungs, corrupted so much, that they knew not which of the two it was, and this no bigger than the palm of ones hand. Other bowels, none could be found: yet in this condition she liv'd a long while, and retain'd her senses to the last.

But we will content ourselves with annexing to these things a narrative of a woman celebrating the wonderful *dispensations* of Heaven:

A NARRATIVE OF HANNAH SWARTON,

Containing Wonderful Passages, relating to her Captivity and her Deliverance.

I was taken by the Indians when Casco fort was taken (May, 1690;) my husband being slain, and four children taken with me. The eldest of my sons they kill'd about two months after I was taken, and the rest scatter'd from me. I was now left a widow, and as bereav'd of my children; though I had them alive, yet it was very seldom that I could see 'em, and I had not liberty to discourse with 'em without danger either of my own life or theirs; for our condoling each other's condition, and shewing natural affection, was so displeasing to our Indian rulers, unto whose share we fell, that they would threaten to kill us, if we cry'd each to other, or discoursed much together. So that my condition was like what the Lord threatned the Jews in Ezek. xxiv. 22, 23. We durst not *mourn* or *weep* in the sight of our enemies, lest we lost our own lives. For the first times, while the enemy feasted on our English provisions, I might have had some with them; but then I was so fill'd with sorrow and tears, that I had little stomach to eat; and when my stomach was come, our English food was spent; the Indians wanted themselves, and we more; so that then I was pin'd with want. We had no corn or bread; but sometimes groundnuts, acorns, purslain, hogweed, weeds, roots, and sometimes dog's flesh, but not sufficient to satisfy hunger with these; having but little at a time. We had no success at hunting; save that one bear was killed, which I had part of; and a very small part of a turtle I had another time, and once an Indian gave me a piece of a moose's liver, which was a sweet morsel to me; and fish, if we could catch it. Thus I continued with them, hurry'd up and down the wilderness, from May 20 till the middle of February; carrying continually a great burden in our travels; and I must go their pace, or else be killed presently; and yet was pinch'd with cold for want of cloathing, being put by them into an Indian dress, with a sleight blanket, no stockings, and but one pair of Indian shoes, and of their leather stockings for the winter: my feet were pricked with sharp stones and prickly bushes sometimes, and other times pinch'd with snow, cold, and ice, that I travell'd upon, ready to be frozen, and faint for want of food; so that many times I thought I could go no further, but must lie down, and if they would kill me, let 'em kill me. Yet then the Lord did so renew my strength, that I went on still further as my master would have me, and held out with them. Though many English were taken, and I was brought to some of 'em at times, while we were about Casco bay and Kennebeck river, yet at Norridgewock we were separated, and no English were in our company, but one John York and myself, who were both almost starv'd for want; and yet told that if we could not hold up to travel with them, they would kill us. And accordingly John York, growing weak by his wants, they killed him, and threatned me with the like. One time my Indian mistress and I were left alone, while the rest went to look for eels; and they left us no food from Sabbath-day morning till the next Saturday; save that we had a bladder (of Moose, I think) which was well fill'd with maggots, and we boil'd it, and drank the broth; but the bladder was so tough we could not eat it. On the Saturday I was sent by my mistress to that part of the island most likely to see some canoe, and there to make fire and smoke, to invite some Indians, if I could spie any, to come to relieve us; and I espy'd a canoe, and by signs invited them to come to shore. It proved to be squaws; who, understanding our wants, one of 'em gave me a roasted eel; which I eat, and it seem'd unto me the most savoury food I ever tasted before. Sometimes we liv'd on wortle berries, sometimes on a kind of wild cherry, which grew on bushes, which I was sent to gather once in so bitter a cold season, that I was not able to bring my fingers together to hold them fast; yet under all these hardships the Lord kept me from any sickness, or such weakness as to disenable me from travelling when they put us upon it.

My Indian mistress was one that had been bred by the English at Blackpoint, and now married to a Canada Indian, and turned Papist; and she would say, "that had the *English* been as careful to instruct her in our religion as the *French* were to instruct her in theirs, she might have been of our religion;" and she would say, that "God delivered us into their hands to punish us for our sins;" and this I knew was true as to my self. And as I desired to consider of all my sins, for which the Lord did punish me, so this lay very heavy upon my spirit many a time, that I had left the publick worship and ordinances of God, where I formerly lived, (*viz:* at Beverley,) to remove to the north part of Casco bay, where there was no church or minister of the gospel; and this we did for large

accommodations in the world, thereby exposing our children to be bred ignorantly like Indians, and ourselves to forget what we had been formerly instructed in; and so we turned our backs upon God's ordinances to get this world's goods. But now God hath stript me of these things also; so that I must justify the Lord in all that has befallen me, and acknowledge that he hath punish'd me less than my iniquities deserved. I was now bereav'd of husband, children, friends, neighbours, house, estate, bread, cloaths, or lodging suitable; and my very life did hang daily in doubt, being continually in danger of being kill'd by the Indians, or pined to death with famine, or tired to death with hard travelling, or pinch'd with cold till I died, in the winter season. I was so amazed with many troubles, and hurry'd in my spirit from one exercise to another, how to preserve my self from danger, and supply my self in the want that was present, that I had not time or leisure so composedly to consider of the great concerns of my soul as I should have done; neither had I any Bible or *good book* to look into, or Christian friend to be my counsellor in these distresses: but I may say, *the words of God*, which I had formerly heard or read, many of them came oft into my mind, and kept me from "perishing in my afflictions." As when they threatened to kill me many times, I often thought of the words of our Saviour to Pilate, Joh. xix. 11: "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above." I knew they had no *power* to kill me but what the Lord gave them; and I had many times hope that the Lord would not suffer them to slay me, but deliver me out of their hands; and in his time, I hoped, return me to my country again. When they told me that my eldest son was kill'd by the Indians, I thought in that of Jer. xxxiii. 8, "I will cleanse them from all their iniquities whereby they have sinned against me, and I will pardon all their iniquities." I hoped, tho' the enemy had barbarously killed his body, yet that the Lord had pardoned his sins, and that his soul was safe. When I thought upon my many troubles, I thought of Job's complaint, chap. xiv. 16, 17: "Thou numberest my steps, and watchest over my sin; my transgression is sealed up in a bag; and thou sowest up mine iniquity." This was for my humiliation, and put me upon prayer to God, for his pardoning mercy in Christ; and I thought upon David's complaint, Psalm. xlii. 1, 2, and used it in my prayers to the Lord: "How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord, for ever! How long wilt thou hide thy face from me? How long shall I take counsel in my soul, having sorrow in my heart! How long shall my enemy be exalted over me?" I sometimes bemoaned my self, as Job. chap. xix. 9, 10: "He hath stripped me of my glory, and hath taken my crown from my head; he hath destroyed me on every side, and I am gone, and my hope hath he removed like a tree." Yet sometimes encourag'd from Job xxii. 27: "Thou shalt make thy prayer to him, and he shall hear thee, and thou shalt pay thy vows" I made my vows to the Lord that I would give my self up to him, if he would accept me in Jesus Christ, and pardon my sins; and I desired and endeavour'd to pay my vows unto the Lord. I prayed to him, "Remember not against me the sins of my youth;" and I besought him, "judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation; deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man. Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?" And by many other scriptures that were brought to my remembrance, was I instructed, directed and comforted.

I travell'd over steep and hideous mountains one while, and another while over swamps and thickets of fallen trees, lying one, two, three foot from the ground, which I have stepp'd on from one to another, nigh a thousand in a day, carrying a great burden on my back. Yet I dreaded going to Canada, for fear lest I should be overcome by them to yield to their religion; which I had vowed unto God, that *I would not do*. But the extremity of my sufferings were such, that at length I was willing to go to preserve my life. And after many weary journeys thro' frost and snow, we came to Canada about the middle of February, 1690, and travelling over the river, my master pitched his wigwam in sight of some French houses westward of us, and then sent me to those houses to beg victuals for them; which I did, and found the French very kind to me, giving me beef, and pork, and bread, which I had been without near nine months before; so that I found a great change as to diet. But the snow being knee-deep, and my legs and hams very sore, I found it very tedious to travel; and my sores bled; so that as I travell'd, I might be track'd by my blood that I left behind me on the snow. I asked leave to stay all night with the French when I went to beg again, which my master consented unto, and sent me eastward, to houses which were toward Quebec (though then I knew it not:) so, having begg'd provisions at a French house, and it being near night, after I was refresh'd myself, and had food to carry to the Indians, I signified, as well as I could, to make the French woman understand that I desir'd to stay by her fire that night.

Whereupon she laid a good bed on the floor, and good coverings for me, and there I lodg'd comfortably; and the next morning, when I had breakfasted with the family, and the men-kind were gone abroad, as I was about to go to my Indian master, the French woman stept out, and left me alone in her house; and I then staid her return, to give her thanks for her kindness; and while I waited, came in two men, and one of 'em spoke to me in English, "I am glad to see you, countrey woman!" This was exceedingly reviving to hear the voice of an Englishman, and upon inquiry I found that he was taken at the North-west Passage; and the other was a French ordinary-keeper. After some discourse, he ask'd me to go with him to Quebeck, which he told me was about four miles off: I answered, my Indian master might kill me for it when I went back. Then, after some discourse in French with his fellow-traveller, he said, this French man engag'd that, if I would go with them, he would keep me from returning to the Indians, and I should be ransom'd: and my French hostess, being now return'd in a-doors, perswaded me to go with 'em to Quebeck; which I did, and was convey'd unto the house of the lord-intendant, Monsieur le Tonant, who was chief judge, and the second to the governour; and I was kindly entertain'd by the lady; and had French cloaths given me, with good diet and lodging, and was carry'd thence unto the hospital, where I was physick'd and blooded, and very courteously provided for. And some time after my Indian master and mistress coming for me, the lady intendant paid a ransom for me, and I became her servant. And, I must speak it to the honour of the French, they were exceeding kind to me at first; even as kind as I could expect to find the English; so that I wanted nothing for my bodily comfort which they could help me unto.

Here was a great and comfortable change as to my *outward man*, in my freedom from my former hardships and hard-hearted oppressors. But here began a greater snare and trouble to my soul, and danger to my *inward man*. For the lady my mistress, the nuns, the priests, the friars, and the rest, set upon me with all the strength of *argument* they could from Scripture, as they interpreted it, to perswade me to turn Papist; which they press'd with very much zeal, love, intreaties and promises, if I could turn to 'em; and with many threatenings, and some times hard usages, because I did not turn to their religion. Yea, sometimes the Papists, because I would not turn to them, threatened to send me to France, and there I should be burn'd, because I would not turn to them. Then was I comforted from that in 2 Cor. i. 8, 9, 10: "We were prest out of measure above strength, inso-much that we despair'd even of life; but we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God, who raises the dead, who deliver'd us from so great a death, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us." I knew God was able to deliver me, as he did Paul, and as he did the three children out of the fiery furnace; and I believ'd he would either deliver me from them, or fit me for what he call'd me to suffer, for his sake and name. For their praying to angels, they brought the history of the angel that was sent to the virgin Mary, in the first of Luke. I answered them from Rev. xix. 10, and xxii. 9. They brought Exod. xvii. 11, of Israel's prevailing while Moses held up his hands. I told them we must come to God only by Christ, Joh. vi. 37. 44. For purgatory, they brought Mat. v. 25. I told them, to agree with God while here on earth was, to "agree with our adversary in the way;" and if we did not, we should be cast into hell, and should not come out until we "paid the utmost farthing;" which could never be paid. But it's bootless for me, a poor woman, to acquaint the world with what arguments I used, if I could now remember them; and many of them are slipt out of my memory.

I shall proceed to relate what trials I met with in these things. I was put upon it either to stand to the religion I was brought up in, and believ'd in my conscience to be true, or to turn to another, which I believ'd was not right. And I was kept from turning, by that scripture, Mat. x. 32, 33: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven; and whosoever denies me before men, him also will I deny before my Father which is in heaven." I thought that if I should deny the truth, and own their religion, I should deny Christ. Yet, upon their perswasions, I went to see and be present at their worship sometimes; but never to receive their sacrament. And once when I was at their worship, that scripture 2 Cor. vi. 14, to the end, came into my mind: "What communion hath light with darkness! what concord hath Christ with Belial! what part hath he that believeth with an infidel! and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you, and I will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord almighty." This scripture was so strong upon my spirit, that I thought

I was out of my way to be present at the idolatrous worship, and I resolv'd never to come unto it again. But when the time drew nigh that I was to go again, I was so restless that night, that I could not sleep; thinking what I should say to 'em when they urg'd me to go again, and what I should do. And so it was in the morning that a French woman of my acquaintance told me, if I would not be of their religion, I did but mock at it, to go to their worship, and bid me that, if I would not be of their religion, I should go no more. I answer'd her, that "I would not be of their religion, and I would go no more to their worship." And accordingly I never went more, and they did not force me to it.

I have had many conflicts in my own spirit, fearing that I was not truly converted unto God in Christ, and that I had no saving interest in Christ. I could not be of a false religion, to please men; for it was against my conscience; and I was not fit to suffer for the true religion and for Christ; for I then feared I had no interest in him. I was neither fit to live nor fit to die; and brought once to the very pit of despair about what would become of my soul. In this time I had gotten an English Bible, and other good books, by the help of my fellow captives. I looked over the Scripture, and settled on the prayer of Jonah, and those words, "I said I am cast out of thy sight, yet will I look again towards thy holy temple." I resolved I would do as Jonah did: and in the meditation upon this scripture, the Lord was pleased by his spirit to come into my soul, and to fill me with ravishing comfort that I cannot express it. Then came to mind the history of the transfiguring of Christ, and Peter's saying, Matth. xvii. 4: "Lord, it is good for us to be here!" I thought it was good for me to be here; and I was so full of comfort and joy, I even wish'd I could be so always, and never sleep; or else die in that rapture of joy, and never live to sin any more against the Lord. Now I thought God was my God, and my sins were pardoned in Christ; and now I could suffer for Christ; yea, die for Christ, or do any thing for him. My sins had been a burden to me: I desired to see all my sins, and to repent of them all with all my heart, and of that sin which had been especially a burden to me, namely, that *I left the public worship and ordinances of God*, to go to live in a remote place, *without the publick ministry*; depriving our selves and our children of so great a benefit for our *souls*; and all this for *worldly advantags*. I found an heart to repent of them all; and to lay hold of the blood of Christ, to cleanse me from them all.

I found much comfort, while I was among the French, by the opportunities I had sometimes to read the Scriptures and other good books, and pray to the Lord in secret; and the conference that some of us captives had together about things of God and prayer together sometimes; especially with one that was in the same house with me, Margaret Stilson. Then was the word of God precious to us, and they "that feared the Lord, spake one to another of it," as we had opportunity. And Col. Tyng and Mr. Alden, as they were permitted, did speak to us to conform and strengthen us in the ways of the Lord. At length the French debar'd our coming together for religious conference or other duties: And word was sent us by Mr. Alden, that "this was one kind of persecution that we must suffer for Christ."

These are some of the scriptures which have been my support and comfort in the affliction of my captivity among the Papists. That in Ezek. xvi. 6—8, I apply'd unto myself, and I desired to "enter into covenant with God," and to be his; and I prayed to the Lord, and hoped the Lord would return me to my countrey again, that I might "enter into covenant" with him, among his people, and enjoy communion with him in his churches and public ordinances. Which prayers the Lord hath now heard, and graciously answer'd; praised be his name! The Lord enable me to live suitably to his mercy, and to those public and precious privileges which I now enjoy! So that in Ezek. xi. 16, 17, was a great comfort unto me in my captivity: "Although I have cast them far off among the heathen, yet will I be a little sanctuary to them:—I will gather you from the people,—where you have been scattered." I found that God was a little sanctuary to me there, and hoped that the Lord would bring me unto the countrey from whence I had been scattered. And the Lord hath heard the prayer of the destitute, and not despis'd my prayer, but granted me the desire of my soul, in bringing me to his house, and my relations again. I often thought on the history of the man born blind; of whom Christ, when his disciples asked, "whether this man had sinned, or his parents?" answered, "neither this man nor his parents; but this was, that the works of God might be manifest in him." So, tho' I had desired all this, yet I knew not but one reason of God's bringing all these afflictions and miseries upon me, and then enabling me to bear them, was, "that the works of God might be made manifest." And in my great distress I was revived by

that in Psal. cxviii. 17, 18: "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord: The Lord hath chastened me sore, but he hath not given me over to death." I had very often a secret persuasion, that I should "live to declare the works of the Lord." And 2 Chron. vi. 36, 37, 38, 39, was a precious scripture to me in the day of evil. We have read over, and prayed over this scripture together, and talk'd together of this scripture, Margaret and I; how the Lord had promis'd, though they were scattered for their sins, yet there should be a return, if they did bethink themselves, and turn, and pray. So we did bethink our selves in the land where we were carried captive, did return, did pray, and endeavour to "return to God with all our hearts." And as they were to "pray towards the temple," I took it that I should pray towards Christ; and accordingly did so, and hoped the Lord would hear, and he hath heard from heaven, his dwelling place, my prayer and supplication, and maintained my cause, and not rejected me, but returned me. And Oh! how affectionate was my reading of the 84th Psalm in this condition.

The means of my deliverance were by reason of letters that had passed between the governments of New-England and of Canada. Mr. Cary was sent with a vessel to fetch captives from Quebec, and when he came, I, among others, with my youngest son, had our liberty to come away; and by God's blessing upon us we arrived in safety at Boston, in November, 1695, our desired haven. And I desire to praise the "Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to me." Yet still I have left behind two children; a daughter of twenty years old, at Mont Royal, whom I had not seen in two years before I came away; and a son of nineteen years old, whom I never saw since we parted, the next morning after we were taken. I earnestly request the prayers of my Christian friends that the Lord will deliver them.

"What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?"

CHAPTER III.

CERAUNIUS;* RELATING REMARKABLES DONE BY THUNDER.

THE remarkable effects of thunder have been memorable subjects, upon which the pens of historians in all ages have been employed. And indeed, though the natural causes of the thunder are known unto us, yet there are those notable voices of the almighty God, often sensible in the directing thereof, which it becomes good men to observe with devout resentments.

'Tis very likely, that the *evil angels* may have a particular energy and employment, oftentimes in the mischiefs done by the thunder. When we read concerning the "fire of God" falling on some of Job's possessions, our Caryl says upon it, "The 'fire of God' here is conceived to have been some *terrible flash* of lightning; and it is the more probable, because it is said to *fall from heaven*; that is, out of the air. There Satan can do mighty things, command much of the magazine of heaven, where that dreadful artillery, which makes men tremble, those fiery meteors, thunder and lightning, are stor'd and lodg'd. Satan, let loose by God, can do wonders in the air: he can raise storms, he can discharge the *great ordnance of heaven*, thunder and lightning; and by his art can make them more terrible and dreadful, than they are in their own nature." 'Tis no heresie or

* The thunderer.

blasphemy to think that "the prince of the power of the air" hath as good skill in chymistry as goes to the making of *Aurum Fulminans*.* But this concession does the more powerfully bespeak our acknowledgment of the great God, the high thunderer, who limits those destroyers from all misapplications of his thunder-bolts, and who hath *good* angels, as well as *evil* ones, to be the executioners of his judgments in his thunders, and who will have none but his own designs accomplished by the thunders, wherein the *clouds* do proclaim his *immortal* strength.

New-England hath been a countrey signalized with mischiefs done by thunders, as much as perhaps most in the world. If things that are smitten by lightning were to be esteemed sacred, this were a sacred country. Rarely a summer passes, without some strokes from the thunders, on the persons, or houses, or cattel of our people.

To enumerate the instances of damages done by thunders in this land—houses fired, cattel slain, trees pull'd a-pieces, rocks pulverized, bricks vitrify'd, and ships mortify'd—would be to fill a volume.

Several persons have been killed by the thunders; the lightnings have strangely licked up their animal spirits, and left them dead upon the spot. The punishment of *burning*, used sometimes among the Jews of old, some think was inflicted by pouring hot lead into the mouths of the criminals. This punishment was called *Combustio Animæ*,† and used in imitation of God's destroying men with lightning, whereby the *inward* parts are burnt, while the *outward* are not hurt. A *Combustio Animæ* by the lightning hath killed many of our people. Some of these have had the just reputation of *godly persons*, who yet have died the same way that the learned Zunger supposes the Sodomites and Corah's conspirators to have perished, as well as Nadab and Abihu, and the *semi-centurions* that affronted the prophet Elias.

In confutation of an opinion mentioned by Plutarch, that men asleep are never stricken with lightning, some among us have been killed by the thunder when fast asleep, and had that epitaph,

Triste jaces lucis Evitandumque Bidental.‡

All that I shall add, is this: It hath been seen that "thunders oftener fall upon houses of God, than upon any other houses;" New-England can say so. Our *meeting-houses*, and our *ministers'* houses have had a singular share in the strokes of thunders.

Now, because there was in it somewhat remarkable and entertaining, I shall supersede all further accounts of our thunders, by annexing some notes of a sermon preached by one among us, at the very instant when the thunders were falling upon his own house, with some singular circumstances.

* Fulminating gold.

† Burning out of the life.

‡ Thou liest in the grove, a blasted thing.—*Pers. Sat. II. 27.*

BRONTOLOGIA SACRA:*

THE VOICE OF THE GLORIOUS GOD IN THE THUNDER;

EXPLAINED AND APPLIED, IN A SERMON, UTTERED BY A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, IN A LECTURE, UNTO AN ASSEMBLY OF CHRISTIANS ABROAD, AT THE VERY SAME TIME WHEN THE THUNDER WAS, BY THE PERMISSION AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD, FALLING UPON HIS OWN HOUSE. A DISCOURSE USEFUL FOR ALL MEN AT ALL TIMES, BUT ESPECIALLY INTENDED FOR AN ENTERTAINMENT IN THE HOURS OF THUNDER.

— Cui non Conrepunt membra pavore
Fulminis Horribili cum plagâ torrida tellus
Contremit, et magnum percurrunt murmura Cælum!†
LUCRET. l. v.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE author of the ensuing meditations, is willing to have nothing further known either of *him* or of *them*, save this, that being at prayer before a sermon in an assembly of Christians, the sudden rise of a thunder-storm was the occasion of his feeling a strong *impression* upon his mind unto this purpose: "Lay aside what you had prepared for this auditory; speak to them in the voice of the glorious God in the thunder; you shall not want assistances." He could not withstand this *impression*, but ventured upon an *extemporaneous contemplation* of the thunder. Now, the thing which made this digression remarkable was, that at the very same instant when he was thus driven to this theme, the thunder was directed by the God of heaven to fall with very *tearing*, tho' no *killing effects* upon his own house. The *hearers*, I suppose, found a sensible edge given to these meditations, by the wondrous timing of them; and although, no doubt, the author would have digested them with more exactness, had they not been altogether like the accidents that produced them, *sudden*; yet these *notes* taken of them, are perhaps not so utterly undigested as to be wholly useless unto a well-dispos'd reader.

The thunder being a thing that often *entertains* us, it was thought that it would be no disservice unto the church of God, if a few such reflections were offer'd unto the publick for the *entertainment* of the *serious*, when

*Ipse pater mediâ Nimborum in nocte, corusca,
Fulmina molitur dextrâ, quo maxima motu
Terra tremit, fugere feræ, et mortalia corda
Per gentes humilis stravit pavor.†—*

MEDITATIONS UPON THUNDER.—UTTERED SEPTEMBER 12, 1694.

OBSERVING that, by the thunder-storm just now begun, you are many of you thrown into a consternation, which perhaps may indispose you to mind any thing but the thunder, I shall altogether lay aside the meditations wherewith I came hither purposing to entertain you; and I shall, with the leave and help of our God, who is now speaking, treat you with some sudden meditations upon the thunder it self.

Christians, you shall now go along with me unto the 29th Psalm, in the

* The Sacred Lessons of the Thunder.

† Where will you find the man who does not feel
A chill of terror o'er his members steal,
When the scathed earth is made to reel and rock,
And heaven is shaken with the thunder's shock?

† From the dark store-house of the midnight cloud
He hurls His gleaming bolts and thunders loud;
Earth shakes and groans; the startled beasts have fled;
And countless human hearts beat wild with dread.

VIRGIL, *Georgics*, l. v. 329.

third verse whereof you shall find these words: "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters; the God of Glory thundereth."

And now, let not your attention to the thunder at this instant *abroad*, interrupt your further attention to the greater and louder thunder here-within.

The "voice of God" in this book, is far beyond that *voice* which is now making its rapid peals in the skie. This voice is more articulate than that; yea, by this voice that becomes articulate, give unto both your earnest heed.

I remember that when Elihu was, as I now am, speaking at a meeting of some godly men, at that very time, as at this, 'tis by some interpreters conceived, it thundered; and at the same time that "man of God" fell into a discourse upon the voice of God in the thunder. Then 'twas that he said, in Job xxxvii. *beg.*: "At this my heart trembleth, and is mov'd out of its place. Hear attentively the noise of his voice, and the sound that goeth out of his mouth. He directeth it under the whole heaven, and his lightning unto the ends of the earth; after it a voice roareth; he thundereth with the voice of his excellency; and he will not stay them when his voice is heard; God thundereth marvellously with his voice; great things doth he which we cannot *comprehend*."

You then will not count it improper, and I hope our common Lord will make it not unuseful, if I so far imitate the examples, as to offer you, in this juncture, an *essay* at explaining the voice of God in that very thunder, which is just now beginning to alarm our thoughts; and this the rather, because the text which we have now read, seems to be fetch'd from those very words of Elihu.

We have before us a Psalm composed by a great servant and singer of the Lord, probably at a time tempestuous by thunders, and composed that it might be employed among the people of God at such a time. You see how conveniently it may at this time give a text unto us.

I call to mind, that when the priest went into the sanctuary, his habit was, among other circumstances, to be attended with (Exod. xxviii. 34,) "golden bells and pomegranates;" and Josephus thinks the clatter of thunder and colour of lightning was designed therein to be represented. It seems *thunder* and *lightning* is a thing, whereof God would have notice to be taken in the sanctuary. In the oracles of the sanctuary, He doth himself take notice of it.

The sons of such eminent patriarchs as Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, are here call'd upon to give glory unto the God of heaven; and this both for his work of nature in the world, and for his works of grace in the church; and among his works of nature, some done in the *lower heaven*—namely, the thunders—are singled out as the special occasions for our praising him. But if *angels* may be meant by the "sons of the mighty," thus addressed, their own frequent concernment and improvement in the producing of thunders, gives yet a further emphasis unto this invitation.

About the thunder, we have two remarks in the words now read unto us:

First, We have the place of it. It is among the waters: that is, in the rainy clouds. The aqueous particles, daily fetch'd up from the earth and the sea, into the regions of the air, are a vast advantage to our quarters of the creation. The emptying, the refreshing, the proportioning of many parts in the creation, by their perpetual distillation, is justly to be reckoned among infallible demonstrations, to prove as well the *providence* as the *existence* of the great God, "who formed all things." For this cause, this thing is well worthy of the figure which it makes in the history of the creation; tho' it had not been there introduced, as probably it is, as figurative of that age wherein God separated from the rest of the world a number of people in the patriarchal families, whom he called up into a church-state; but so small a number, that, in comparison to the rest, they were no more than the clouds are unto the seas. This now is the "secret place of thunder."

Next we have the *cause* of it. This is "the Lord, the God of glory;" or the Lord, who is the glorious God.

It is the duty of a *minister* to watch for seasons, wherein and whereby the word of God, which he is to preach, may be advantag'd with a singular energy, for the "saving of himself and them that hear him."

'Twill be but a piece of "ministerial watchfulness," for me to bring you certain words of God this afternoon, unto which the terrible thunder now happening may be subservient with a more than ordinary penetrancy.

Sirs, Be not now *deaf to thunder*, but with me make this observation: "In the thunder there is the voice of the glorious God." There is——

[The author being arriv'd hereabouts in his discourse, a messenger interrupted him, with tidings that a thunder-clap had just now fallen upon his own house; and that tho' no person had been hurt, yet the house had been much torn, and filled with the lightnings. But, without breaking off, as had been desired, he thus proceeded:]

Brethren, I am just now inform'd, that the voice of the glorious God in the thunder has been very immediately directed unto my self by a fall of thunder-bolts upon my own house, at that very instant, as far as I can judge, that I felt the powerful impressions of heaven upon my own soul; inclining and engaging of me to frame a peculiar meditation upon the "voice of the glorious God in the thunder" among you.

The Psalmist here mentioning the great effects of the thunder, adds, "In his temple doth every one speak of his glory." As I remember, there is in Aben Ezra this observable passage of R. Moseh, quoted for a gloss upon it: "The Levites there praise God for keeping them from hurt by the thunder." What an occasion have I to do so this day? Instead of being hereby diverted from the work which I have now undertaken, I would practically teach you, *that with a mind unconcern'd about the things of this life, we should never be unfurnished with devout and proper thoughts on the*

mind of God in all our trials; and I would hope that this unhappy accident will be made happy, at least by procuring more of edge to that attention which the voice of God is to have with you: "to-day, if ye will hear his voice."

There is in this enquiry which I did but now design to make, and which I am now concerned more than I was before to make, on this occasion, "What is the voice of the glorious God in the thunder?"

First, It is to be premised, as herein implied and confessed, that the thunder is the work of the glorious God. It is true, that the thunder is a natural production, and by the common laws of matter and motion it is produced; there is in it a concourse of divers weighty clouds, clashing and breaking one against another, from whence arises a mighty sound, which grows yet more mighty by its resonancies. The subtil and sulphureous vapours among these clouds take fire in this combustion, and lightnings are thence darted forth; which, when they are somewhat grosser, are fulminated with an irresistible violence upon our territories.

This is the Cartesian account; tho' that which I rather choose is, that which the vegetable matter protruded by the subterraneous fire, and exhaled also by the force of the sun, in the vapour that makes our shower a *mineral matter of niter and sulphur*, does also ascend into the atmosphere, and there it goes off with fierce explosions.

But, still, who is the author of those laws, according whereunto things are thus moved into thunder? yea, who is the *first mover* of them? Christians, 'tis our glorious God. There is an intimation somewhere, ('tis in Psal. civ. 7,) that there was a most early and wondrous use of the thunder in the first creation of the world: but still the thunder itself, and the *tonitruous* disposition and generation with which the air is impregnated, was a part of that creation. Well, and whose workmanship is it all? "Ah! Lord, thou hast created all these things; and for thy pleasure they are and were *created*." It is also true, that angels may be reckoned among the causes of thunders: and for this cause, in the sentence of the Psalms, where they are called "flames of fire," one would have been at a loss whether *angels* or *lightnings* were intended, if the apostolical accommodation had not cleared it. But what though angels may have their peculiar influence upon thunders? Is it but the influence of an instrument; they are but instruments directed, ordered, limited by him who is the "God of thunders" and the "Lord of angels." Hence the thunder is ascribed unto our God all the Bible over: in the Scripture of truth, 'tis called the "thunder of God," oftener than I can presently quote unto you. And hence we find the thunder, even now and then, executing the purpose of God. Whose can it be but the "thunder of God," when the pleasure of God has been continually thereby accomplished?

But, I pray, why then should we be *slavishly afraid* of the thunder? We are in covenant with that God who makes the thunder, and it is a

"covenant of grace," wherein he is "our God." Well, and shall we not now make that joyful conclusion, "he is our own God, and he will bless us?" Whence then our amazing terrors, when we hear him thundering terribly in the heavens over us? As long as the Almighty thunderer is our own God, we need not fear that he will do us any hurt by any of his works: no, he will make "all things work together for our good." A saint may say, "My God will never hurt me!" Suppose we should be slain by thunder, we shall but in that thunder of heaven, have a great voice from heaven saying to us, "Come up hither!" and setting aside the *unusualness* of the stroke, which makes it seem horrid and uncouth, it were the easiest way of going up that ever was gone. I say, then, be not afraid: *Ejus est timere qui nolit ad Christum ire.**

Mr. Ambrose, in his treatise of angels, as I remember, does relate this passage:

"A profane persecutor discovered much affrightment at the thunder which happened while he was on a journey; his pious and holy wife, then with him, asked him the reason of his being so affrighted. 'Why,' said he, 'are not you afraid?' She replied, 'No, not at all; for I know 'tis the voice of my heavenly Father; and shall a child be afraid of a kind father's voice?' The man, hereby surpriz'd, made this conclusion: 'Sure these Puritans have a *divine principle* in them, which the world seeth not; else they could not have such a *serenity* in their souls, when the rest of the world are fill'd with dismal horrors!' Hereupon he went to Mr. Bolton, bewailing the opposition which he had given unto the *ministry* of that reverent man, and became a godly man ever after."

You know what use to make of the story, and so I may proceed.

Secondly, It is now to be more distinctly asserted, that thunder is the voice of the glorious God. There is a voice of his in this work of his. If the thunder were φωνή Διός—"the voice of Jupiter"—in the account of the poor Pagans, I am sure it should be accounted "the voice of Jehovah" by us Christians. One of the ways whereby God revealed himself to his ancient people, was a *Beth Kol*, as they called it: there was a voice of thunder in it. Sirs, we have what is equivalent unto a *Beth Kol* this afternoon, in the significancy which we shall now hear the Scripture give unto the thunder.

I. One voice of the glorious God in the thunder, is, "that he is a glorious God, who makes the thunder." There is the marvellous glory of God seen in it, when he "thunders marvellously." Thus do these inferiour and meteorous "heavens declare the glory of God."

The power of God is the glory of God. Now, his thunder does proclaim his power. It is said, "the thunder of his power, who can understand?"—that is, his powerful thunder; the thunder gives us to understand that our God is a most powerful one. There is nothing able to stand before those lightnings, which are stiled, "the arrows of God:" Castles fall, metals melt; all flies, when "hot thunder-bolts" are scattered upon them. The very mountains are torn to pieces, when

* Fear is for him who will not come to Christ.

———*Feriant summos*

*Fulmina montes.**———

Yea, to speak in the language of the prophets, fulfilled in the thunder storm that routed the Assyrian armies, "the mountains quake, the hills melt, the earth is burnt. Who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? His fury is poured out like fire, and the rocks are thrown down by him." Suetonius, I think 'tis, who tells us that the haughty and profane Emperour Caligula would yet shrink, and shake, and cover his head at the least thunder, and run to hide himself under a bed. This truly is the voice of the thunder: "Let the proudest sinners tremble to rebel any more against a God who can thus discomfit them with shooting out his lightnings upon them: sinners, where can you shew your heads, if the Highest give forth his voice with hail stones and coals of fire." Methinks there is that song of Hannah in the thunder, (1 Sam ii. 3, 10,) "Talk no more so exceeding proudly; let not arrogancy come out of your mouth. For the adversaries of the Lord shall be broken to pieces; out of heaven shall he thunder upon them." The omnipotent God in the thunder speaks to those hardy Typhons, that are found fighting against him; and says, "Oh, do not harden yourselves against such a God; you are not stronger than he!" Yea, the great God is proposed as an object for our faith, as well as for our fear in his thunder.

If nothing be too hard for the thunder, we may think surely nothing is too hard for the Lord! The arm that can wield thunder-bolts, is a very *mighty arm*.

From hence pass on, and admire the other "glorious attributes" of God, which he doth in his thunder display most gloriously: when it thunders, let us adore the wisdom of that God, who thereby many ways does consult the welfare of the universe: Let us adore the justice of that God, who thereby many times has cut off his adversaries; and let us adore the goodness of that God, who therein preserves us from imminent and impending desolations, and is not so severe as he would be,

Si quoties peccant homines sua fulmina mittat.†

II. A second voice of the glorious God in the thunder, is, "Remember the law of the glorious God that was given in thunder." The people of God were once gathered about a mountain, on which, from his right hand, issued a fiery law for them; or a law given with lightning. At the promulgation of the ten commandments, we are told in Ex. xx. 18, "All people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the mountain smoaking." Yea, they were such, that the apostle tells us, tho' Moses himself says nothing of it, they made Moses himself "exceedingly to fear and quake." Well, when it thunders, let us call to mind the command-

* The lightnings scathe their loftiest peaks.—HORACE, *Odes*, II. 10, v. 11.

† If bolts of wrath should fall for every sin.

ments, which were once thus thundered unto the world; and bear in mind that, with a voice of thunder, the Lord still says unto us, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and all thy soul, and all thy strength; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." But when the thunder causes us to reflect upon the commandments of our God, let there be a self-examination in that reflection.

Let us now examine our selves, what is requir'd, and whether we have not omitted it? what is forbidden, and whether we had not committed it? and what provocation we have given unto the God of glory to speak unto us in his wrath and vex us in his displeasure. Blessed the thunder that shall thunder-strike us into the acknowledgments of a convinced and a repenting soul!

III. A third voice of the glorious God in the thunder, is, "Think on the future coming of the glorious God in the thunder, and in great glory." When the day of judgment shall arrive unto us, then "our God shall come, and shall not keep silence; a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him." The second coming of our Lord will be, as we are advised in 2 Thes. i. 7, 8, "with his mighty angels in flaming fire;" the clouds will be his charriot, but there will be prodigious thunders breaking forth from those clouds.

The redemption of the church, for which the Lord hath long been cried unto, will then be accomplished; but at what rate? The Lord will come in the thick clouds of the skies: at the brightness that shall be before him thick clouds will pass, hail-stones and coals of fire; the Lord also will thunder in the heavens.

I say, then, does it thunder?—Let us now realize unto ourselves that great and notable day of the Lord, which will be indeed a great and thundering day! But how far should we now realize it?—realize it so, as to be ready for it? Oh, count your selves not safe till you get into such a condition of soul, that your hearts would even leap and spring within you, were you sure that in the very next thunders our precious Lord would make his descent unto us. What if the hour were now turned, wherein the judge of the whole world were going to break in upon us with fierce thunders, and make the mountains to smok by his coming down upon them, and reign before his ancient people gloriously? Could you gladly say, "Lo, this is the God of my *salvation*, and I have waited for him!" I say, let the thunders drive you on to this attainment.

IV. A fourth voice of the glorious God in the thunder, is "Make your peace with God immediately, lest by the *stroke* of his thunder he take you away in his wrath." Why is it that persons are usually in such a consternation at the thunder? Indeed, there is a complectional and constitutional weakness in many this way; they have such a disadvantage in a frightful temper, that no considerations can wholly overcome it. But most usually the frights of people at the thunder arise from the terms

wherein they may suspect their own souls to stand before an angry God. Their consciences tell 'em that their sins are yet unpardoned, that their hearts are yet unrenewed, that their title to blessedness is yet unsettled, and that if the next thunder-clap should strike them dead. it had been good for them that they had never been born.

*Hi sunt qui trepidant, et ad omnia fulgura pallent;
Cum tonat, exanimis primo quoque murmure cæli.**

Here then is the voice of God in the thunder: "Art thou ready? *Soul*, art thou ready? Make ready presently, lest I call for thee before thou art aware." There is in thunder a vehement call unto that regeneration, unto that repenting of sin, that believing on Christ, and that consenting unto the demands of the new covenant, without which no man in his wits can comfortably hold up his face before the thunder. I have now in my house a mariner's compass, whereupon a thunder-clap had this odd effect, that the north point was thereby turned clear about unto the south; and so it will veer and stand ever since unto this day, tho' the thing happened above thirteen years ago.

I would to God that the next thunder-claps would give as effectual a turn unto all the unconverted souls among us! May the thunder awaken you to turn from every vanity to God in Christ without any delay, lest by the thunder it self it come quickly to be too late. It is a vulgar error, that the thunder never kills any who are asleep: Man, what if the thunder should kill thee in the dead sleep of thy unregeneracy?

V. A fifth voice of the glorious God in the thunder, is, "Let this thunder convict you of what you may justly reckon your own iniquity." Every man has his own peculiar *sin*, a *sin* whereby the soul of the man is more expos'd and endanger'd than by any other sin; his *darling-sin*, his *master-sin*, or that which bids fairest so to be. David, being deliver'd from damage by the thunder, ascribes it unto the favour of God, (2 Sam. xxii. 24,) rewarding him for keeping "himself from his own iniquity." This I say, the thunder may do us the favour of informing us what is our own iniquity, and that would be a favour indeed! There are some sort of *writings* which you can't read until you hold them against the fire: Would you read the worst guiltiness and wickedness of your own hearts? Then, say I, "hold them up against the lightning." My meaning is this: when it thunders, do you observe about what miscarriage your hearts do first and most of all then misgive you; observe which of all your faults *then* does first of all and most of all stare you in the face with formidable criminations. You may now take it for granted, this is "your own iniquity." And the voice of the thunder is; "Do you keep a special watch against that iniquity, and against all the beginnings, all the occasions, all the incentives of that iniquity."

VI. A sixth voice of the glorious God in the thunder, is, "Take heed

* They tremble and grow pale at every crash, | Crazed with the muttering storm and blinding flash.

now, take heed ever, of those grosser sins which have sometimes been revenged by thunder." There have been the ireful and the direful thunders of God, sometimes used for the executions of his vengeance upon such and such enormities. The perpetual admonitions of the thunders are, "Take heed of such thunder-struck abominations!" As now, the cities now buried (tho' they say of late by the sinking of the water growing visible again) in the Lake of Sodom. Tacitus the Roman Historian, truly tells us, they perish'd *fulminum jactu*—by thunder-bolts; God sent an extraordinary thunder-storm upon them for the lusts of *uncleanness*, wherein they burned.—What says the poet?

*Tu parum castis inimica mittes
— Fulmina Lucis.**

Wherefore, when it thunders, the voice of God in it is, "Put out the unclean fires of lust in your souls, lest I set you on fire by my dreadful thunders." Again, there was Nadab and Abihu, who offered strange fire to God, and God punished them with a killing fire from heaven, in a hideous thunder-storm; so, then, when it thunders, the voice of God in it is, "Look well to all your sacrifices, lest my fire make you a sacrifice: See that you duly attend my worship, lest my thunder fall upon you!" Once more, there was Uzziah, who fell into an error in his management about the *ark* of God; and it seems as if a thunder-storm, suddenly coming up, kill'd him for it: Hence, then, when it thunders, the voice of God in it is, "Look to it that my ark and my word find no contempt with you, lest my thunder chastise you for your contempt." What shall I say more? Corah was destroyed by thunder for his rebellion against God and Moses. Wherefore the voice of the thunder is, "Take heed of all rebellion against God and Jesus." The Egyptians, the Philistines, the Assyrians, were confounded with desolating thunders, because they invaded and injured the people of God. It is then the voice of the thunder, "See that you do no wrong unto an holy people, that have this artillery of heaven to defend them." They that are such witnesses for God and reformation as Elijah was, have, as he had, the fires of lightnings to devour those that hurt them.

VII. A seventh voice of the glorious God in the thunder, is, "Hear the *voice* of my word, lest I make you fear the *voice* of my thunder." When the inhabitants of Egypt persisted in their disobedience to the word of God, it came to that at last, in Ex. ix. 23, "The Lord sent thunder, and the fire ran along upon the ground." Thus the eternal God commands men to let go their sins, and go themselves to serve him; if they are disobedient, they lay themselves open to fiery thunders. This, you may be sure, is the voice of God in the thunder, "Hear my still voice in my ordinances, lest you put me upon speaking to you with more angry thunder-bolts." I have known it sometimes remark'd that very notorious

* The desecrated grove, of rites unchaste, | Thy vengeful bolts shall blast.—HORACE, *Odes*, I. 12, v. 59.

and resolved sleepers at sermons often have some remarkable suddenness in the circumstances of their death. Truly, if you are scandalously given to sleep under the word of God; and much more, if to sin under it; and most of all, if to scoff under it; it may be, your deaths will be rendred sudden by the other thunders of heaven lighting on you. When it thunders, God saith to all the hearers of his word ordinarily preached, "Consider this, and forget not God, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver you."

Finally, And is there not this voice of the glorious God in thunder after all? "O be thankful to the gracious God, that the thunder does no more mischief to you all."

Whatever the witch-advocates may make of it, it is a scriptural and a rational assertion, that in the thunder there is oftentimes, by the permission of God, the agency of the devil. The devil is the prince of the *air*, and when God gives him leave, he has a vast power in the *air*, and *armies* that can make thunders in the *air*. We are certain that Satan had his efficiency in it, when the fire of God or the lightning fell upon part of Job's estate. How glad would he have been if the good man himself had been in the way, to have been torn in pieces! And perhaps it was the hellish policy of the wicked one, thus to make the good man suspicious that God was become his enemy. Popes that have been conjurors have made fire thus come from heaven, by their confederacies with evil spirits; and we have in our own land known evil spirits, plainly discovering their concurrence in disasters thus occasioned. A great man has therefore noted it, that thunders break oftener on churches than any other houses, because the *dæmons* have a peculiar spite at houses that are set a-part for the peculiar service of God.

I say, then, live we thus in the midst of thunders and devils too; and yet live we? Oh! let us be thankful to God for our lives. Are we not smitten by the great ordnance of heaven, discharging every now and then on every side of us? Let us be thankful to the great Lord of heaven, who makes even the wrath of hell to praise him, and the remainder of that wrath does he restrain.

Such a serious thankfulness, manifested in an answerable fruitfulness, will be still continually a better shelter to us from the mischiefs of the thunder, than the crowns of laurels, or the tents of *seal*-leather, whereby some old Emperours counted themselves protected; or than all the amulets of superstition.

To the custody of Israel's Great Keeper I now commend you all.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RETURNING PRODIGAL;

RELATING REMARKABLE CONVERSIONS.

Suis perdita nunquam reverteretur, nisi pii pastoris misericordiam consequeretur.—Aug.*

THE substance of the church, that mystical body of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, was from all eternity under the eye of God, as proposed in the decree of election. The members of that body were from all eternity written in the book of life: And, in pursuance of the divine decree concerning it, the Holy Spirit in the continuance of time, thro' several generations does fashion it into the shape designed for it. But how? We are told in Psal. cxxxix. 14, "'Tis fearfully and wondrously made; marvellous are the works of God about it." The marvellous works of God in converting and uniting of elect sinners unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST, will make an history for heaven. But something of that history has thousands of times been given to particular flocks of the faithful throughout New-England, in the relations which devout people have made unto them, at their first admission into their communion.

These marvellous works of God were very proper materials for a church-history: But ours has not a room for them; nor will I recite in this place more than two or three remarkables.

I. It was a problem among the ancient philosophers, "Whether a child may not confer more benefits on his father than he has received from him?" This hath been sometimes bravely determined in the affirmative among us, when fathers have by the means of their own children been born again.

One of my neighbours had a son which died when he was about five or six years old. The man's religion extended no further than to prayer with his family on the Lord's Days. All the rest of the week his worldly heart was by the cares of this world indisposed for devotions. The mother of the child therefore pray'd with her children every day; and she saw the good effects of it upon them. This child lay sick for divers weeks; in which time he often called on his mother to pray for him—never on his father. And when the Lord's-Day arrived, the child would, with observable joy, utter that expression, "This is the day on which my father uses to go to prayer." The words of the dying son so stuck in the mind of his father, that with many tears he not only bewailed and reformed this his neglect of his family-prayer, but also became, as far as could be judged, a sincerely Godly man, dying afterwards in the fear of God.

II. Some have observ'd that, for the generality of them who are effect-

* The lost sheep would never return to the fold, unless she received the pity of her tender shepherd.

ually brought home unto God under the constant preaching of the gospel, between *fifteen* and *thirty* is the age wherein most of the *elect* become *call'd*. Nevertheless, New-England hath afforded many examples of *children* which have in their early *infancy* been marvellously filled with the spirit of Christ; and some of these examples have been afterwards published unto the world. Moreover, that the grace of God may be display'd, as truly sovereign, some among us that have liv'd unto old age—poor, graceless, godless, wretchless—have then passed under changing operations and renovations, from the “word of the grace of God” upon their souls. In the primitive times, there was one Victorious, a very old man, turned into Christianity; the church would not for some while receive him: for, thought they, “old sinners do not use thus to turn and live;” but he evinced the reality of his turn at such a rate, that they sang hymns about it in the Christian assemblies; and it was much proclaim'd, “Victorious is become a Christian! Victorious is become a Christian!”

Among other instances of such a matter, in the churches of New-England, one was a man of Lancaster, who arrived in age to so many years above an hundred, that he had lived in wedlock with his wife *sixty-three* years, and yet she was *thirty-five* years younger than himself; and he was able to follow his toils at husbandry very lively about a month before his death. This man had been all his days a poor, ignorant, ungodly man, and after he had heard so many thousands of sermons, unacquainted with the very principles of his catechism. Nevertheless, when he was about *an hundred years old*, God blessed the ministry of his word unto this man's awakening; the man became a diligent enquirer after the things of the life to come, and a serious attender on all that was religious. He arrived unto such measures of a well informed piety, that the church, which was very strict in the terms of their communion, yet received him into their communion some years before he died, wherein he continu'd under a good character so long as he continu'd in the world.

III. When a great sinner cried out, “My sin is greater than can be forgiven,” it was by Austin well replied, “Cain, thou lyest!” A malefactor once going to his execution, in a transporting sense of great mercy to a great sinner, kept crying out, “God is a great forgiver! God is a great forgiver!” So thought one who died at our Salem village in December, 1688. This man (whose name was Wilkins) had signalized himself by a bad life, until he had spent fifty years on the lewd and rude courses of notorious ungodliness. Tho' he had enjoyed the benefits of a pious education, yet he shook off all the yokes which that education had laid upon him. He became a foul mouth'd scoffer at all good men and good things, and a base mocker of church-members in particular. The vices of drunkenness, and lying, and swearing, made the characters of his conversation. Sabbath-breaking made him infamous among *sober*, and promise-breaking among *honest* people; and his disobedience to his parents was not unequal to the

rest of his disorders. Original sin, in the furthest efforts of it, filled his whole walk for half an hundred years; at which age he left the world; and had sate under, and sinn'd against the "means of grace" all this while.

But yet, reader, prepare thy admirations! This enormous liver was wonderfully regenerated before he died. The great God so blessed and owned the "ministry of his word," that the efficacy thereof upon him did become conspicuous to astonishment. He became an heart-broken penitent, and so devout, so pensive, so humble, that every one saw a *new creature* in him. He mourned for all his former faults, and his mournful complaints reached unto the "plague of his heart," as the root of all. He reformed what was amiss in him, and applied himself with an exceeding vigour unto the Lord Jesus Christ our only Saviour, for his *great salvation*. While the Lord was thus beginning his heavenly impressions upon him, he fell mortally sick; and it was not long before he passed out of this world with a wonderful assurance of his interest in a *better*.

It were endless to reckon up the extraordinary passages which occurred in the sick and last weeks of his life; but some of them were such as these:

"Oh! what a 'wonder of mercy' is it [said he] unto my soul that God hath not cast me immediately into hell, and given me no time to repent; or to beg for an heart to repent! But *great mercy* hath spared a *great sinner*."

"——The stoutest man [said he] that ever lived, should he but seriously think on eternity, and have no Christ to fly unto, it would so sink the heart of him, that he could never bear it; but the Lord will shew mercy to my distressed soul."

He gave himself wholly to prayer, and would excuse watchers from sitting with him, that he might be at leisure for communion with God above. Sometimes he would give a start as he lay, and being asked the reason of it, he said, "Oh! I have a great work to do, and but a little time to do it."

The conflicts which he endured in his mind, were intolerable; under which, he day and night kept "wrestling with God" for his mercy.

One morning, his brother enquiring of him how he did, he replied, "Oh! I have had as doleful a night as ever man had. I have had three great enemies this night encountering with me, the *flesh*, the *world*, and the *devil*. I have been this night both in *hell* and in *heaven*; and I can truly say, with David, all this night long 'I have watered my couch with my tears.' But, as the day broke, my Saviour came and vanquished the devil, and told him 'that he had no right in me, for he had redeem'd me with his own blood.'"

Unto his aged father he said, "Sir, I have felt a great work on my distressed soul: 'This, your son, was lost, and is found; was dead, and is alive.' Doleful nights have I seen: The thoughts of my sins did sorely oppress me: When I would be crying to my dear Saviour for his mercy, he would seem not to pity me, but say: 'Thou hast been a servant of the devil, and of thy lust, and dost thou now come to me? I have been calling

to thee, and thou hast been hardening thy heart at my calls, and dost thou expect mercy after all?" And then the Devil would put in, saying, 'Thou hast been my vassal so long, thy cries for mercy are now all too late.' I have also seen the face of an angry God, and that was the terriblest thing that was ever seen. I then found no stay for my distressed soul; but *free mercy! free mercy!* The Lord now put under me his everlasting arms, and gave me an heart still to pray, and say, 'Lord Jesus, mercy for thy name's sake, mercy for thy name's sake!' My Redeemer would say, 'Thou art a great sinner, and an old sinner!' The answer of my soul was, 'Truth, Lord; but even such sinners have already found mercy at thy hands. I come to thee, for with thee the fatherless find mercy.'"

He would speak forth into very high expressions. His great comfort he fetched from Matt. xi. 28: "Come to me, and I will give you rest." He would now cry out, "O the riches of free grace! There are thousands of thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand in the third heaven, rejoicing over a great and an old sinner, coming to glory! O glorify free grace for ever!"

He would say, "O blessed sickness, blessed sickness! What a friend hast thou been to me; and now, welcome death, or welcome life; what my Redeemer please. O, that I could declare unto my relations and neighbours—yea, that I could declare unto kings and worlds—what the Lord hath done for my soul!"

He would reflect on the humiliation of the Lord Jesus Christ, with an amazed and transported soul: he would break forth into a great *adoration* of it, and say, "Oh! this wonderful mercy to undone sinners!" He would also make that one of his admirations, "O the glorious work of faith, which rolls itself on Christ alone!"

He talked in strains that were surprisingly prophetic, concerning the changes which quickly after came on our government; and of the success which God would give unto the (then) prince of Orange, in the descent which we then had newly heard that he was intending upon England.

His counsel to every one was, to make their calling and election sure. And he would often say, "Oh! I am an old sinner, and but a young convert! I am fifty years old, and have lived but seven weeks all this while."

To his brethren he said, "You are careful about a garment for me, under my weakness this winter: but, brothers, I have a better garment than you can provide for me; the long white robe of the righteousness of Jesus Christ will cover me all over."

He kept praying, and praising, and singing of psalms till his end came; and then being taken speechless and senseless, his friends apprehended him just in a manner to his last gasp. Thus he lay for divers hours drawing on; but at length he strangely revived so far, that he sprang up in his bed, spreading his arms abroad, as tho' going to leap into the *arms* of a Redeemer, and shouting, "O, my friends, Heaven rings all over at this!

a *great* and an *old* sinner coming to Heaven! Behold, in my Father's house are many mansions: if it had not been so, my Saviour would not have said it. But he is gone to prepare a place for me. O, the riches of grace! O glorify free-grace for evermore." And so he lay down, he expir'd, he went away, to the rest of God.

IV. Reader, pass thy judgments on a thing that is newly hapned. The story is published among us, and no body doth, or can doubt the truth of it. In Barwick, of our New-England, there dwelt one Ephraim Joy, as infamous a drunkard as perhaps any in the world. By his drunkenness he not only wasted his estate, but ruined his body too. At last, being both poor and sick, and therewithal hurried by sore *temptations*, a gentleman of Portsmouth, out of pure charity and compassion, took him into his house. While he lay ill there, the approaches of death and hell, under his convictions of his debauch'd life, exceedingly terrified him. Amidst these terrours, he dreamt that he made his appearance before the *tribunal* of the Lord Jesus Christ, the judge of the world, by whom he was condemned; whereupon he had a sight of the horrors in the state of damnation, which was now arresting of him. He cried with an *anguish* of importunity unto the judge for a pardon; but his eternal Judge answered him, that he would not yet give him an *absolute* pardon, but allow him fourteen *days* to repent; in which time, if he did repent, he should have a pardon. He dreamt that accordingly he repented and was pardon'd, and at the fourteen days' end received into heaven. The poor man declared his dream to the people of the house, and sent for the help of ministers and other Christians; and expressed the humiliations of a very deep repentance. As he drew near his end, he grew daily more lively in the exercises of his faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, relying on him for salvation; until he confidently said that his peace was made with God. But, behold, at the expiration of the fourteen days, precisely and exactly according to his dream, he died. Yea, and he died full of that great joy which gave no little to the spectators.

Nunquam est sera conversio: latro de cruce transit ad Paradisum.—HIER.*

C H A P T E R V.

HISTORIA NEMESIOS;† RELATING REMARKABLE JUDGMENTS OF GOD.

THE reader is doubtless waiting for an history of REMARKABLE JUDGMENTS, inflicted by the evident and undoubted hand of Heaven, on several sorts of sinners in this land. Now, an history of those things having been interwoven into two brief Sermons lately preached among us, reader take

* Conversion is never too late; the thief passed from the cross to Paradise.—JEROME.

† History of God's Judgments.

it under the advantage which was thereby given unto it. Read it with the salutation used by Maximillian when he passed by the place of execution, *Salve justitia!**

TERRIBILIA DEI.†—REMARKABLE JUDGMENTS OF GOD,
ON SEVERAL SORTS OF OFFENDERS, IN SEVERAL SCORES OF INSTANCES,
AMONG THE PEOPLE OF NEW-ENGLAND.

OBSERVED, COLLECTED, RELATED, AND IMPROVED; IN TWO SERMONS,
AT BOSTON—LECTURE IN THE MONTH OF JULY, 1697.—BY COTTON MATHER.

Raro antecedentem scelestum descriuit pede pœna claudo.‡—HORAT.

Supplicia imprudentium prudentibus conferunt sanitatem.§—CYPR. DE ZELO.

THE FIRST SERMON.

PSAL. cxix. 120: My flesh trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy JUDGMENTS.

It cannot be said of any man, as it is said of the Leviathan, "he is made without fear;" but *fear* is one of these *natural passions* which the Maker of man hath infused into him to move him in the matters of his happiness. And, indeed, if the spirit of man were destitute of all fear, it would want a sinew, needful to manage him in many of his motions. But this affection of our fear, by which we have such apprehensions of *evils* as to fly from them, as 'tis useful to us in all our concerns, thus 'tis of most eminent use to us in the concerns of religion. Without the exercise of some fear, no real *religion* can be exercised; if we would serve the Lord, it must be with *fear*; if we would keep the commandments of God, it is our *fear* of him that will be *custos utriusque tabulæ*.||

In the sacred oracle now before us, behold such a fear exemplified! Solomon the Wise once wrote that maxim of wisdom, "Happy is the man that feareth always." And he had the example of his blessed father, to inform him of, and confirm him in such a maxim. David was as great an instance of undaunted valour and courage, as perhaps any that ever lived; his fortitude was heroical. Yet we find him fearing always: and well might he fear, when he had such a formidable object for his fear as that which is proposed in the text now before us.

The Psalmist in our context is making his observations upon the dispensations of the God of heaven towards ungodly men on earth. Ungodly men had been very high in their worldly advancements and advantages: but, saith he, "Lord, I see thee treading of them down!" Ungodly men had cleaved unto the people of God, as if they had been of one *metal* with them, and their fate and lot had been one; but, saith he, "Lord, I see

* All hail, justice!

† The terrors of the Lord.

‡ Avenging justice, though with limping pace,

Overtakes the fleetest villain in the race.—HORACE, *Odes*, III. 2, v. 31.

§ The punishment of the imprudent affords security to the prudent. | The keeper of both tables of the law.

thee putting them away like dross." Now, there is a two-fold use which the psalmist makes of these observations:—One is *love*: Therefore I love thy testimonies.—Another is *fear*: "My flesh trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy judgments."

The degree of fear thus expressed, is remarkable. One of the ancients who understood Hebrew, as few of them did, renders it *horripilavit caro mea*; (*q. d.*) "My hair even stands on end with fear." And the Septuagint renders it, "My flesh is pierc'd with fear as with nails." But there is no need of evaporating our discourse in criticisms on the language of our text. The plain language, and the doctrine of it is,

THAT, A VERY TREMBLING FEAR OF GOD IN HIS JUDGMENTS, IS WHAT ALL MEN SHOULD, AND WHAT GOOD MEN WILL, HAVE THEIR SOULS EXCEEDINGLY AWED WITHAL.

If you will hear the sum of the matter, there is this CASE, to be distinctly with all due brevity spoken unto.

What is the trembling fear of God in his judgments which is to be entertain'd in our souls? And so, what are those judgments of God, whereof it becomes us, with a trembling fear, to be afraid?

Behold the steps by which we shall arrive to a full answer of the important case thus before us.

I. The "fear of God" comprehends the whole of that religion, whereto the will of God obligeth us. Indeed, in a *natural fear*, we are carried from what we fear. But a *gracious fear* will carry us to the God who is therein our fear; to fear God, is to choose him, to love him, to trust him, to seek him, and to draw near unto him. In this *fear* of God there is prēsupposed a *sense* of God. We must be none of those "*fools*," who say, "there is no God." Our fear of God must not be as of an imaginary being, or of the frightful *non-entities* which the feeble spirits of children are scared with all. We are to be well satisfied, and we have all possible demonstrations to satisfie us, that "there is a God, whose kingdom ruleth over all." But then,

First, There is in the "fear of God" a reverence, respect and regard, unto all that has the name of God upon it. We must have such a fear of God in us, that our God may speak of us, in that stile in Mal. iv. 2: "You fear my name." We should have none but fit—that is to say, holy and humble—resentments of all those things whereby the great God makes himself known unto us. His *titles* we must mention with honour; his *attributes* we must adore, with all affection; his *appointments* we must approach, with all attention. We should be solicitous that God may be glorified, not only by ourselves, but also by all the world about us.—"Hallow'd be thy name," is to be the first petition of our souls.

Secondly, There is in the "fear of God," a studious concern and caution, to avoid all that sinful evil by which the "law of God is transgress'd." We must have that fear of God, whereto we are advised in Prov. xvi. 6:

"By the fear of the Lord, men depart from evil." We should fly from every known sin, as from a deadly serpent or poison, because of the offence thereby given to that God who hath no pleasure in wickedness. When we see others do any thing that is forbidden and condemn'd in the edicts of God, we should be able to say, as Nehemiah of old, "but so do not I, because I have the fear of God!" When others urge us to do any thing amiss, we should reply, like Joseph, "I dare not commit such things, for I fear God!" And therefore the anger of God should be the terror of our souls: we should rather incur any miseries, than procure that anger which the strongest mountains cannot stand before: and count it a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

Thirdly, In the "fear of God" there is a filial care, to yield him that service and worship which may be pleasing unto him. In the fear of God we must obey him with our service. The angels of heaven, who move the wheels in the great changes on earth, when they stood in their service before the throne of God, which had the appearance of fire round about him, they let down their wings, at his voice, in the vision of Ezekiel. In allusion hereunto, the apostle, speaking unto believers, that are to be as the angels in the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, which cannot be moved, says, in Heb. xii. 28, 29: "Serve God with *reverence* and with godly fear: for our God is a *consuming fire*." In the fear of God, we must renounce the service of all our idols; we must no more humour the flesh, no more follow the world, no more gratifie the devil. *And we must now so devote ourselves unto the service of God, that we may be able to say, "Lord, I am thy servant, devoted unto thy fear!" He is to be our master, and we should leave no room for that expostulation, "Where is my fear?" And, in the fear of God, we must address him with our worship. The proselytes which came in to embrace the true worship of God, have this distinction in Psal. cxv. 11: "Ye that fear the Lord." In the fear of God, we must worship him who is worthy to be feared: and both the natural and the instituted worship of God is to be continually perform'd with us; we ought to be, as he once was, devout persons, who fear God and pray always unto him.

All this is comprised in the fear of God. And yet you have no right notion of it, if a CHRIST be left out of the notion. There is a faith implied in this fear. The fear of God is, after all, to be thus describ'd, and never fully, till thus described, unto us: 'tis even *such a dread* of the *divine displeasure* at sin, as drives us to our Lord Jesus Christ for salvation from sin, and from the displeasure of God against us for it. There never was any true fear of God in the days of the *Old Testament*, but such as thought of and ran to a Messiah, as the deliverer from the wrath of God; and all the fear of God in the days of the *New Testament* acknowledges our blessed Jesus as that Messiah. This is that fear of God which is the "beginning of wisdom;" this that fear of God wherein all men should be all the day long.

This is that fear of God, wherein we should continue all the days that we live upon the earth. If thou dost not walk in the fear of God, O man, let thy flesh tremble for fear, and be afraid of the judgments whereto thou dost make thy self obnoxious. But this leads us to a further consideration.

II. Unto the fear of God we are, by the consideration of his judgments, to be awakened; and we should therefore be struck with a very trembling fear of those judgments. Now, the judgments of God are capable of a distribution, into *Judicia Judicantia* and *Judicia Judicata*—judgments *denounced* and judgments *inflicted*; judgments in the commination, and judgments in the accomplishment: the declaration of divine judgments, and the execution of divine judgments. With an eye to this distribution, there are these counsels, which from the great God of judgment are to be given you.

THE FIRST COUNSEL.—Let us with a very trembling fear be afraid of the judgments that are pronounced against the ungodly in the book of God. They are used, in our longest and sweetest Psalm, no less than twelve several words, to signify the revelation which God had made of his purpose to save men by that “son of a virgin,” who was to “break the old serpent’s head;” and one of these words is, JUDGMENTS. This, then, is the influence which the judgments of God, or the discoveries which He has made of himself in this book of his, must have upon us: we should be able to say, as in Psal. cxix. 161: “Lord, my heart stands in awe of thy word.” Are there any precepts in this book?—we should fear the commandment: fear, and cry, “Lord, I am afraid of breaking thy holy laws, that are so holy, and just, and good!” Are there any promises in this book?—we should fear, lest we should fall short of them. Are there any threatnings in this book?—we should fear lest they take hold of us. Before every thing in the book of God, we should have the same disposition that Josiah had when the book of Deuteronomy was read unto him; [the Jews have a tradition that, by the special disposal of Divine Providence, the first place which the reader lit upon, was Deut. xxviii. 36:] That it may be said unto us, “Thy heart was tender, and thou didst humble thy self before God, when thou didst hear his words.” We should be apprehensive of the almighty God, speaking in every line of this book; and then be afraid, lest all the plagues written in this book overtake us, if we sin against such a God. It was the character of our Lord Jesus Christ, in Isa. lxvi. 2: “He that is of a poor and a contrite spirit, and who trembleth at my word.” When we see what judgments the word of God has threatned against the children of disobedience, we should even fall a trembling at them. And especially they that are conscious to a course of disobedience against God, should be afraid of these judgments. When Belshazzar saw upon the wall an hand-writing, which he could not read, (because perhaps the letters were so infolded one among

another, that except a man had the key of the cypher, the sentence was not easie to be *uncyphered*,) he was wonderfully terrified at what he saw. Unbelievers may read that hand-writing in this book, "If any man believe not the Son, the wrath of God abideth on him:" and will you not be afraid of that wrath? Impenitents may read that hand-writing in this book: "The Lord will wound such an one as goeth on still in his trespasses:" and will you not be afraid of that wound? The prayerless may in this book read that hand-writing: "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all they that forget God;" and will they not be afraid of that hell, or fear Him "who is able to cast body and soul into hell?" I say unto you, fear him; and, Oh! be afraid of these judgments.

THE SECOND COUNSEL.—Let us with a very "trembling fear" be afraid of judgments that shall be pronounced upon the ungodly in the *day* of God. It is a truth whereof we are very sure—the God of truth has given us assurance of it—that he hath appointed a *day* in which he will judge the world in righteousness by our Lord Jesus Christ. Now, in the remembrance of this day, when the kingdom that was promised unto the seed of David shall be erected, it is said in Eccl. xii. 13, 14: "Fear God; for God will bring every *work* into judgment." We must expect the approach of a day, wherein the quickening and wondrous voice of our Lord Jesus Christ will raise us out of our graves; a day, wherein a doom of everlasting punishment, or of life eternal will be passed upon us; a day, wherein, as the apostle speaks, "we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive such things in the body, according to what he hath done:" [for thus I choose to render it.] Now, let us fear the *judgments* which on this terrible *day of judgment* our Lord Jesus Christ will dispense unto the world. Of these judgments it is that a great minister of our Lord could say, in 2 Cor. v. 11, "Knowing the terror of the Lord we perswade men." There is a terror in those judgments; Oh! let this *terror* now perswade us to pursue after an interest in him that is to be our judge; and let it perswade us to repent of the sins which our judge will else damn us to endless confusion for. When a Pagan Fælix was told of the judgments which the notable day of God will produce upon mankind, it is said, "he trembled." What! shall we be worse than that unhappy Pagan? When God was only publishing his judgments on the burning mountain, we are told, so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, "I exceedingly fear and quake." And shall not we "exceedingly fear and quake" when we think on the day when our Lord Jesus Christ will descend from heaven in flaming fire, to pour out his judgments; and "behold the Lord comes with myriads of his saints to execute judgment upon all!" Certain I am, all this lower world, will be surprized with an horrible fright at that great revolution: an horrible tempest will then be rain'd from heaven upon this world: "the earth will shake and tremble, the founda-

tions of the hills also will move and be shaken," when our Lord shall "bow the heavens, and come down, with a devouring fire about him." So, then, let us now shake and tremble at the contemplation thereof. *Be afraid*, lest we be found among the ungodly, "that shall not stand in the judgment." *Be afraid*, lest our judgment then be that of the devil and his angels. 'Tis a thing which I have given me in charge, "some save with fear, pulling them out of the fire." Wherefore I say unto you, souls, *be afraid*, lest we be adjudged unto the vengeance of eternal fire, even to the fire of the vengeance of God throughout eternal ages.

THE THIRD COUNSEL.—There are astonishing judgments, dispensed by the "hand of God," upon others in this world; and with a very trembling fear we should be afraid of those judgments. The dispensations of God unto a sinful world, are such as give us that invitation in Psal. lxvi. 5: "Come and see the works of God, for he is terrible in his doing towards the children of men." 'Tis our duty now, to be afraid of those judgments, under which we see the children of men suffering, by the *terrible* dispensations of God. I do not mean that we should live in a *slavish fear* of all *fearful* accidents, but that we should be awakened unto the fear of God, by what we see. Our *duty* is described unto us in Isa. xxvi. 9: "When thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness." And, now, let us proceed by these rules in this our duty.

The First Rule.—There is one thing in the "judgments of God" whereof we should always be afraid; that is, lest we do make an injudicious interpretation of them. It is a caution given to us, in Psal. xxxvi. 6: "Thy judgments are a great deep, O Lord," and we should be very cautious, lest we drown our selves in such a *deep*, when we go to fathom it. The judgments of God are those things whereof 'tis said, "Whoso is wise will observe those things;" but then we must be careful to proceed wisely in our observing of them. 'Tis a dangerous thing for us to indulge our own *fancy*, and much more for us to indulge our own passion, in making of glosses upon the "judgments of God:" God will not hold the man guiltless who shall so take his name in vain. Very sad things may befall the "people of God," which, if he should call 'em the "judgments of God" upon them for some crime or other, this would be as great a crime in us, as to adulterate the coin of the nation. The sovereign God has made a cross to be necessary for all the *disciples* of Him who dy'd upon the cross; and he will in his infinite sovereignty make choice of their cross for them, to exercise their virtue, and prepare them and ripen them for his heavenly kingdom. If we should be so wicked as to suppose a curse of God upon all that we see under the cross, "behold, we should wickedly offend against the generation of the children of God." When the sons of that excellent "minister of God, Aaron, the priest of the Lord," came to an untimely end, it had been a vile impiety in the congregation of Israel to

have persecuted their worthy and aged father with any censorious imputations. The "judgments of God" are like to arrest none sooner than the rash expositors of his judgments on other men. The jealous God will soon draw near in judgment unto those who persecute them whom he hath smitten, and who talk to the grief of those whom he hath wounded. Our Lord has given us a most wholesome admonition, to be generally made use of when sore disasters happen unto any of our neighbours, in Luke xiii. 4, 5: "Think ye that these were *sinner*s above all others? I tell you nay." But what shall we then do to determine a judgment of God upon a sinner for his doing so? I answer, first, the sin of the sinner must be evident from the Scripture of God, before we may dare to apply a judgment of God unto him. 'Tis very preposterous for us, first of all to take it for granted, this or that calamity is a judgment of God for some iniquity; and upon this presumption to search out that iniquity. And, secondly, a "judgment of God for sin," must be clothed with some convincing circumstance and character upon it self, reasonably to speak its being so, before we may venture to call it so. There must be something in the time of it, or in the place of it, or in its resemblance to the fault for which it comes, or in the confession of the person chastised, that shall make the conscience to say, there are the plain signatures of a judgment for some sin in the stroke now given by God! Having first laid in this antidote against rash judgments of our own, about the great judgments of God, we may *safely* go on to say:

The Second Rule.—The "judgments of God" in former ages, they should make us *afraid* of the sins which procured those judgments. There came the judgments of God upon the murmurous Israelites; 'tis said in 1 Cor. x. 11, "All these things happened unto them for examples, and they are written for our *admonition*." Behold those judgments then, and be afraid of all *murmuring*, be afraid of all *impatience*, be afraid of all *discontent* under the difficulties of a wilderness, lest we be "destroy'd of the destroyer." There came the judgments of God upon the debauch'd Sodomites; 'tis said in 2 Peter ii. 6, "God made them an example unto those that after should live ungodly." Behold those judgments then, and be afraid of all *debauchery*, be afraid of all *uncleanness*, be afraid of all *intemperance*, lest God condemn us with a fiery and early overthrow. Sirs, the history which the Bible has given us of the judgments which have come from God upon them that sinned against him, 'tis not only a chronicle of what is past, but also a calendar of what is to come. We have the history: there we may consider the "days of old," the "years of ancient times." But when we do so, let us be *afraid*, lest by repeating of *old sins*, we bring a repetition of *old plagues* upon our selves. When thunder and lightning from heaven suddenly calcin'd a poor woman into a lump of salt for her covetousness near three thousand and eight hundred years ago, that salt was to season us with fear, lest near the "time of the end" we perish like

her, by setting our hearts upon the world. Our Lord therefore said, on that occasion, in Luk. xvii. 32: "Remember Lot's wife." Thus I may say, remember Judas, and be afraid, lest we perish as he did in betraying the interests of the Lord Jesus Christ for some worldly benefit. Remember Herod, and be afraid, lest we perish as he did, in proud affectations of what belongs not unto us. Remember all the rest.

The Third Rule.—The "judgments of God" on other places, they should make us afraid, lest we fall within the circuit of those judgments. When the judgments of God have begun their walk, we have cause to be afraid, lest we fall into their walk; because "with us, even with us also, there are sins against the Lord our God." It was prophesied in Jer. xxv. 32, "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, behold, evil shall go from nation to nation." Do we behold other nations, grievously sharing in distress of nations, and great perplexity, we should be afraid, lest we also have our share in the distressing judgments of God. Have the judgments of God sent war, and poverty, and scarcity, upon other nations? We have cause to be afraid lest the evils of those judgments reach unto ourselves; and lest we drink of that cup of trembling which God seems to be putting into the hands of all the nations. A fire on one house alarms all the town. The judgments of God have set all Europe on fire; yea, the sparks are flown over into America; lamentable desolations have been made both northward and southward of us: be afraid, then, O poor people of God! lest thou also become desolate. When the judgments of God were in their course, he said unto his people in Zeph iii. 6, 7, "I have cut off the nations, their towers are desolate, their cities are destroyed. I said, surely, thou wilt fear me." Thus do we see destruction come upon other countries. Our God says thereupon, "Surely this country too shall be afraid, lest I bring the like upon them."

The Fourth Rule.—The "judgments of God," seizing upon a few persons only, before our eyes, they should make us afraid, lest we be the next that those judgments do seize upon. When one malefactor died, it was said, all the people shall hear and fear. Thus, if the judgments of God single out one malefactor, to punish him, his voice is, let all be afraid! It is noted of a miserable minister, who, falling into a scandal, was presently overwhelmed by the judgment of God, in Acts v. 5, "Great *fear* came upon all them that heard these things." When the judgments of God had signalized themselves upon any scandalous wretches, we should all be struck with a great fear, lest our sins expose us also to the signal rebukes of Heaven. As, if one drunkard in a town be drowned, it is a loud sermon to all the bruits about the town, to be afraid of being so cut off in their brutish follies. Thus in all the special judgments of God upon any offenders whatsoever, there is that voice from heaven to all such offenders, "Tremble and repent, lest all of you likewise perish:" Yea, the judgments of God upon a few, often should be seriously pondered by the whole body of the people whom they belong unto, as a decimation made by that God

who gives none account of his matters. God hath a controversie with the whole body of the people; he might have pitch'd upon *me* or *thee*, to have been the subjects on which he does manage this controversie, as well as any other of our neighbors. Oh! what cause have we now to be afraid of what we also have to meet withal! When the judgments of God follow'd one man aboard the vessel, bound for Tartesus, 'tis said in Jon. i. 16, all the other men feared the Lord exceedingly. Truly, if any one man aboard the vessel of the publick, be followed with a storm of judgments from God, it becomes us all to fear exceedingly.

The Fifth Rule.—When things that look like “judgments of God” befall the dear people of God, it highly concerns other people to be afraid of the greater judgments which they may reasonably look for. 'Tis an inference whereto we are directed in 1 Pet. iv. 17: “*Judgment* must begin at the house of GOD,—and if the *righteous* scarcely be sav'd, where shall the *ungodly* and the *sinner* appear?” Which is but the translation of what we have in Prov. xi. 31: “Behold the *righteous* shall be *recompenced* in the earth, much more the *wicked* and the *sinner*.” Sometimes the most eminent Christians in the land—yea, and whole churches of such Christians—meet with troublesome difficulties in their way to salvation; yea, they meet with troubles upon earth, that seem to be recompences from heaven upon them for their miscarriages. Come, let all ungodly sinners now be *afraid*. I that never was reconciled unto God by the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ; what, what will become of me throughout the days of eternity! Our Saviour has taught us to argue thus upon the afflictions of good men: “If these things be done to the green tree, what shall be done to the dry?” Those men that bring forth much of that fruit whereby God is glorified, are cast into a fire of many afflictions. Yea, but you then that bring forth no fruit, or ill fruit, and never were united unto the Lord Jesus Christ, what a formidable, intolerable, interminable fire is reserved for you! Oh, be afraid of that fire! That blessed prophet of God, even Ezekiel, must have the best thing in his family snatch'd out of it, by the stroke of death: “Behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke; yet shall not thy tears run down, saith the Lord.” And what?—was this a judgment on the prophet? It seem'd so; but it was indeed a warning to the people; of whom the Lord then said, in Ezek. xxiv. 24, “Ezekiel is a sign unto you: according to all that he hath done, shall ye do.”

Sirs, those things that appear like judgments of God upon his own faithful servants, they are awful warnings unto those that serve him not: God therein says unto profane, Christless and graceless, creatures: “If I do these things to those whom yet I pity as a father does his children that serve him, what shall I do unto you that are my *enemies*, and that serve none but my *greatest enemy*? What shall I do unto you? Wretches, what shall I do unto you?” If God has such rods for his dutiful children, what scourges, what scorpions hath he for his adversaries?

The Sixth Rule.—Among all the “judgments of God,” I know none more tremendous than his leaving here and there some famous professors and pretenders of religion, to some horribly irreligious actions. When we see those judgments, then, above all, should our flesh tremble “for fear of God,” and we should be *afraid* of his judgments. ’Tis a thing that sometimes does happen among us. Persons that have been exemplary for piety and charity all their days, yet have at last grown melancholy, and God hath so left them to the possession of some devil, that they have laid violent hands upon themselves; they have starv’d themselves, hang’d themselves, drown’d themselves; yea, and had a preternatural assistance in their doing of it. Who can behold these unaccountable tragedies without that out-cry, “Lord, I am afraid of thy judgments!” What use can we make of these *tragical things*, but that in 1 Pet. i. 17, “To pass the time of our sojourning here in fear?” What, but that in Phil. ii. 12, “To work out our own salvation with fear and trembling?” And, alas! what shall we say of those prodigious falls into sin, which the lives of some that were counted first-rate Christians have been reproach’d withal? What shall we say of the monstrous crimes which we have seen some that have seem’d pillars of Christianity, among us, to fall into? This I will say, that the burning wrath of a righteous and a terrible God has never been so much discovered in all our losses by sea and land, and in all the bloody depredations of our adversaries, as in this *one thing*: that ever now and then some one or other, that has been much noted for *zeal* in the ways of God, has been found in some damnable *act of wickedness*. There is the very venom and spirit of hell in these judgments of God upon a land; God would never have permitted these judgments, if there were not a generation of his wrath, to be precipitated down into the fiery bottom of hell by his wrath, so “darkening of the land.” Infinitely better had it been for those “woful men” to have dy’d with milstones about their necks, many years ago, than thus to have offend’d and poison’d the souls of multitudes; and, oh! *wo, wo*, unto multitudes of *souls* that have hence taken an incurable and an *everlasting offence* against the blessed ways of our Lord Jesus Christ. Sirs, when a provok’d God shall permit the *dragon* to *sweep stars down from heaven* with his *tail*, and permit the *devil* to enter, and possess, and befool, and besot, and confound such as have made a shew of a more *heavenly frame* than other men, how can we forbear crying out, “Lord, I am afraid of thy judgments!” What says the Apostle, in Rom. xi. 20?—“Thou standest by faith: be not high minded, but fear!” Oh! be afraid, be afraid, lest by some secret sin we grieve the Holy Spirit of God. If he withdraw, ah, Lord! who shall stand?

The Seventh Rule.—There is a peculiar concernment lying upon the young people among us to be *afraid* of those judgments, in which they see the great God consuming of our young people with his fiery indignation. It may be said about the young men of New-England, as it was of

old said about the young men of Israel, in Psal. lxxviii. 63, "The fire consumed their young men." And as when the earth swallowed up some young people in the wilderness of old, it is said, "the rest fled at the cry of them, saying, lest the earth swallow us up also." Behold, O our young folks, the earth, and the sea, and the pit, have been terribly swallowing up your brethren. Fly, then, with affrighted souls—fly to the Lord Jesus Christ, and say, "Lord, I am afraid, lest thy *judgments* do swallow me up also." Young people, O that you would suitably lay to heart the dreadful judgments of God, which are consuming of your generation among us. Behold, vain youths! behold, how the waisting judgments of God have been upon you, till we cry out, "The curse has devoured the land, and few young men are left."

Know you not that when our young men have been press'd into the wars, they have been but "number'd for the slaughter," and brought forth for the murderer? Know you not that our young men, hoping to mend their condition at sea, have but sail'd the sooner to their long home in running abroad? Know you not that the angels of death have struck our young folks with the arrows of death in epidemical sicknesses? Know you not that one strange casualty after another brings many of our most *hopeful* young folk to an untimely end? And, oh! how *doleful*, doleful things have our young people seen, when they have been captives in the hands of barbarous *infidels*! The Cannibals of the east have hideously tormented them; and as far off as the scorching tents of Africa, they have been fainting under the bitter servitude of Mahometans.

Come, then, be *afraid*, O our young people! Job could say, "Destruction from God was a terror to me!" Be terrified, young people, with a fear, lest a "destruction from God" come upon you, in and for your sins. Be afraid of continuing estrang'd from the sheltering wings of your Lord Redeemer, lest you lie open to the storms of the judgments of God. Be afraid of neglecting the great salvation, which the Lord Jesus Christ hath so often offered you, lest the judgments of God bring a great destruction upon you. Be afraid of all filthiness, and all prophaneness, and all disobedience, and all bad company, and all the courses of dishonesty, lest, by the judgments of God, you die before your time, for your being wicked over-much. Oh! fear and flee *youthful lusts*; and now remember your Creator in the days of your youth, lest the judgments of God bring evil days upon you.

THE SECOND SERMON.

BUT I intend all this discourse, as only an introduction unto a more entertaining recapitulation of the divine judgments, which we have seen executed upon several sorts of sinners among our selves. It cannot but be much for the glory of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who from his *glorious high throne* dispensed these judgments; it cannot but be a satisfaction unto

the good angels of the Lord, who are oftentimes the executioners of these judgments; it is an holy undertaking, and it cannot but serve the interests of holiness to make our modest observations upon the judgments of God which have been executed among us. As far as it may be convenient in this discourse, I will now address my self unto this undertaking.

Sirs, give me your attention.—When that great man, the emperor Mauritius, beheld his family overwhelmed in terrible calamities, and five hopeful branches of his family slain before his eyes, he humbly recited those words of the Psalmist in Psal. cxix. 137: “Righteous art thou, O Lord, and right are thy judgments.” My neighbours, we have ever now and then those calamitous things before our eyes in our neighborhood, which, if we are not blind, we must pronounce “the right *judgments* of a righteous God.” And I must now ask you to take some notice of those judgments.

I do most readily grant, that *lubricus hic locus ac difficilis*,* ’tis no easie matter to observe the judgments of God: we shall easily *fall* into the extreams of being either too *ensorious* and *funciful*, or else too *negligent* in our observation of the divine judgments.

And I am not altogether ignorant of the Jewish maxim, *Non est curiose querendum post Opera Dei: omnia enim sapienter fecit, tametsi abscondita sunt ab Oculis sapientum.*†

But yet the judgments of God sometimes are so circumstanced, that he who runs may read them; and our *duty* thereupon is described in Psal. lxiv. 9: “All men shall fear, and they shall declare the work of God, for they shall wisely consider of his doing.” Learned men have complained of it, as a *defect* in the historical part of learning, and there is not extant an impartial and a well attested *historia numeseos*, or, account of remarkable judgments on scandalous and notorious offenders. Yea, the *God of heaven himself* complains of it, when men do not regard his works, even the operation of his hands.

I will now therefore, with all *faithfulness*, lay before you some of those remarks which I have made upon the judgments of God which have been executed in this land. Sirs, the Lord has been known by his executing of these judgments; accompany them with your meditations! you shall hear nothing but what has had sufficient evidence; and certainly I should be afraid of speaking wickedly for God, or talking deceitfully for him!

THE FIRST REMARK.—Take a due and a deep notice, I beseech you, of the notable judgments with which we have seen the contempt of the glorious gospel reveng’d by the God of glory. We have seen the gospel, or the tidings of salvation by the Lord Jesus Christ, for miserable sinners graciously offered: we have seen the offer of this gospel most *ungratefully*

* This place is slippery and difficult.

† It is not well to inquire too curiously into the works of God; for He has done all things wisely, though they be hidden from the eyes of the wise.

refus'd: but of this *refusal* what event have we seen? Truly a very terrible event. I remember a passage of Scripture, which runs thus in our translation, Isa. ii. 22: "Cease ye from man, *whose breath* is in his *nostrils*; for *wherein* is he to be accounted of?" But, if you please, you may thus understand it: The prophet is denouncing the judgments of God upon the Jews for their despising of the Messiah; and the *denunciation* is thus concluded: "Now forbear as to that man, [or cease from offending and provoking of him,] who is now very angry, [which the Hebrews express by breath in the nostrils,] for none is able to declare how high an account is to be made of him. Sirs, we have seen the God of heaven very angry; he has breath'd the hot lightnings of death out of his *nostrils*, when people have made no account of the Lord Jesus Christ and of his gospel. We have seen these four or five *remarkables* among the rest:

For a First Instance.—The nation of the Narragansetts was one of the most populous and powerful among all the Indians, and once filled this mighty wilderness. Unto that woful nation the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ was freely tendered; but they, with much affront and contempt, rejected it. An holy man, then famous throughout our churches, hereupon utter'd a speech to this purpose: "I speak altogether without the Spirit of God, if this nation be not quickly and strangely destroyed." It was not long before this nation, much against the advice of the more aged men among them, engaged in acts of hostility against our people. Whereupon, ours, with a force much inferiour unto theirs, but with a marvellous valour and success, in the depth of winter, made a descent upon 'em. The glorious Lord Jesus Christ, whom they had slighted, was with our army, and the day was wonderfully carried against the tawny Infidels. Their city was laid in ashes. Above twenty of their chief captains were killed; a proportionable desolation cut off the inferiour salvages; mortal sickness, and horrid famine pursu'd the remainders of 'em, so that we can hardly tell where any of 'em are left alive upon the face of the earth. Such was thy speedy vengeance, O blessed JESUS, on the heathen that would not know thee, nor call upon thy name.

For a Second Instance.—That renowned evangelist of our Indians, the reverend ELIOT, preached the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ unto Philip, the prince of the Wompanoags; but that monster, pulling off a button on the good man's coat, said, *he did not value what he preached any more than that*: and he hindered his abject subjects from embracing the Christian religion, that they might not become the subjects of our Lord Jesus Christ. But what has become of 'em all? They rashly precipitated themselves into a rebellious war against the English; and at last Philip fell into all the distresses that could be imagined. One of his own vassals then ran away from him, and *informed* the English where he was. They came upon him in his thicket, just as he was telling his counsellors his *dream* that he had fallen into our hands. While he endeavoured an

escape, an Indian shot him thro' the heart, whereof he died immediately; nor is any number of his people now left in the world. So do the rejecters of thy grace, perish, O Lord!

For a Third Instance.—But the Indian salvages are not the only instances of the divine revenges which have ensued on men's undervaluing the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ among us. Travel with me, sirs, to the eastern parts of this province: "O come and behold the works of the Lord, the desolations he has made in those parts of the earth!" Twice has that brave countrey been occupied with hopeful *settlements*. *Hopeful!* no, no; call them not *hopeful*, inasmuch as the *ordinances* of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ were not settled among them. Hence, *twice* has that countrey now been made an *Aceldama*; and the settlements have all been broken up for many score miles together. The jealousy of the neglected Lord Jesus Christ has "broke forth" like an unquenchable fire against those plantations; the fiery "wrath of Heaven" has brought a "swift destruction" upon them. A barbarous enemy has once and again broke in upon those towns, like an irresistible torrent, carrying all before it, until they come to those towns where the "ordinances of the gospel" are more upheld; and, behold, there they find a *barriere*, which they can not yet get over; *there the Spirit of the Lord lifts up a standard against them*. In one of those plantations there had newly been very prodigious discoveries of enmity against the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, which had been sometimes among them: and a bloody *adversary* soon surprised them, and captiv'd and slaughter'd most of them, and laid their habitations in ashes, and horribly roasted alive some of the inhabitants. "Tremble, O ye people of the south, when ye are told of this!"

For a Fourth Instance.—And there is another *contempt* of the Gospel, which we have often seen another way chastised among us. Our Lord Jesus Christ hath said, concerning the "faithful ministers of his gospel," in Luk. x. 16, "He that despiseth you, despiseth me." When the "ministers of the gospel" are holy, prayerful, painful, watchful, and fruitful *servants* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and men filled and acted with his Holy Spirit, we have seen the judgments of God many a time arresting those that have abused these *ambassadors* from the King of heaven. Thus, there have been angry men among us, who have sat over their cups, railing at such or such a "minister of God," and hoping ere long to see the death of him. In a little while they themselves have died miserably, and on their death-beds they have cried out for that very minister to help them in their anguishes. Yea, you may sometimes mark it in our churches: a church has long enjoy'd an excellent minister; but they grow at length full of unaccountable prejudices against him: The Son of God, seeing this their froward folly, sends for that minister away to heaven presently; and let 'em supply themselves with such another when they can find him. And, shall I venture to say one thing more? I will say it. Let the Levites of

the Lord keep close to their instructions, and "God will smite thro' the loins of those that rise up against them."—I will report unto you a thing which many hundreds among us know to be true: The godly minister of a certain town in Connecticut, when he had occasion to be absent on a Lord's-day from his flock, employ'd an honest neighbour of some small talents for a mechanick, to read a sermon out of some good book unto 'em. This honest, whom they ever counted also a *pious* man, had so much conceit of his *talents*, that, instead of *reading a sermon* appointed, he, to the surprize of the people, fell to *preaching one of his own*. For his text he took these words: "Despise not prophecyings;" and in his preachment he betook himself to bewail the "envy of the clergy" in the land, in that they did not wish "all the Lord's people to be prophets," and call forth "private brethren" publickly to "prophesie." While he was thus in the midst of his exercise, God smote him with horrible *madness*; he was taken ravingly distracted: The people were forc'd with violent hands to carry him home. And tho' in a few weeks the physician brought him to so much composure that he could jog on after some sort in an obscure *privacy* the rest of his days; yet, if any one began a discourse of any thing in *religion* with him, he would ever fly out into a *fit of madness*, which would continue till the discourse were *laid aside*. I will not mention his name: He was reputed a *pious man*.

If unto these things I should add, that the impoverishing judgments of God upon our land have been very much for that *abominable sacrilege*, wherein the ministers of Christ, almost all the land over, have been as much defrauded of their *dues*, as if you should with-hold the wages of your servants, [which is a sin that cries to God for vengeance!] I could quote Scripture enough to give authority unto that assertion. *Scripture!* yea, and *experience* too.

A town in this countrey, enrich'd with two very eminent ministers, did one year pass a town vote, that they could not allow their ministers above *thirty* pounds a-piece that year for their salaries; and, behold, the God who will "not be mock'd," immediately caused the town to lose *three hundred* pounds, in that specie of their cattle by one disaster. But I forbear it; for though the judgments of God go on to break "people in a mortar" for it, this foolishness, I know, will never depart from them.—I pass to—

THE SECOND REMARK.—Men had need beware of *rash speeches*, especially of *rash wishes*; for we have seen sore judgments fall out most agreeably thereunto. It was wholesome advice once given by the town clerk of Ephesus, "Ye ought to do nothing rashly." Truly, nor should we *speak* any thing rashly, much less *wish* any thing rashly. Sirs, the "angels of death" over-hear what we say, and God often gives 'em commission to smite a man, *ex ore suo*.* How often have we seen it, that a

* Taking him at his own word.

"fool's mouth is his destruction, and his lips are the snare of his soul!" There was once a very godly man, of whom 'tis reported in Psal. cvi. 32, "It went ill with him, because they provoked his Spirit, so that he spoke unadvisedly with his lips." I'll tell you what I have met withal. I have heard a vexed father say, "he cared not whether he ever saw such a child again." That child has gone out of his presence, and through the dispatches of death, he has never seen that child again.

I have known a weary mother say, "she hopes this is the last child she shall ever have; and multiplied and unhappy miscarriages, ever after, have given 'em cause to remind what they said, with bitterness of soul.

Again, there was a sailor in a boat bound hither from the northward, who, being dissuaded from taking a *pipe of tobacco*, because they had a barrel of powder aboard, reply'd, "I will take it, though the devil carry me away alive!" The fire some how came at the powder, which tore the boat in pieces, and lost all the goods that were in it. All the men were to admiration preserved, except that one sailor, whom they long after *found* in the woods, with his body torn to pieces. Who *carried him away*, think you?

Once more: A lewd young man, being dissatisfied with the service wherein he lived, at the house of an honest man, in a neighbouring town, when they told him that his bad courses would bring him to hell at the last, he wickedly said, "He had rather be in hell than in his master's house." Immediately after this, he was in a very strange manner drowned off a little bank in the river.—Take one example more:

There was an old *professor* in one of our churches, who being under the *admonition* of the church for some offences, was by his friends call'd upon to *repent*, and *reform*, and *humble* himself. But he flew into this outrageous answer: "No! I will burn, before I will turn." And behold the issue! This man some time after fell into the fire, and was burnt to death.—Take yet one more example. 'Tis well known to all the neighbours:

A man in our Narragansett country, having set his dog to *mischief* his neighbours cattel, deny'd the fact with imprecations "that he might never stir from the place, if he had so done." The neighbor to whom he deny'd it, expressing himself troubled at his impudent lying, this Atheist hereupon used the name of the great God in his imprecations, "that God would never let him stir out of that place, if he did the thing." The words were scarce out of his mouth, but he sunk down dead in the place, and never stirr'd any more.—Credible persons in this place have been able to testifie unto the truth of another such passage:

A fellow aboard a vessel commanded by one Wollery, being charg'd with some deceit, horribly wish'd "that the devil might put out his eyes, if he had done as had been suspected concerning him." That very night a rheum fell into his eyes, with which in a few days, to the astonishment of his company, he became stark-blind, even as if he had forsworn himself,

with washing his eyes in the fountains of Sardinia. And the physicians, hearing how he fell into his blindness, durst not undertake the cure of it.

And, as they who curse themselves, often smart for it, [consider of this, ye hardy wretches, who call upon the Almighty to *damn* you, which the devils themselves are not so hardy as to do!] so they who curse others, do horribly wound themselves in the recoil. You shall hear an example:

A debauch'd fellow had curs'd that excellent man, Governour Prince. The Governour laid before the transgressor the great sin he had committed; and with a grave, holy, awful admonition, besought him to consider of that scripture in Psal. cix. 17, 18: "As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him; as he delighted not in blessings, so let it be far from him. As he clothed himself with cursing, like as with his garment, so let it come into his bowels, and like oyl into his bones." Quickly after this, a direful *cancer* smote the man; the cancer appear'd first in his lip, and so it eat away his flesh, and his jaw down to his throat, where with inexpressible torments it kill'd him.

Behold, O man, "If thou desirest life, keep thy tongue from evil!"

THE THIRD REMARK.—There is a lying proverb, "A drunken man gets no harm." We have seen the judgments of God upon *drunkards* most wofully confuting that lye. I am sure 'tis not a proverb of Solomon's; for he says, in Prov. xxiii. 29, "Who hath wo? They who tarry long at the wine." Is it no harm for a man to bring *sickness* on his body? We have seen drunkards often perishing in diseases contracted by their debauches. Is it no harm for a man to bring *disgrace* on his esteem? We have often seen drunkards become very abjects, tho' they once were folks of some fashion and figure in the world. Is it no harm for a man to bring *poverty* on his estate? We have often seen the judgments of God fulfilling that word, "The drunkard shall come to poverty." Surely, 'tis no little harm for men to debase and confound their own souls, and lay themselves open unto the worst of all the temptations of the devil—the worst of all impieties. But, sirs, how often have we seen woful drunkards doing so? We have seen them turn *beasts*—yea, turn *devils*! But more particularly,—

A *drunken* man is, in old English, as much as to say, a *drowned* man. To see, then, a drunken man become a drowned man, is to see but a most *retaliating* hand of God. Why, we have seen this very thing more than three score times in our land. And I remember the drowning of one drunkard, so oddly circumstanced: it was in the hold of a vessel, that lay full of water near the shore. We have seen it so often, that I am amazed at you, O ye drunkards of New-England—I am amazed, that you can "harden your hearts" in your sin, without expecting to "be destroyed suddenly, and without remedy." Yea, and we have seen the devil that has possess'd the drunkard, throwing him into the fire as well as into the

water. They have tumbled into the fire, and then kept shrieking, "Fire! fire!" till they have gone down to the fire that never shall be quenched. Yea, more than one or two drunken women, in this very town, have, while in their drink, fallen into the fire, and so they have tragically gone roaring out of one fire into another. O, ye "daughters of Belial, hear, and fear, and do wickedly no more."

THE FOURTH REMARK.—It was a thing once charged upon Sabbath-breakers, in Neh. xiii. 18, "Ye bring wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath." And have not we seen the wrath of God correcting profanations of the Christian Sabbath, with rebukes of *thunder* and *lightning*? And, indeed, some intelligent persons have noted it, that the dreadful storms of thunder and lightning, which have kill'd many among us from year to year, as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah; they have mostly happened on or near the Lord's-day; as an intimation, that breaches of the Lord's-day have procured the firing of the great artillery of heaven upon us. However, our land sees little rest, through the judgments of God upon us, for the violations of the sacred rest which he has appointed for us. And the many disasters which happen on the Lord's-day among us, may be so many judgments upon us for our not sanctifying the day unto the Lord. But all the more special examples of judgments coming for sins against the Sabbath, I will wrap up in this one piece of history:

I have been desired by many malefactors to be with them at their execution; and then, in those last and sad minutes of their lives, they have sometimes cried out, "This, this, is a *judgment of God* upon my *Sabbath-breaking*; I may thank my *Sabbath-breaking* for all this; 'Twas for my mis-spending of the *Sabbath* with vain persons, and in vain actions, that God has left me to that wickedness which has brought upon me all of this horrible misery!" Think of this, you that still say of the Lord's-day, "What a weariness is it?"

THE FIFTH REMARK.—Disobedient children! my heart akes for you; for I have seen the judgments of God, making such as you the most astonishing monuments of his indignation. It was a custom in Israel, that once a year this proclamation was made, from the top of mount Ebal, in Deut. xxvii. 16: "Cursed be he that sets light by his father or his mother. And all the people shall say amen." As from the top of that mount, I do this day proclaim it, that I have seen the curse of God making a quick work with such as have not honour'd their parents; while I have also seen those children who have honoured, and supported, and comforted their parents, wonderfully prospering under the manifold blessings of God. And I pray all the people to mind it.

Very few have died on the gallows, in this place, but what have wrung their hands upon the ladder, with this out-cry: "This is a judgment of

God upon me for my undutifulness unto my parents! My disobedience to my parents has brought me hither."

But this article of discourse may not be dismissed until we have singled out one particular example of the strange punishments which undutiful children bring upon themselves from the judgments of God.

A reverend minister of Christ, that often served him in that very pulpit where these words are uttered, once observed a son to behave himself undutifully towards his father in the ferry-boat which was carrying them over the river. Whereupon that man of God said unto the young man, "Young man, I am sorry to see you so little regard your father; I would seriously perswade you to repent of your undutifulness, or I will solemnly assure you that I expect the killing judgments of God will overtake you before a year come to an end." And, behold, before that year was out, this young man was miserably murdered.

Hearken, my young folks, and let not your eye mock your fathers, or despise to obey your mothers, lest the ravens of the valley do pick it out, and the young eagles do eat it!

THE SIXTH REMARK.—Unto the contentious we have seen God recompence indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish. Said the apostle once, in Rom. xvi. 17, "I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions." And I now say, "I beseech you, brethren, mark the places and the persons which by divisions have made themselves notorious: mark, what *judgments* of God have signalized them." Something of what I have marked, I will freely tell you.

I have marked it, that those places which have kept up *divisions* and *strifes*, and *schisms*, have been direfully smitten with *spiritual plagues*, the plagues which are the direfullest. The most lively saints in those places have been soon snatch'd away by death, one after another: the "power of godliness" hath been lamentably lost among the survivors, and a leanness hath been sent into their souls: the work of conversion hath been at a deadly stand, and the rising generation hath "pined away in their iniquities." Yea, there was one church among us, wherein an uncomfortable rupture happen'd; and a young man in the town was left unto an horrid self-murder: he drown'd himself; but he left behind him a writing directed unto his father, wherein there was this among other passages: "Father, my ruin was the stubbornness and unfaithfulness of my tender years; and evil counsel and evil company; and the differences in the church, by reason whereof I grew proud, and did not carry it in my place as I ought, which is the wide way to ruin." God make this young man our *warn*er; his name was WARNER.

Again, I have marked it that those persons who have been the grand incendiaries in divisions, have been often branded with some symptoms of the displeasure of God. Those persons have been very industrious to

blot the names of other men; and at last they themselves have died with a blot. This indeed is a point wherein we must be sparing; yet I may not forget that a counsel, sitting at a town, for the composing some ecclesiastical differences, our venerable old Mr. Wilson saw one man to be extremely perverse above the rest, and most unreasonably to disturb the peace of the church. Whereupon, that zealous man told the counsel, he was confident that the jealousy of God would set a mark upon that man, and that the ordinary death of men should not befall him. It happened a little while after this that the man was barbarously murdered by the salvages.

Again, there was a quarrelsome woman in a church not far off; who, having accus'd a man in the church of a fault that she could not prove, she yet remain'd so irreconcilable, that she would never come to the Lord's Table as long as that man liv'd. He dying, she bragg'd unto her friends that now she would go to the sacrament at the Lord's Table. One of them solemnly told her that she might yet fear a testimony of the *displeasure of God* against her for her unchristian absenting herself from that ordinance. And, lo, she died suddenly, just before the next sacrament was to be administered: (tho' she had the repute of a godly woman.) Don't, then—don't sow discord, any of you, lest you be an "abomination to the Lord." Be not unpeaceable or unplaceable: God is not pleased with the froward.

THE SEVENTH REMARK.—We are assured in 2 Pet. ii. 9, 10, "At the day of judgment shall be punished chiefly they that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness." And it is no rare thing among us to see judgment in this world also overtaking them. Father Latimer once presented unto a great man a New Testament, with this inscription emboss'd on the cover of it: "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." And, indeed, how surprisingly, how amazingly may we see God judging that sort of sinners!

A famous Bolognian physician, in publish'd bills, profess'd a sovereign *antidote* against an horrible distemper which men bring upon themselves by their *uncleanness*. But when multitudes flocked unto him for his antidote, he only gave 'em the picture of a *gallant* with his nose eaten off. He bid 'em that, when they were going to debauch themselves, they would look upon that picture; and if that would not preserve 'em, nothing would.

Not much unlike to *that* is the course which I am now taking, to preserve you from unchastity.

We have seen many, many, many, to "die in their youth;" because their life has been among the unclean. We have seen 'em to mourn at the last, when their flesh and their body has been consumed. We have seen 'em getting a wound, and a dishonour, and a reproach that is never wip'd away. It may be, the just God says upon the unclean "Write this

person childless." Or, it may be, the Lord says, "I will kill their children with death." Or, 'tis possible, some very miserable *disasters* have attended their offspring: *peccatum seminis punitur in semine*.^{*} Why? Because that some old acts of uncleanness have not been enough repented of.

'Tis said of uncleanness, "By means thereof a man is brought unto a piece of bread." Some forlorn people have cried out unto me of their desperate poverty; and anon they have confessed that they believ'd the judgments of God made 'em and kept 'em so poor, to revenge the secret, cursed, horrid adulteries which they had wallowed in.

Yea, how many have ripen'd themselves for the most capital strokes of the sword of justice by this wickedness! I have known several who, under a sentence of death for other crimes, wherein they thought themselves hardly dealt withal, have cried out, "Oh! 'tis for my secret adulteries that the holy God has brought all this upon me!" And how many young women have been executed among us for murdering their bastard-infants! But, at their execution, this has been their exclamation: "Oh, that all young people would beware of the snares of uncleanness! By continuing in those awful snares, without any speedy repentance, we have been ruined!" One of the first in this land that came to such an end (her name was Martin) had yielded unto a wicked man soliciting her chastity; but with such reluctances of soul, that in her prayers to God for help, she said, "if ever she were overtaken again, she would leave herself unto his justice to be made an example." She remembred not her vows, but was again overtaken. She conceived, she travailed, she privately destroyed her child, using two several attempts before she could wholly dispatch it. Afterwards, upon a removal of the family, the murder strangely came to light. God made the infant bleed afresh before her, for her confusion; she own'd the whole truth, and she dy'd for it: but she was twice turn'd off before her expiration. Say, then—say, my friends, to all the temptations of uncleanness—"How shall I do this wickedness, and sin against God."

THE EIGHTH REMARK.—Let us a little summ up the gains of those who have used irregular *methods* of oppression, or of dishonesty, to gain the world. I have done it: and I'll tell you what I have seen the sum total to be. The judgments of God have brought it unto that in Jer. xvii. 11: "He gets riches, and not by right; at his end, he shall be a fool." Father Latimer would speak of a grievous *cough* which would come upon them that swallow'd unrighteous gains. Truly, *losses* have usually follow'd upon such *gains*, like so many coughs, and men have cough'd and cough'd, until they vomited up all that they had got. It is the *charge* of our Lord Jesus Christ upon us, that no man go beyond, or oppress his brother in a *matter*; because that the Lord is the avenger of all such. We are told, "If thou seest the oppression of the poor, he that is higher than the highest, regards

* The sin of the seed is punished in the seed.

it." We are told, "God considers all the oppressions that are done under the sun." There was much notice taken of this in the infancy of our Plymouth colony, when the poor planters had their dependence on certain *adventurers* in England. The adventurers, taking their advantages of the extream straits which those poor planters were in, sent over supplies unto them at the most extream rates imaginable. The poor planters made return in *peltry*, but the vessel was taken by a Turks man of war, and carried into Salley, where they sold the peltry for groats a-piece; as much too low, as the goods for which they had been return'd were too high, and the men were made prisoners into the bargain, to the great loss of the adventurers. But it would spend many hours to relate the notice which might have been since taken of many more such evident judgments of God on the ways of the oppressor. Oh! do not learn his ways. God gives unto all sorts of *devourers* letters of reprisal to take away his unjust gains from him; very commonly it so falls out.

There are some that have used the grossest sort of stealing and robbing. But have they enrich'd themselves? I intreat you, sirs, to make our New-English pirates the subjects of your meditations. That man is blind unto sun shine, and blind before lightning, who sees not the tremendous judgments of God, pursuing of those wicked men. Let no man, after this, run greedily after the error of those children of perdition. But if any of you have knowingly been sharers with them in their gains, for God's sake repent of what you have done: You have carry'd burning coals into your feather'd nests; don't put a farthing of that money among the rest of your possessions; it will consume all the rest.

Others have had their finer ways of cheating. But what has come of them? The estates gotten by cheating, have been but so many "treasures of snow;" the rains of the wrath of God have wonderfully melted them;—at least, *Vex gaudet Tertius Hæres.**

There are persons that have broken by their own extravagancies; not meerly by sad *providences*, but their own *extravagancies*; these have used more *fraudulence* than *fair dealing* in their *compositions* with their creditors: But have we not seen afterwards, that after this, (as we say) "no butter would ever stick upon their bread."

Widows, when the estates of the deceas'd husbands have been insolvent, have not always given in true accounts; they have held back a part, that they should not have with-held: God has been offended at 'em; they have gone under the scourges of God all their days for that offence.

Desperate gamesters, what hand have they made of it? I can tell what one of 'em did. He had played away about forty pounds in lewd company, and then he fell into horror of conscience, wherein he often cried out, "I am all on fire under the wrath of God! I am all on fire under the wrath of God!" And so he went and hanged himself.

* The third heir in succession is rarely rich.

Make all the restitution you can, ye cheats; or expect the judgments of God upon you—*Discite Justitiam Moniti*.*

THE NINTH REMARK.—Methinks the public judgments, under which we have labour'd, have sometimes very convictively intimated the sins and faults for which those judgments have been laid upon us. I will use a plain dealing in this matter. When have the judgments of God ever deprived us of any good thing, but we first of all have despis'd that good?

We have been sensual, excessive, unthankful, in our enjoyment of the fruits of our harvest. The judgments of God have blasted them.

We have made idols of our lands, and for the sake thereof neglected almost all that is holy, and just, and good. There was a time when, through the judgments of God, our titles to them all were contested. Litigious law-suits were scandalously multiply'd among us. The judgments of God brought us into a time when the extortions of the law made a cry among us.

Drinking houses have been a most undoing stumbling-block of iniquity in the midst of us. The judgments of God brought us into a time when unsufferable villanies were perpetrated every where, under the pretence of the excise.

Those times are now over indeed. But our Indian wars are not over yet: We have too far degenerated into Indian vices. The vices of the Indians are these: They are very lying wretches, and they are very lazy wretches, and they are out of measure indulgent unto their children; there is no family government among them. We have shamefully Indianized in all those abominable things. Now, the judgments of God have employ'd Indian hatchets to wound us, no doubt, for these our Indian vices.

A thousand more such things may occur to a serious observation. Sirs, consider the wondrous works of God.

THE TENTH REMARK.—Many people have sinned horribly, upon a presumption that they sinned secretly: but the judgments of God have been wondrously and prodigiously and stupendously display'd in the discovering of secret sinners among us. David, no doubt, promised himself an everlasting secresie of his transgression. "Thou didst it secretly," said the prophet: And the Psalmist, calling to mind that word, own'd in Psal. li. 4, "Against thee, thee only have I sinned: and the evil I have done in thy sight." None was privy to the crime, except one man, who was a partner in it. Yea, but says the Lord, "I'll make all Israel hear of it:" The sin-confounding judgments of God made all the sin to come out. Sirs, those judgments of God have been so exemplified among our selves, that I cannot imagine how some guilty wretches, whose crimes are hith-

* Being admonished, learn justice.

erto secret, are able to walk about, having the terrors of the shadow of death upon their souls.

How many secret murders have strangely been discover'd among us! and I believe there are yet more to be discover'd.

There have been *devilish filthinesses* committed among us. But, Oh, how strangely have the sins of men found them out!

At the southward there was a beast, which brought forth a creature which might pretend to something of an human shape. Now, the people minded that the *monster* had a blemish in one eye, much like what a profligate fellow in the town was known to have. This fellow was hereupon examined; and upon his examination, confess'd his infandous Bestialties; for which he was deservedly executed.

But, "I'll never confess," thinks many an hard-hearted sinner. No! So thought another man, whose name I could mention. He was one who had formerly and frequently derided other persons, as fools, for confessing against themselves. This man liv'd in adultery, especially with one vile woman, until God struck him with a *dead palsie* and a quick conscience. Then he that had laugh'd at others for not concealing their sins, could not conceal his own. He reveal'd his villanies with that woman and others, and he acknowledg'd the justice of God in compelling him to reveal them. The woman also made an acknowledgment of her enormities: and they both dy'd for their iniquities.

What shall I say? There have been *church-members* among us who have made no mean profession of religion. These have gone on from year to year in a trade of *secret filthiness*. Even, "I know, and am a witness of it," says the Lord. Some of these have died in very sad circumstances, and the world has never heard any thing of the Lord's *controversie* with them. Yea, but many of them have been strangely detected before they have dy'd. They have been left unto some foolish and sottish action at last, which has occasioned the publishing of their vileness unto all the world. The holy *eyes* of the Lord Jesus Christ, which are like "a flame of fire," have seen their damnable hypocrisy and impiety; and he hath made all the "churches to know, that he searches the reins and hearts of men:" He hath made their "wickedness to be declared before the whole congregation;" he hath brought the *public censures* of his *faithful people* upon them. He hath done *much* in these awful judgments; and I fear, I fear he hath yet more to do upon some, in the midst of thee, O Boston, *except they repent!*

THE ELEVENTH REMARK.—The "judgments of God" among us have not been more conspicuous upon any sinners, than upon those that have made *others to sin*. There are some whom the Scriptures call the "chief of sinners:" Those who are *chief* in drawing others on to be sinners. Truly, the "judgments of God" have often made these as exemplary in their *plagues*, as they have been in their *sins*.

I have known some wretched young men in several societies, who have been the *chief debauchers* of the societies which they belong'd unto. But, Oh! what sad things could I tell you, of the deadly judgments that God hath showered from heaven upon the heads of those infamous youths! God has made 'em the sons of Eli with his deadly judgments.

Under this head of the divine judgments, why should I not mention the *condition* of one whom I knew in this place? The man deny'd the "immortality of the soul," and would go to debauch other men with his vile opinion, *that we have no immortal soul in us*. This poor man came to lie on his death-bed, and then the *terrors of God* so thunder-struck his conscience, that his dying out-cries were, "Oh! what shall I do for my immortal soul! What will become of my immortal soul for ever!"

And when, alas! when will our Indian traders apply themselves to that commination in Heb. ii. 15: "Wo to him that gives his neighbour drink; that putteth thy bottle [*thy rum bottle*] to him, and makest him drunken also." While there has been a most observable *blessing of God* upon the *preachers of truth* to the Indians, all the world may observe a *judgment of God* upon the *sellers of drink* to the Indians. I pray, what have the estates of such men generally come to? Do; Trade on, ye merchants of souls, or, more truly, ye butcherers of souls; Trade on, till the judgments of God have caused you to trade your selves into *beggary* at the last! But know, that the "blood of souls" will be found on your skirts. It is not very long ago that an unusual accident in a part of this province did affright the neighbours into some serious thoughts of this matter. Several Indians were made horribly drunk by the drink which the English had sold unto them. Returning home over a little ferry, eight of them were drown'd; and three months after they were drown'd (from December to March) one of their dead bodies came ashore very near the place where they had been supplied with their drink; and lying on the shore, it bled so plentifully, as to *discolour* the water and sand about it. Upon which the considerate spectators thought of that scripture, "the stone shall cry out of the wall" against him that "gives his neighbour drink." They thought there was a loud cry of "Blood! blood!" against some wicked English in this matter.

THE TWELFTH REMARK.—Finally, we have seen that, by omitting their prayers to God, men bespeak for themselves the "judgments of God." How many that have liv'd prayerless, have we seen to die prayerless, or to die hopeless?

We often miscarry in our enterprizes. Now, if we would "search and try our ways," it may be, we should find that we did not sufficiently pray over our enterprizes before we resolved upon them. How often, how often, have I seen this verify'd in the judgments of God!

Yea, by a prayerless life, we have seen men pulling down the most consummate judgments of God upon their own woful heads.

It was a pathetic passage in the last prayer of a poor murderer that was executed in this place not long ago: "Oh!" said he "if I had gone to prayer that morning when I committed the sin for which I am now to die, O Lord God! I believe thou wouldst have kept back my hands from that sin!"

The day wherein men have gone abroad without prayer before they went, how often have the "judgments of God" made it a day of thick darkness to the prayerless people? How remarkably has that observation been confirmed in the experience of thousands among us, *Negligentiam in orando semper aliqua notabilis transgressio sequitur*.* Indeed, the instances of Origen's apostasy has been sometimes brought with this observation: But I do from the universal silence of the more ancient writers, both before and after that scandalous reporter, Epiphanius, believe that whole story of Origen to be a sham, in after ages invented by the adversaries of that excellent man; and as false as that Origen wrote the discourse entitul'd "*Origen's Lamentation*."

Yea, there was an aged professor, belonging to a church in this town, who, after many years of good repute with good people, became a *drunken sot*, for which he was excommunicated. After his excommunication, he fell into bitter anguish of soul, and at length dy'd in astonishing circumstances. But some of his dying words were: "I often pray'd unto God for a mercy, which he still deny'd me. At length I grew angry at God: whereupon I grew slack in my acquaintance with the Lord: ever since which, he hath dreadfully forsaken me, and I know that now he hath no mercy for me." Think of these things; and, oh! do not so *reject fear* as to *restrain prayer* before the Lord.

These are the most peculiar "judgments of God," unto which I have accounted it not amiss to point you; so you may "tremble for fear of him, and be afraid of his judgments."

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

AN HISTORY OF SOME CRIMINALS EXECUTED IN NEW-ENGLAND FOR CAPITAL CRIMES;

WITH SOME OF THEIR DYING SPEECHES.

WE find in Zuinger, the mention of a city besieged by a potent enemy; where the inhabitants took the *dead bodies* of the starv'd people, and set them in armour on the walls; at the sight whereof the amazed enemy fled.

* Some notable transgression always follows a neglect of prayer.

One of the New-English ministers, beholding *vice* besieging his country as an enemy, singl'd out a company of *dead wretches* to set upon the walls, in hopes that the horrible sight would cause that worst enemy to fly before it. He publish'd unto the country "*An History of Criminals*," which may be here over-again publish'd, as a fit appendix to "*An History of Remarkable Judgments*:" For indeed in these *criminals*, the "remarkable judgments of God" were wonderfully *exemplify'd*.

PILLARS OF SALT.

It hath been thought, that the *dying speeches* of such as have been executed among us, might be of singular use to correct and reform the crimes wherein too many do live: and it has been wish'd that at least some fragments of those dying speeches might be preserv'd and publish'd. Upon this advice from some good persons, I have stollen an hour or two, wherein I have collected some accounts of several ill persons, which have been cut off by the sword of *civil justice* in this land; and this collection I suffer to go abroad, in hopes that, among many other essays to suppress *growing vice*, it may signifie something with the blessing of Heaven there-upon, to let the vicious understand what have been the cries of our misera-bles when passing into another world. Behold, an history of criminals, whom the terrible judgments of God have *thunder-strook* into *pillars of salt*.

(I.) About the year 1646, here was one Mary Martin, whose father going from hence to England, left her in the house of a marry'd man, who yet became so enamour'd on her, that he attempted her chastity.

Such was her weakness and folly, that she yielded unto the temptations of that miserable man; but yet with such horrible regret of mind, that begging of God for deliverance from her temptations, her plea was, "That if ever she were overtaken again, she would leave herself unto his justice, to be made a publick example."

Heaven will convince the sinful children of men, that the vows which they make, relying on the stability and resolution of their own hearts, are of no significancy. A chain of hell was upon her, and the forfeited grace of Heaven was with-held from her; she fell a *third* time into the sin against which her vows had been utter'd.

Afterwards going to service in Boston, she found herself to have conceiv'd; but she lived with a favourable mistress, who would admit and allow no suspicion of her dishonesty.

A question (like that convincing one of our Saviour's unto the woman of Samaria) was once odly put unto her: "Mary, where is thy husband?" And one said also, "Did I not think thou wert an honest and sincere creature, I should verily think thou wert with child!" These passages, which were warnings from God unto her guilty soul, did serve only to strike her with amazement—not with any true repentance.

She conceal'd her crime till the time of her delivery; and then being deliver'd alone by her self in a dark room, she murdered the harmless and helpless infant; hiding it in a chest from the eyes of all but the jealous God.

The blood of the child cried, when the cry of the child it self was thus cruelly stifled. Some circumstance quickly occur'd which oblig'd her friends to charge her with an unlawful birth. She deny'd it impudently. A further search confuted her denial. She then said, the child was dead born, and she had burn'd it to ashes. With an hypocritical tear, she added, "Oh, that it were true, that the poor babe were any where to be seen!" At last, it was found in her chest; and when she touch'd the face of it before the jury, the blood came fresh into it. So she confessed the whole truth concerning it.

Great endeavours were used that she might be brought unto a true faith in the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ for the pardon of her blood-guiltiness; and, it may be, none endeavour'd it more than that reverend man, old Mr. Wilson, who wrote several sheets of pathetical instructions to her while she was in prison. That renown'd man, old Mr. Cotton also, did his part in endeavouring that she might be renew'd by repentance; and preach'd a sermon on Ezek. xvi. 20, 21: "Is this of thy whoredoms a small matter, that thou hast slain my children?" Whereof great notice was taken. It was hoped that these endeavours were not lost: her carriage in her imprisonment and at her execution was very penitent. But there was this remarkable at her execution: she acknowledged her *twice* essaying to kill her child before she could make an end of it: and now, through the unskillfulness of the executioner, she was turned off the ladder twice before she died.

(II.) There was a miserable man at Weymouth, who fell into very ungodly practice; but would particularly signalize his ungodliness by flouting at those fools (as he call'd 'em) who would ever confess any sins laid unto their charge. This man liv'd in abominable adulteries; but God at length smote him with a palsy. His dead palsy was accompany'd with a quick conscience, which compell'd him to confess his crimes: but he confess'd them so indiscreetly that, by their divulgation, they reach'd the ears of the authority; and in this confession there was involv'd and concern'd the wretched woman who chiefly had been concern'd with him in the transgression.

By the law of this countrey, adultery was then a capital transgression, as it hath been in many other countries: and this poor adulterer could not escape the punishment which the law provided.

(III.) On June 6, 1662, at New-haven, there was a most unparallel'd wretch, (one Potter, by name, about sixty years of age,) executed for

damnable bestialities; although this wretch had been for now twenty years a member of the church in that place, and kept up among the holy people of God there a reputation for serious Christianity. It seems that the unclean devil which had the possession of this monster, had carry'd all his lusts with so much fury into this one channel of wickedness, that there was no notice taken of his being wicked in any other. Hence 'twas that he was devout in worship, gifted in prayer, forward in edifying discourse among the religious, and zealous in reproving the sins of the other people; every one counted him a *saint*; and he enjoy'd such a peace in his own *mind*, that in several fits of sickness, wherein he seem'd "nigh unto death," he seem'd "willing to die;" yea, "death," he said, "smiled on him." Nevertheless, this diabolical creature had liv'd in most infandous buggeries for no less than fifty years together; and now at the gallows there were kill'd before his eyes a *cow*, two *heifers*, three *sheep*, and two *sows*, with all of which he had committed his brutalities. His wife had seen him confounding himself with a *bitch* ten years before; and he then excused his filthiness as well as he could unto her, but conjur'd her to keep it secret: but he afterwards hang'd that bitch himself, and then return'd unto his former villanies, until at last his son saw him hideously conversing with a *sow*. By these means the burning jealousy of the Lord Jesus Christ at length made the churches to know that he had all this while scen the cover'd filthiness of this hellish hypocrite, and expos'd him also to the just judgment of death from the civil court of judicature. Very remarkable had been the warnings which this hell hound had receiv'd from Heaven to repent of his impieties. Many years before this he had a daughter, who dreamt a dream, which caus'd her in her sleep to cry out most bitterly; and her father then, with much ado, obtaining of her to tell her *dream*, she told him she dreamt that she was among a great multitude of people to see an execution, and it prov'd her own father that was to be hanged, at whose turning over she thus cry'd out. This happen'd before the time that any of his curs'd practices were known unto her.

At another time, when there was a malefactor adjudg'd in those parts to die, for the very same transgressions which this rotten fellow was guilty of, the governour, with some of the magistrates, most unaccountably, without any manner of reason for their so doing, turn'd about unto this fellow, and said, "What think you?—is not this man worthy to die?" He now confessed, that these warnings did so awaken his conscience, as to make him for a time leave off his infernal debauches; and so, he said, "he thought all was pardoned—all was well with him." Nevertheless, he return'd unto his vomit and his quagmire, until the sentence of death at last fell upon him; and then he acknowledged that he had lived in the sin of bestiality ever since he was ten years old, but had sometimes intermitted the perpetration of it for some years together. During his imprisonment, he continu'd in a sottish and stupid frame of spirit, and marvellously

secure about his *everlasting pardon and welfare*; but the church whereto he belonged kept a solemn day of humiliation on this occasion; wherein Mr. Davenport preach'd on Josh. xxii. 20: "Did not Achan commit a trespass in the accursed thing, and wrath fell on the congregation of Israel?" And in the close of the fast, that faithful people of God excommunicated this *accursed Achan* from their own society. But, as I have seen *bewitch'd self-poisoners*, under a singular energy of some *devil*, obstinately refuse all offer'd *relief* until the poisons had prevail'd so far that all relief was too late, and then with roaring agonies they would have given ten worlds for it; so this *bewitch'd beast*, that had not been afraid of dying till he came to the "place of execution," when he came there, he was *awaken'd* into a most unutterable and intolerable anguish of soul, and made most lamentably desperate out-cries; among which out-cries, he warn'd men particularly to "take heed of neglecting secret prayer;" which, he said, "had been his bane." He said, he never used *secret prayer* in his life, and that he frequently omitted *family prayer* too; yet, he said, he had *pray'd* and *sinn'd*, and *sinn'd* and *pray'd*; namely, by *ejaculations*, with which he contented himself, throwing *set prayer* aside. But so he perish'd!

(IV.) An English ship (in the year 1673) sailing from somewhere about the mouth of the Streights, was mann'd with some cruel miscreants, who, quarrelling with the master and some of the officers, turn'd them all into the long boat, with a small quantity of provisions, about an hundred leagues to the westward of the Spanish coast.

These fellows, in the mean time, set sail for New-England; where, by a surprising providence of God, the master, with his afflicted company in the long boat, also arrived; all, except one, who died of the barbarous usage.

The countenance of the master was now come terrible to the rebellious men, who, though they had escap'd the sea, yet "vengeance would not suffer to live a-shore." At his instance and complaint, they were apprehended; and the ringleaders of this murderous piracy had a sentence of death executed on them in Boston.

Under that sentence, there was heard among them a grievous lamentation for this: "Their education had been under the means of grace, and the faithful preaching of the gospel in England; but they had sinned against that education." And one of them sadly cry'd out, "Oh! 'tis my drunkenness, 'tis my drunkenness, that hath brought me to this lamentable end!"

The horrors which attended the chief of these malefactors (one Forrest) in the last hours of his life, were such as exceedingly astonished the beholders. Though he were a very stout man, yet now his trembling agonies and anguishes were inexpressible. One speech, let fall by him, was, "I have been among drawn swords, flying bullets, roaring cannons—amidst all which, I knew not what fear meant; but now I have dreadful

apprehensions of the dreadful wrath of God in the other world, which I am going into, my soul within me is amazed at it."

(V.) On March 18, 1674, two men, whose names were Nicholas Feavour and Robert Driver, were executed at Boston. The crime for which they were executed, was the murder of their master; whom, upon the provocation of some chastisement which he had given them, they knock'd him on the head with an axe in their bloody rage.

After they were condemn'd, they bestowed their lamentations not only on the particular crime which had now brought them to their untimely end, but also on some others, for which their consciences told them that the righteous God had left 'em unto *this*.

One of 'em said, "his pride had been his bane;" for he thought much of it that such a one as *he* should be a servant; and he would sometimes utter such words as these: "I am flesh and blood, as well as my master; and therefore I know no reason why my master should not obey me, as well as I obey him."—"And now," said he, "see what my pride has brought me to!"

One of them also said that his idleness had ruin'd him: he would not industriously follow his calling, but live an idle, slothful vagrant life. This, he said, had undone him.

And one of them said that his disobedience to his parents had brought this *misery* upon him. His father, he said, gave him good instructions when he was a child; but he regarded them not. He would not go to a school, when his father would have sent him to it. He would not go to a trade, when his father would have put him to one. After his father was dead, he would not be subject unto them that had the charge of him; he ran away from them; and after that he ran away from several masters. Thus he ran into the jaws of death.

These things are particulariz'd in the sermon preach'd just before their execution; and afterwards print'd under the title of, "*The Wicked Man's Portion*."

(VI.) On September 22, 1681, one W. C. was executed at Boston for a rape committed by him on a girl that liv'd with him; though he had then a wife with child by him, of a nineteenth or twentieth child.

This man had been "wicked overmuch." His parents were godly persons; but he was a "child of Belial." He began early to shake off his obedience unto them; and early had fornication laid unto his charge; after which, he fled unto a dissolute corner of the land, a place whereof it might be said, "Surely the fear of God is not in this place." He being a youth under the inspection of the church at Roxbury, they, to win him, invited him to return unto his friends, with such expressions of lenity towards him, that the reverend old man their pastor, in a sermon on the day when this man was executed, with tears bewail'd it.

After this, he liv'd very dissolutely in the town of Dorchester; where, in a fit of sickness, he vow'd that, if God would spare his life, he would live as a new man; but he horribly forgot his vows. The instances of his impiety grew so numerous and prodigious, that the wrath of God could bear no longer with him; he was ripen'd for the gallows.

After his condemnation, he vehemently protested his innocency of the fact for which he was condemn'd; but he confess'd "that God was righteous, thus to bring destruction upon him for secret adulteries."

A reprieve would have been obtain'd for him, if his foolish and froward refusing to hear a sermon on the day appointed for his execution had not hardened the heart of the judge against him. He who had been a great *scoffer* at the ordinances of God, now exposed himself by being left unto such a sottish action!

He had horribly slighted all calls to repentance, and now, through some wretches over-perswading of him that he should not die according to sentence and order of the court, he hardened himself still in his unrepentant frame of mind.

When he came to the gallows, and saw death (and a picture of *hell*, too, in a negro then burnt to death at the stake, for burning her master's house, with some that were in it,) before his face, never was a cry for "Time! time! a world for a little time! the inexpressible worth of time!" uttered with a most unutterable anguish.

He then declared, that "the greatest *burden* then lying upon his miserable soul, was his having lived so unprofitably under the preaching of the gospel."

(VII.) On March 11, 1686, was executed at Boston one James Morgan, for an horrible murther. A man, finding it necessary to come into his house, he swore he would run a spit into his bowels; and he was as bad as his word.

He was a passionate fellow, and now, after his condemnation, he much bewail'd his having been given to cursing in his passions.

The reverend person who preach'd unto a great assembly on the day of this poor man's execution, did, in the midst of his sermon, take occasion to read a paper which he had receiv'd from the malefactor then present in the assembly. It was as followeth:

"I, James Morgan, being condemn'd to die, must needs own, to the glory of God, that He is righteous, and that I have by my sins provok'd him to destroy me before my time. I have been a great sinner, guilty of Sabbath-breaking, of lying, and of uncleanness; but there are especially two sins whereby I have offended the great God; one is that sin of drunkenness, which has caused me to commit many other sins; for when in drink, I have been often guilty of cursing and swearing, and quarreling, and striking others. But the sin which lies most heavy upon my conscience is, that I have despised the word of God, and for many a time refused to hear it preach'd. For these things, I believe God has left me to that which has brought me to a shameful and miserable death. I do therefore beseech and warn all

persons, young men especially, to take heed of these sins, lest they provoke the Lord to do to them as he has justly done by me. And, for the further peace of my own conscience, I think my self obliged to add this unto my foregoing confession, 'that I own the sentence which the honour'd court has pass' upon me, to be *exceeding just*;' inasmuch as (though I had no former grudge and malice against the man whom I have kill'd, yet) my passion at the time of the fact was so outrageous, as that it hurried me on to the doing of that which makes me now justly proceeded against as a murderer."

After the sermon, a minister, at his desire, went unto the place of execution with him. And of what passed by the way, there was a copy taken, which here ensueth:

THE DISCOURSE OF THE MINISTER WITH JAMES MORGAN,

ON THE WAY TO HIS EXECUTION.

Min. I'm come hither to answer your desires, which just now you express'd to me in the publick, that I would give you my company at your execution.

Mor. Dear sir, how much am I beholden to you! You have already done a great deal for me. O, who am I, that I have been such a vile wretch, that any servants of God should take notice of me!

Min. I beseech you to make this use of it: I believe there is not one Christian this day beholding you, who would not willingly be at the greatest pains they could devise to save your precious soul. How merciful then is that man, who is God as well as man! How unspeakably ready is the Lord Jesus Christ to save the souls of sinners that affectionately look unto him! The goodness and pitifulness of the most tender-hearted man in the world is but a shadow of what is in him. The compassions of any man, compar'd with the bowels of a merciful JESUS, are but as the painted sun, or the painted fire, in comparison of the real.

Mor. O that I could now look unto him as I ought to do! Lord, help me!

Min. Well, you are now a dying man; the last hour or two of your life is now running. You know yourself now to stand just on the brink of eternity; you shall presently be in a state of wonderful happiness or of horrible misery, which must endure forever: which of those estates do you now count yourself stepping into?

Mor. Oh, sir, I am afraid, but I am not without hope that God may have mercy on me.

Min. What's your ground for that hope? O, see that your confidences be not such as God will by and by reject!

Mor. I don't know well what to say, but this, I hope, is a good sign: I have lived in many grievous sins, in *lying, drinking, Sabbath-breaking, and evil company-keeping*; God has made now these so bitter to my soul, that I would not commit them again, might I have my life this afternoon by doing it.

Min. That's a great word; God grant it may not be a word only, the good word of a good pang, without such a thorough change of heart as you must have if you would not perish everlastingly. You are not like to have any longer time in this world to try the sincerity of your profession.

Mor. I know it, and I beseech you, sir, to help me what you can: I hope the means used with me since my condemnation have not been lost.

Min. I would not have the sense of the pain and shame which your body is about to undergo any ways hinder your mind from being taken up about the soul matters which I shall endeavour to set before you.

Mor. Sir, as for the pain that my body must presently feel, I matter it not: I know what pain is; but what shall I do for my poor soul? I'm terrified with the wrath of God; this, this terrifies me; hell terrifies me. I should not mind my death, if it were not for that.

Min. Now, the Lord help me to deal faithfully with you, and the Lord help you to receive what he shall enable me to offer unto you. Mark what I say: you were born among the enemies of God; you were born with a soul as full of enmity against God as a toad is full of poison. You have lived now, how many years?

Mor. I think about thirty.

Min. And all these thirty years have you been sinning against the Holy God. Ever since you knew how to do any thing, you have every day been guilty of innumerable sins; you deserve the dreadful wrath and curse of the infinite God. But God has brought you here, to a place where you have enjoy'd the means of grace. And here you have added unto your old sins most fearful iniquities: you have been such a matchless, prodigious transgressor, that you are now to die by the stroke of civil justice; *to die before your time, for being wicked overmuch.* There is hardly any sort of wickedness which you have not wallow'd in. That sin particularly which you are now to die for, is a most monstrous crime. I can't possibly describe or declare the sins whereby you have made yourself an astonishing example of impiety and punishment.

Mor. O, sir, I have been a hellish sinner. I am sorry for what I have been.

Min. Sorry, you say: well, tell me which of all your sins you are now most sorry for—which lies most heavy?

Mor. I hope I am sorry for all my sins, but I must especially bewail my neglect of the means of grace. On Sabbath days I us'd to lie at home, or be ill employ'd elsewhere, when I should have been at church. This has undone me!

Min. And let me seriously tell you, your despising of Christ is a most dreadful sin indeed. You have for whole years together had the call of Jesus Christ to seek an interest in him; and you would now give all the world for that interest, but you would take no notice of him. The Jews of old put him to a worse death than yours will be this afternoon, and by your contempt of Christ, you have said, the Jews did well to do so. How justly might he now laugh at your calamity? And for these sins of yours, besides the direful woes and plagues that have already come upon you, you are now expos'd unto the vengeance of eternal fire. You are in danger of being now quickly cast into those exquisite amazing torments; in comparison of which, the anguishes which your body ever did feel, or shall feel before night, or can ever feel, are just nothing at all: and these dolorous torments are such as never have an end. As many sands as could lie between this earth and the stars in Heaven, would not be near so many as the ages, the endless ages of these torments.

Mor. But is there not mercy for me in Christ?

Min. Yes; and it is a wonderful thing, that I have now further to tell you. Mind, I entreat you. The son of God is become the son of man; the Lord Jesus Christ is both God and man in one person; and he is both sufficiently able and willing also to be your Saviour. He lived a most righteous life; and this was, that such as you and I might be able to say before God, Lord, accept of me, as if I had lived righteously. He died at length a most cursed death; and this was, that we might be able to say unto God, Lord, let me not die for sin, since thy son died in my room. This glorious Redeemer is now in the highest heaven, pleading with God for the salvation of his chosen ones. And he pours out his spirit continually upon them that do believe on him: might you then be enabled by his grace to carry your poor, guilty, condemn'd, enslav'd, ignorant soul unto Jesus Christ, and humbly put your trust in him for deliverance from the whole bad state which you are brought into. O then his voice is to you the same that was to the penitent thief, this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

Mor. Oh! that I might be so! Sir, I would hear more of these things: I think I can't better fit myself for my death, than by hearkening to these things.

Min. Attend then: the never dying spirit that lodges within you, must now within a few minutes appear before the tribunal of the great God. In what, or in whose righteousness will you then appear? Will you have this to be your plea, "Lord, I experienc'd many good motions and desires in my soul, and many sorrows for my sin before I dy'd?" or, will you expect to have no other plea but this, "Lord I am vile, but thy Son is a surety for the worst of sinners that believe on him; for his sake alone have MERCY on me?"

Mor. I thank God for what he has wrought in my soul.

Min. But be very careful about this matter: if you build on your own good affections instead of Jesus Christ, the only rock, if you think they shall recommend you to God, he that made you, will not have mercy on you.

Mor. I would be cloathed with the righteousness of JESUS CHRIST.

Min. But you can't sincerely desire that Christ should justify you, if you don't also desire that he should sanctify you: those two always go together. Is every lust that has hitherto had possession of your heart become so loathsome to you, that it would fill your soul with joy to hear Jesus Christ

say, "I will subdue those iniquities of thine; I will make an holy, an heavenly, a spiritually minded person of thee."

Mor. I would not sin against God any more.

Min. But I must deal plainly with you: you have made it sadly suspicious that your repentance is not yet as it ought to be. When men truly and thoroughly repent of sin, they use to be in a special manner watchful against that sin which has been their chief sin; one of your principal sins, which has indeed brought you to the death of a murderer, is passion, unmortify'd and outrageous passionateness: now, I have been this day inform'd, that no longer since than the last night, upon some dissatisfaction about the place which the authority hath order'd you by and by to be bury'd in, you did express yourself with a most unruly passionateness.

Mor. Sir, I confess it, and I was quickly sorry for it, though for the present I was too much disturb'd: 'twas my folly to be so careful about the place where my body should be laid, when my precious soul was in such a condition.

Min. Truly, you have cause to mourn for it. Secure the welfare of your soul, and this (now) pinion'd, hang'd, vile body of yours will shortly be rais'd unto glory, glory for evermore. And let me put you in mind of one thing more; I doubt not you have not yet laid aside your unjust grudges against the persons concern'd in your conviction and condemnation: you have no cause to complain of them: and you are not fit to pray, much less are you fit to die, till you heartily wish them as well as your own soul: if you die malicious, you die miserable.

Mor. I heartily wish them all well; I bear ill-will to none. What a lamentable thing is this! Ah, this is that which has brought me hither!

Min. What do you mean?

Mor. I overheard a man mocking and scoffing at me when I stumbled just now: he does very ill. I have done so myself. I have mock'd and scoff'd like that man, and see what it hath brought me to: he may come to the like.

Min. The Lord forgive that foolish hard-hearted creature. But be not too much disturb'd.

Mor. Yonder! I am now come in sight of the place where I must immediately end my days. Oh, what a huge multitude of people is come together on this occasion. O Lord, O Lord! I pray thee to make my death profitable to all this multitude of people, that they may not sin against thee as I have done.

Min. Amen, Amen, ten thousand times; the Lord God Almighty say Amen to this prayer of yours! It would indeed be an excellent thing, if you would now come to receive your death, with some satisfaction of soul in this thought, that much glory is like to come to God by it: I am verily perswaded God intends to do good to many souls by means of your execution. This is a greater honour than you are worthy of.

[After the discourse had been intermitted about a minute or two by reason of the mirey way.]

Mor. I beseech you, sir, speak to me. Do me all the good you can: my time grows very short: your discourse fits me for my death more than any thing.

Min. I am sorry so small a thing as a plashy street should make me lose one minute of this more than ordinary precious time; a few paces more bring you to the place which you have now in your eye, from whence you shall not come back alive. Do you find yourself afraid to die there?

Mor. Sir, if it were not for the condition that my soul must by and by be in, I should not fear my death at all; but I have a little comfort from some of God's promises about that.

Min. And what shall I now say? These are among the last words that I can have liberty to leave with you. Poor man! thou art now going to knock at the door of heaven, and to beg and cry, "Lord, Lord, open to me!" The only way for thee to speed, is to open the door of thy own soul now unto the Lord Jesus Christ. Do this, and thou shalt undoubtedly be admitted into the glories of his heavenly kingdom: you shall fare as well as Manasseh did before you; leave this undone, and there is nothing remains for you but the "worm which dieth not and the fire which never shall be quench'd."

Mor. Sir, shew me then again what I have to do.

Min. The voice, the sweet voice of the Lord Jesus Christ (who was once hang'd on a tree, to take away the sting and curse of even such a death as yours) unto all that close with him, his hea-

venly voice now is, "O that I and my saving work might be entertained, kindly entreated, in that poor perishing soul of thine!" Are you willing?

Mor. I hope I am.

Min. His voice further is, "If I am lodg'd in thy soul, I'll sprinkle my blood upon it; and on my account thou shalt find favour with God." Do you consent to this?

Mor. This I want.

Min. But this is not all that he saith; his voice further is, "If I come into thy soul, I will change it; I will make all sin bitter to it; I will make it an holy, heavenly soul." Do you value this above the proffers of all the world?

Mor. I think I do. And now, sir, I must go no further. Look here—what a solemn sight is this! Here lies the coffin which this body of mine must presently be laid in. I thank you, dear sir, for what you have already done for me.

Min. When you are gone up this ladder, my last service with you before you are gone off will be to pray with you; but I would here take my leave of you. Oh, that I might meet you at the right hand of the Lord Jesus Christ in the last day! Farewel, poor heart, fare thee well. The everlasting arms receive thee! the Lord Jesus, the merciful Saviour of souls, take possession of thy spirit for himself! The great God, who is a great forgiver, grant thee repentance unto life; and glorifie himself in the salvation of such a wounded soul as thine forever! With him, and with his free, rich, marvellous, infinite grace, I leave you.—Farewel.

Being arrived unto the place of execution, his last speech upon the ladder, then taken in short hand, was that which is here inserted:

"I pray God that I may be a warning to you all, and that I may be the last that ever shall suffer after this manner. In the fear of God I warn you to have a care of taking the Lord's name in vain. Mind, and have a care of that sin of drunkenness: for that sin leads to all manner of sins and wickedness: (mind, and have a care of breaking the sixth commandment, where it is said, 'Thou shalt do no murther;') for when a man is in drink, he is ready to commit all manner of sin, till he fill up the cup of the wrath of God, as I have done by committing that sin of murder.

"I beg of God, as I am a dying man, and to appear before the Lord within a few minutes, that you may take notice of what I say to you. Have a care of drunkenness, and ill company, and mind all good instruction; and don't turn your back upon the word of God, as I have done. When I have been at meeting, I have gone out of the meeting-house to commit sin, and to please the lusts of my flesh. Don't make a mock at any poor object of pity: but bless God that he has not left you as he has justly done me, to commit that horrid sin of murder.

"Another thing that I have to say to you is, to have a care of that house where that wickedness was committed, and where I have been partly ruin'd by. But here I am, and know not what will become of my poor soul, which is within a few moments of eternity. I have murder'd a poor man, who had but little time to repent, and I know not what has become of his poor soul. O, that I may make use of this opportunity that I have! O, that I may make improvement of this little, little time, before I go hence and be no more! O, let all mind what I am saying, now I am going out of this world! O, take warning by me, and beg of God to keep you from this sin, which has been my ruine!"

His last words were, "O Lord receive my spirit! I come unto thee, O Lord—I come unto thee, O Lord—I come, I come, I come."

(VIII.) ONE Hugh Stone, upon a quarrel between himself and his wife, about selling a piece of land, having some words, as they were walking together on a certain evening, very barbarously reach'd a stroke at her throat, with a sharp knife; and by that one stroke fetch'd away the

soul of her who had made him a father of several children, and would have bro't yet another to him if she had liv'd a few weeks longer in the world.

The wretched man was too soon surpriz'd by his neighbours to be capable of denying the fact; and so he pleaded guilty upon his tryal.

There was a minister that walk'd with him to his execution; and I shall insert the principal passages of the discourses between 'em; in which the reader may find or make something useful to himself, what ever it were to the poor man, who was more immediately concerned in it:

Minister. I am come to give you what assistance I can in your taking of the steps, which your eternal *weal* or *wo* now depends upon the well or ill taking of.

Hugh Stone. Sir, I thank you, and I beg you to do what you can for me.

Min. Within a few minutes, your immortal soul must appear before God, the judge of all. I am heartily sorry you have lost so much time since your first imprisonment: you had need use a wonderful husbandry of the little piece of an inch which now remains. Are you now prepared to stand before the tribunal of God?

H. S. I hope I am.

Min. And what reason for that hope?

H. S. I find all my sins made so bitter to me, that if I were to have my life given me this afternoon, to live such a life as I have liv'd heretofore, I would not accept of it. I had rather die.

Min. That is well, if it be true. But suffer me a little to search into the condition of your soul. Are you sensible that you were born a sinner? that the guilt of the first sin committed by Adam is justly charged upon you? and that you have hereupon a wicked nature in you, full of enmity against all that is holy, and just, and good? for which you deserved to be destroy'd as soon as you first came into this world?

H. S. I am sensible of this.

Min. Are you further sensible, that you have liv'd a very ungodly life? that you are guilty of thousands of actual sins, every one of which *deserves the wrath and curse of God, both in this life, and that which is to come?*

H. S. I am sensible of this also.

Min. But are you sensible that you have broken all the laws of God? You know the commandments. Are you sensible that you have broken every one of them?

H. S. I cannot well answer to that. My answer may be liable to some exceptions.—This I own, I have broken every commandment on the account mention'd by the apostle James; that he who “breaks one, is guilty of all;” but not otherwise.

Min. Alas, that you know yourself no better than so! I do affirm to you that you have particularly broken every one of the commandments; and you must be sensible of it.

H. S. I cannot see it.

Min. But you must remember that *the commandment is exceeding broad*; it reaches to the heart as well as the life: it excludes omissions as well as commissions; and it at once both requires and forbids. But, I pray, make an experiment upon any one commandment, in which you count your self most innocent: and see whether you do not presently confess your self guilty thereof. I may not leave this point slightly pass'd over with you.

H. S. That commandment, “thou shalt not make to thy self any graven image;” how have I broken it?

Min. Thus: you have had undue images of God in your mind a thousand times. But more than so; that commandment not only forbids our using the inventions of men in the worship of God, but it also requires our using all the institutions of God. Now, have not you many and many a time turn'd your back upon some of those glorious institutions?

H. S. Indeed, sir, I confess it: I see my sinfulness greater than I thought it was.

Min. You ought to see it. God help you to see it! there is a *boundless ocean* of it. And then for that sin which has now brought a shameful death upon you, 'tis impossible to declare the aggravations of it; hardly an age will show the like. You have professed your self sorry for it!

H. S. I am heartily so.

Min. But your sorrows must be after a *godly sort*. Not merely because of the miseries which it has brought on your outward man, but chiefly for the *wrongs* and *wounds* therein given to your own soul; and not only for the miseries you have brought on your self, but chiefly for the injuries which you have done to the blessed God.

H. S. I hope my sorrow lies there.

Min. But do you mourn without hope?

H. S. I thank God I do not.

Min. Where do you see a *door of hope*?

H. S. In the Lord Jesus Christ, who has died to save sinners.

Min. Truly, "there is no other name by which we may be saved?" The righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ is that alone in which you may safely anon appear before the judgment seat of God. And that righteousness is, by the marvellous and infinite "grace of God," offered unto you. But do you find that, as you have no righteousness, so you have no strength?—that you cannot of *your self* move or stir towards the Lord Jesus Christ; though you justly perish if you do not run unto him? that it is the "grace of God" alone which must enable you to accept of salvation from the great Saviour?

H. S. Sir, my case, in short, is this: I have laid my self at the feet of the Lord Jesus Christ for my salvation; and, had it not been for his *meer* grace and help, I had never been able to do that. But there I have laid and left my self; I have nothing to plead, why He should accept of me. If He will do it, *I am happy*; but if he will not, *I am undone* for ever: it had been good for me that I had never been born.

Min. And you must justify him, if he should reject you. You surprize me with at once giving me so much of the *discourse*, which all this while I have been labouring for. I can add but this: *the good Lord make you sincere in what you say!*—Your crime lay in *blood*; and your help also, that lies in *blood*. I am to offer you the *blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ, as that in which you may now have the pardon of all your sins. Now, you may try the sincerity of your faith in the *blood* of the Lord Jesus for a pardon, by this.

H. S. Do, sir.

Min. The blood of the Lord Jesus is not only sin-pardoning blood, but also soul-purifying and heart-softening blood. It embitters all sin unto the soul that it is applied unto, and mortifies every lust in such a soul. Are you desirous of this?

H. S. With all my heart.

Min. The Lord make you so! The Lord seal your pardon in that blood, which is worth ten thousand worlds! But what will you do for that God who has given you these hopes of a pardon? You must now with a holy ingenuity do something for the *honour* of that God whom you have sinned so much against.

H. S. What shall I do?

Min. Why, confess and bewail the sins that have undone you; and publicly advise, and exhort, and charge all that you can, to take heed of such evil ways.

H. S. I will endeavour to do it, as God shall help me.

Min. I pray, tell me plainly what special sin do you think it was that laid the first foundation of your destruction? Where did you begin to leave God, and ruine your self?

H. S. It was contention in my family. I had been used unto something of religion: and I was once careful about the worship of God, not only with my family, but in secret also. But upon contention between me and my wife, I left off the ways of God, and you see what I am come to.

Min. I would pray you to vomit up all sin, with a very hearty detestation. You are going (if I may so speak) to disgorge your *SOUL*; if you do not first cast up your sin—if your *SOUL* and your *sin* come away together—you cannot but know something of the dismal condition which it must pass into. O, what cause have you to fall out with sin for ever! It has been your only enemy. Here is the only revenge which you may allow in your self. You must not now bear any malice against any one man in the world, but forgive even those that have done you the greatest injuries. Only upon sin be as revengeful as you can; I would have you, like Sampson, so to die, taking of a just revenge.

H. S. I hope I shall.

Min. Well, we are now but a very few paces from the place where you must breathe your last. You are just going to take a most awful step, which has this most remarkable in it: that *it cannot be twice taken*. If you go wrong now, it cannot be recalled throughout the days of eternity. I can but commit you into the arms of a merciful Redeemer, that he may keep you from a miscarriage which cannot be recalled and redressed throughout eternal ages. The Lord shew unto you the path of life. Attend unto these as the last words that I may speak before the prayer, with which I am immediately to take a long farewell of you. You are now just going to be confirmed for ever. If the great God presently find you under the power of prejudice against any of his truths and ways, or of *enmity* against what has his blessed name upon it, you shall be fix'd, and settl'd, and confirmed in it, until the very heavens be no more. But they are very terrible *plagues* and *pains*, which you may be sure will accompany this everlasting disposition of your soul. On the other side, if God now find your soul under the power of inclination to *love him, fear him, serve him*; and to esteem the Lord Jesus Christ above a thousand worlds; you shall then be confirmed in the perfection of such a temper, and of all the *joy* that must accompany it. Which of these is the *condition* that I now leave you in?

H. S. Sir, I hope the latter of them.

Min. The good God make it so! and grant that I may find you at the right hand of the Lord Jesus, "in the day of his appearing." May this ladder prove as a Jacob's ladder for you, and may you find the angels of the Lord Jesus ready here to convey your departing soul into the presence of the Lord!

After this discourse, ascending the ladder, he made the following speech:

"YOUNG MEN AND MAIDS: Observe the rule of obedience to your parents, and servants to your masters, according to the will of God, and to do the will of your masters: if you take up wicked ways, you set open a gate to your sins, to lead in bigger afterwards: thou canst not do anything but *God will see thee*; although thou thinkest thou shalt not be catch'd, thou thinkest to hide thyself in secret, when as God in heaven can see thee, though thou hast hid it from man. And when thou goest to thievery, thy wickedness is discovered, and thou art found guilty. O, young woman, that is married, and young man, look on me here: be sure in that solemn engagement you are obliged to one another; marriage is an ordinance of God; have a care of breaking that bond of marriage-union: if the husband *provoke* his wife, and cause a difference, he sins against God: and so does she, in such carriage; for she is bound to be an *obedient wife*. O, you parents that give your children in marriage, remember what I have to say: you must take notice when you give them in marriage, you give them freely to the Lord; and free them from that service and command *you ought to have*; yet you ought to have a tender regard to them.

"O thou that takest no care to lead thy life civilly and honestly, and then committest that abominable sin of murder; here is this murderer—look upon him; and see how many are come, with their eyes to behold this man, that abhors himself before God; that is the sin that I abhor my self for, and desire you, take example by me. There are here a great many young people, and, O Lord, that they may be thy servants!

"Have a care; don't sin; I will tell you, that I wish I never had had the opportunity to do such a murder. If you say, when a person has *provok'd* you, 'I will kill him;' 'tis a *thousand to one* but the next time you will do it.

"Now I commit myself into the hands of Almighty God."

HIS PRAYER.

"O Lord, our good God, thou art a merciful God, and a gracious and loving Father; alas, that thou shouldest nourish up children that have rebell'd against thee! O Lord, I must confess, thou gavest me opportunity to read thy written word; thou art also my Creator and preserver: but, Lord, I have not done according to the offers of thy grace; thou hast not hid from me the opportunities of the good things and liberty of thy house and ordinances, but I have waxed wanton under the enjoyment of them. I have given thee just cause to

provoke thee to anger, and thou hast left me to shame, not only on my self, but on my relations. O, Lord God, I do confess that I have sinned against thee, and done all these iniquities against thee, and before thine eyes. Lord, I have sinned especially against thee; pardon my sins of youth; Lord, pardon this bloody sin I stand here guilty of. O Lord hide not thy face from me, I humbly beg it of thee: for there is no man can redeem his brother's soul, but only the blood of Jesus Christ must do it. Let it be sufficient to satisfy for my poor soul. I have not done any thing that thou should'st be pleased to shew me thy love; or that I should have any thing from thee, but only everlasting misery. I am unworthy to come to thee; yet, Lord, for thy mercy's sake have pity on me. Now I am coming to judgment, Lord, let the arms of thy mercy receive my soul, and let my sin be remitted: Good Lord, let not my sins which condemn me here in this world, rise up to condemn me in the world to come; though they have condemned me in this world, shew mercy, Lord, when I come before thy judgment seat. If my soul be not humbled, Lord, humble it: let my petition be acceptable in heaven, thy holy mountain. I am unworthy to come into thy presence; yet, O, let me come into thy kingdom; and deliver my soul from *blood-guiltiness*, in the blood of Jesus Christ. O, let my wounded soul mourn for my sin that hath brought me here. Sin brings ruin to the poor soul; wo is unto me for mine iniquity. *If I had gone to prayer in the morning when I committed this sin, Lord God, thou wouldest have kept back my hands from shedding innocent blood.* O, gracious God, remember thou me in mercy; let me be an object of thy pity, and not of thy wrath; the Lord hear me, and pardon my sins. Take care of my poor children. I have scattered them like stragling sheep flying before the wolf: pity the poor children, that go like so many lambs that have lost their keeper; that they may not come to such a death as I do! Lord, for the sake of Jesus Christ, and the righteousness of thy Son, accept my soul, and receive me into the arms of thy mercy, that I may enjoy everlasting rest. Pardon all my sins; and let the prayers of all those that put up their petitions for me, be accepted, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Now I am coming, now I am coming; thou mayest say, 'I called to thee, and thou wouldest not come.' I must say, my sin brought me here; O, the world, and the corrupt nature of man, that has proved my ruine! O Lord, good Lord, let me enjoy rest for my soul. The desire of my soul is to be with thee in thy kingdom; let me have a share in that kingdom. Now is the time, Lord Jesus; the grave is opening its mouth. I am now living, tho' dead in sin; let my prayers be heard in heaven, thy holy place: thy hands have made me, and I know thou canst save me: hide not thy face from me; and affect the hearts of thy people with this sad object, that they may labour to serve thee betimes, and may not give themselves up to prophaneness and wickedness, especially that sin of drunkenness, which is an inlet of all abominations."

["When thou hast thy head full of drink, the remembrance of God is out of thy heart; and thou art unprepared to commit thy self and family unto God; thou art unfit to come into God's presence. I have cause to cry out, and be ashamed of it, that I am guilty of it, because I gave way to that sin more than any other, and then God did leave me to practice wickedness, and to murder that dear woman, whom I should have taken a great deal of contentment in, which, if I had done, I had not been here to suffer this death."]

"Thou art holy, just, and good, and therefore, O Lord, have mercy on me, for the sake of thy Son pity me, now, Lord, I am coming. O, that I could do thee better service!"

["Many of you that behold me, I know wish you never had seen me here."]

"Lord, receive my soul into a better place if it be thy blessed will: 'Tis a day of great trouble with me; my soul is greatly troubled: give me one glimpse of comfort in thy kingdom: by and by let me have one dram of thy grace. Accept of me now at this time; 'tis the last time: good Lord, deny me not; give me, as the woman of Samaria, a taste of that living water, that my soul may thirst no more. I beg it for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen."

After this, he was, by the prayers of a minister then present, recommended unto the divine mercy. Which being done, the poor man poured

out a few broken ejaculations, in the midst of which he was turned over into that eternity which we must leave him in.

THE SPEECH OF HUGH STONE IN THE PRISON, THE MORNING BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

When young people are marry'd, they make use of prayer in their families, and when they pray, they do believe there is sincerity and affection in their prayer: But when difference between a man and his wife doth arise, then that doth occasion hindrance of prayer in their family: And when prayer is wholly omitted, it lets in all confusion, and every evil work. He said "That he used to pray in his family; but when he did pray, it was in a formal manner; but now, from the consideration of eternity that he was going into, he was made the more considerate in his prayers that he made, and did hope that now he had the spirit of prayer in his praying."

(IX.) On June 8, 1693, two young women, (the one English, the other negro,) were executed at Boston for murdering their bastard-children.

The English young woman gave to the minister who preach'd that afternoon the following paper of confessions which he took occasion in his sermon to publish unto the congregation, where she also was then present before the Lord:

"I am a miserable sinner; and I have justly provok'd the holy God to leave me unto that folly of my own heart, for which I am now condemned to die. I cannot but see much of the anger of God against me, in the circumstances of my woful death. He hath fulfilled upon me that word of his, 'Evil pursueth sinners.' I therefore desire humbly to confess my many sins before God and the world; but most particularly my blood guiltiness.

"Before the birth of my twin-infants, I too much parlied with the temptations of the devil to smother my wickedness by murdering of them. At length, when they were born, I was not unsensible that at least one of them was alive; but such a wretch was I, as to use a murderous carriage towards them, in the place where I lay, on purpose to dispatch them out of the world. I acknowledge that I have been more hard hearted than the sea-monsters: And yet, for the pardon of these my sins, I would fly to the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is the only 'fountain set open for sin and uncleanness.' I know not how better 'to glorifie God,' for giving me such an opportunity as I have had to make sure of his mercy, than by advising and entreating the rising generation here to take warning by my example; and I will therefore tell the sins that have brought me to my shameful end. I do warn all people, and especially *young people*, against the sin of *uncleanness* in particular: 'Tis that sin that hath been my ruine. Well had it been for me, if I had answered all temptations to that sin as Joseph did, 'How shall I do this wickedness, and sin against God?' But, I see, bad company is that which leads to that, and all other sins: And I therefore beg all that love their souls to be familiar with none but such as fear God. I believe the chief thing that hath brought me into my present condition, is my *disobedience to my parents*: I despised all their godly counsels and reproofs; and I was always of an haughty, stubborn spirit. So that now I am become a dreadful instance of the curse of God belonging to *disobedient children*. I must bewail this also, that although I was baptized, yet when I grew up, I forgot the bonds that were laid upon me to be the Lord's. Had I given my self to God, as soon as I was capable to consider that I had been in baptism set a-part for him, how happy had I been! It was my delay to repent of my former sins, that provoked God to

leave me unto the crimes for which I am now to die. Had I seriously repented of my uncleanness the first time I fell into it, I do suppose I had not been left unto what followed. Let all take it from me: they little think what they do, when they put off turning from sin to God, and resist the strivings of the Holy Spirit. I fear 'tis for this that I have been given up to such 'hardness of heart,' not only since my long imprisonment, but also since my just condemnation. I now know not what will become of my distressed, perishing soul. But I would humbly commit it unto the mercy of God in Jesus Christ. *Amen.*"

(X.) In the year 1694 a miserable Indian, called Zachary, was executed for murder. He understood so very little English, that it put the English minister, who after his condemnation visited him, unto an inexpressible deal of trouble to convey unto him the principles and the directions of our holy religion. But the Lord so succeeded the endeavours used upon the wretched salvage, that within a little while, he could give a sensible, tho' a shattered account, of the fundamentals in Christianity. And such an impression had the doctrines of grace upon him, that he professed himself desirous rather to die than to live at his own sinful rate. He seemed even to long for his execution, that so he might be delivered from all disposition to sin against God. But all his hopes of everlasting salvation he seemed very suitably to place on the obedience which the Lord Jesus Christ had yielded unto God in the room of sinners.

Of this poor creature, nothing had been here mentioned, if it had not been to introduce the mention of this one passage. He said that the thing which undid him was this: He had begun to come and hear the preaching of the gospel among the Indians; but he minded the Indian preacher, how he liv'd; and he saw plainly that the preacher minded his bottle more than his Bible: he lov'd *rum* too well; and when his rum was in him, he would quarrel with other people, and with himself particularly. This (he said) prejudic'd him against the gospel. So he liv'd as a Pagan still, and would be drunk too; and his drunkenness had brought all this misery upon him.

(XI.) In the year 1698 was executed at Springfield one Sarah Smith. Her despising the continual counsels and warnings of her godly father-in-law laid the foundation of her destruction. When she was married, she added unto the crime of *adultery* that of *stealing*; which latter crime occasioned her to fly unto New-Jersey. Afterwards, coming to reside in Deerfield, her (second) husband was carry'd captive unto Canada: But the woman, in grievous horror of mind for the breaches of the seventh and eighth commandment, received many most suitable counsels from Mr. Williams, the worthy minister of that place. In conformity to his counsels and warning, for a while, she led a reformed life, and seem'd much affected with the word of God, in the publick dispensations of it. But, ere it was long, she lost her *seriousness*, her *tenderness*, her *convictions*; and relapsed into the sin of adultery. Her first relapse into that sin was attended with

a *conception*, which, tho' she endeavoured to render it an *abortive*, the holy providence of God would not suffer it to be so.

She did with much obstinacy deny and conceal her being with child; And when the child was born, she smother'd it. But the neighbours found it out immediately. She then owned the matter, but made the usual pretence, "That the child was dead born:" and remain'd, as poor sinners undone by the sins of unchastity use to be, under extream hardness of heart. Mr. Williams rarely visited her, but found her guilty of *new lies*; tho' sometimes violent pangs of horror would come upon her, wherein she detected her own lying, and seem'd greatly to bewail it. The honourable judges desired Mr. Williams to go down unto Springfield (which was the place) at the time of her execution; who then found her under an astonishing stupidity of soul; and yet not pretending to hopes of happiness in another world. He found her guilty of more lyes! which afterward she confessed so to be. She slept both at the prayer and the sermon in the publick assembly on the day of her execution: And seem'd the most unconcern'd of any in the assembly; professing therewithal that she could not but wonder at her own unconcernedness. At her execution she said but little, only that she desir'd to give glory unto God, and to take shame unto her self, and that she would warn all others to beware of the sins that had brought her unto this miserable end; especially stealing, uncleanness, lying, neglecting to read the Scriptures, and neglecting to pray unto God. She had absented her self much from the word of God on Lord's-days and lecture days; and staid at home, till she had fallen into this capital transgression: Then she would come unto the meetings, with some seeming *devotion*. She had sinned away great convictions and awakenings; and Satan, with seven more unclean spirits, entered into her; and God seemed then to with-hold from her the efficacy of the means of grace and good, which his faithful servants in the neighbourhood used with her.

(XII.) On November 17, 1698, there was executed in Boston a miserable young woman, whose extraordinary circumstances rung throughout all New-England. On this day of her execution, was preached a sermon: And because the last passages of that sermon gave a summary narrative of what it is fit the publick should know concerning that criminal, I have transferr'd 'em into this place. The sermon concluded in these words:

"Be astonish'd, O congregation of God! Stand astonished at the horrible spectacle that is now before you. This house, and perhaps this land, never had in it a more astonishing spectacle.

"Behold a young woman, but an old sinner, going this day to die before her time, for being wicked over-much! Behold one just nineteen years old, and yet found ripe for the vengeance of a capital execution. Ah, miserable soul, with what a swift progress of sin and folly, hast thou made haste unto the congregation of the dead! Behold a person, whose unchaste conversation appear'd by one base born child many months ago! God then gave

her a space to repent, and she repented not: She repeated her whoredoms, and by an infatuation from God upon her, she so managed the matter of her next base born, that she is found guilty of its murder. Thus the God whose eyes are like a flame of fire, is now casting her into a bed of burning tribulation: And, ah, Lord, where wilt thou cast those that have committed adultery with her, except they repent! Since her imprisonment, she has declared that she believes God hath left her unto this undoing wickedness, partly for her staying so prophanelly at home sometimes on Lord's days, when she should have been hearing the word of Christ, and much more for her not minding that word, when she heard it.

"And she has confessed that she was much given to rash wishes in her mad passions, particularly using often that ill form of speaking, 'I'll be hang'd,' if a thing be not thus or so; and, 'I'll be hang'd,' if I do not this or that: which evil now, to see it coming upon her, it amazes her! But this *chief sin*, of which this 'chief of sinners' now cries out, is, her undutiful carriage towards her parents. Her language and her carriage towards her parents was indeed such that they hardly durst speak to her; but when they durst, they often told her, *it would come to this*. They, indeed, with bleeding hearts, have now forgiven thy rebellions. Ah, Sarah, mayest thou cry unto the God of heaven to forgive thee! But under all the doleful circumstances of her imprisonment, and her impiety, she has been given over, to be a *prodigy* of still more impudent impiety.

"A little before her condemnation, she renewed the crimes of her unchastity; she gave herself up to the filthy debauches of a villain that was her fellow-prisoner: and after her condemnation, her *falsehoods* and her *furies* have been such, as to proclaim that *under condemnation she has not feared God*. Was there ever seen such an heighth of wickedness! God seems to have hang'd her up in chains for all the young people in the country to see what prodigies of sin and wrath it may render them, if once they fall themselves thereunto.

"Behold, O young people, what it is to vex the Holy Spirit of God, by rebelling against him. This, this 'tis to be 'given over of God.' And yet, after all this hard-hearted wickedness, is it not possible for the grace of Heaven to be triumphantly victorious in converting and pardoning so unparallel'd a criminal? Be astonish'd, miserable Sarah, and let it now break that stony heart of thine to hear: *it is possible! it is possible!* But, oh, thou Almighty Spirit of Grace, do thou graciously touch, and melt this obstinate soul: and once at last mould her heart into the form of thy glorious gospel! The glorious gospel of God now utters unto thee, undone Sarah, that invitation: 'Tho' thou hast horribly gone a whoring, yet return unto me, saith the Lord, and I will not cause my anger to fall upon thee.' The lessons of this gospel have been both privately and publicly set before thee with a variety of inculcation. If all the extraordinary pains that have been taken for the softening of thy stony heart, be lost, God will dispense the more terrible rebukes unto thee, when he anon breaks thee between the mill stones of his wrath.

"O, give now a great attention to some of the last words that can be spoken to thee, before thy passing into an astonishing eternity!

"The blessed Lord Jesus Christ hath been made a curse for us: there has been a most acceptable offering and sacrifice, presented by the Lord Jesus Christ unto God for all his chosen: there is a fountain set open for sin and for uncleanness: and thou, O bloody sinner, art invited unto that *open fountain*. Such is the infinite grace of God, that thou mayest come as freely to the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of thy sins, as they that have never sinned with a thousandth part of so much aggravation; come and welcome, says the Lord, who receiveth sinners. If God enable thee now to lay hold on the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, tho' thy faults are infinite, thou wilt yet *before sunset* stand without fault 'before the throne of God.' Thy soul is just sinking down into the fiery ocean of the 'wrath of God,' but the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ is cast forth unto thee once more for thee to lay hold upon. O, lay hold upon it, and live! If God help thee to do so, then (as it was said) the Mary whose sins are many, has them forgiven her; so it shall be said, the Sarah whose sins are many, has them forgiven her! Then (as it was said)

Rahab the harlot perished not; so it shall be said, Sarah the harlot perished not! Tho' the blood of that murdered infant, with all thy other bloody crimes, horribly cry to God against thee, yet a louder and better cry, from the blood of thy Saviour, shall drown that formidable cry. Yea, then there will be joy in heaven this afternoon among the angels of God; the angels of heaven will stand amazed, and say, 'O the infinite grace that can bring such a sinner unto glory!' But if ever the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ be applied unto thy heart, it will immediately dissolve that heart of thine; it will cause thee to mourn for every sin, to turn from every sin, to give thyself entirely unto God. It will be impossible for thee to go on in any known sin, or to die with a lye in thy mouth. No, thou wilt rather die than commit any *known sin* in the world. If this disposition be not produced in thee before three or four short hours more are expired, thy immortal spirit will anon pass into eternal torment. Thou wilt before to-morrow morning be a companion of the devils and the damned. The everlasting 'chains of darkness' will hold thee for the worm that never dies, and the fire that never shall be quenched; thou shalt fall into the hands of the living God; and become as a glowing iron possessed by his burning vengeance throughout eternal ages; the God that made thee will not have mercy on thee; and he that formed thee will shew thee no favour. But for his mercy and favour, while there is yet hope, we will yet cry unto him."

A BRIEF NARRATIVE

OF THE

SUCCESS WHICH THE GOSPEL HATH HAD AMONG THE INDIANS OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD,
AND THE PLACES ADJACENT, IN NEW-ENGLAND:

*With some Remarkable Curiosities, concerning the Numbers, the Customs, and the
Present Circumstances of the Indians of that Island: further explaining
and confirming the Account of those Matters by Mr. Cotton
Mather in the Life of the renowned Mr. John Eliot.*

WRITTEN BY AN INHABITANT OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD.

WHERE TO IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE INDIANS
IN THE OTHER PARTS OF NEW-ENGLAND; EXPRESSED IN THE LETTERS OF
SEVERAL WORTHY PERSONS BEST ACQUAINTED THEREWITHAL.

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION I.

THE TRIUMPHS OF GRACE.

To speak more of the original of this people, than that they are descended from the loins of their great grand-father Adam, however divers worthy men have their sentiments, I shall not pretend; but that Language. they are originally of one *language* is most evident: nor is the admired knowledge of those ancients so admirable for their ready speaking more than *twenty* languages which may rationally be supposed to have

been but *one* originally; though suffering some change, by occasional accidents: we know the diverse pronouncing of the same words, without difference in dialect, may render the speaker hardly intelligible to him that writes alike with him: nor do I think the speech of these Americans so divers, but what an Indian, who is well acquainted with *his own*, may, by conversing with those supposed of a *different* and other speech, promptly express himself in very few years, so as to be well *understood* by forty of these nations; who, by reason of wars, the want of traffick, and the advantage other nations have had by literature, have severally suffered much alteration of that language, at first indifferently spoken by all, which yet is not more differing than the present language of the English from their speech not many hundred years since; which, altho' it would not readily be understood by a present Londoner, if he should speak with his great grand-father, who then lived, yet hath not so altered but no long converse might render them mutually intelligible. Of words not unlike in the Indian tongue, hardly intelligible without customary discourse of nation with nation, I might instance in above an hundred: such as *Nuppaw*, *Duppaw*, *Ruppaw*, the Sun; *attik*, *abtoque*, &c., a deer; *winnit*, *wirrit*, good; and the like; *pum*, *pum-me*, *pim*, oil or fat; these and the like, were doubtless the same words, little altered. Beside which, the alone difference in pronouncing the same word might seem a great difference in the speech of language. For example: *wirrit*, pronounced short, sounds *writ*, and might be not less readily understood, by differently accenting the same word; to which I might add words, as such, expressing the mind of the speaker, being compounded of other words, suitable for such composition, yet as such might be called new, or distinct from a speech in former use: of which words, near the one half of this *people's* language is.

I have been the larger concerning their language, that such English whose hearts may incline to so *good* and *great* a work, may be encouraged to go among those who yet have hardly heard the name of the LORD named among them.

Their *government* was purely *monarchial*; and as for those whose Government. dominions extended further than would well admit the prince's personal guidance, it was committed into the hands of lieutenants, who governed with no less absoluteness than the prince himself.—Notwithstanding, in matters of difficulty, the prince consulted with his nobles and such whom he esteemed for *wisdom*; in which it was admirable to see the majestick deportment of the prince, his speech to his council, with the most deliberate discussion of any matter proposed for their advice: after which, what was by him resolved, without the least hesitation, was applauded, and, with at least a seeming alacrity, attended.

The *crown* (if I may so term it) always descended to the *eldest son*, Succession. (tho' subject to usurpation) not to the female, unless in defect of "male of the blood;" the "blood royal" being in such veneration among this peo-

ple, that if a prince had issue by divers wives, such succeeded as heir who was royally descended, by the mother, although the youngest esteeming his issue by a *venter* of less quality than a princess, not otherwise than *sachims* or *noblemen*.

Nobles. Their *nobles* were either such who descended from the "blood royal," or such on whom the prince bestowed part of his dominions with the royalties, or such whose descent was from ancestors who had time out of mind been esteemed such.

Yeomen. Their *yeomen* were such who, having no stamp of gentility, were yet esteemed as having a natural right of living within their prince's *dominion*, and a common use of the land, and were distinguished by two names or titles, the one signifying *subjection*, the other *tiller of the land*.

Villains. Although this people retain'd nothing of *record*, nor use of letters, yet there lived among them many families, who, although the time of their fore-fathers first inhabiting among them was beyond the memory of man, yet were known to be *strangers* or *foreigners*, who were not privileged with common right, but in some measure subject to the yeomanry, nor were dignified in attending the prince in hunting or like exercise, unless called by particular favour.

Revenue. The princes, as they had not other *revenue*, than the *presents* of their subjects, (which yet was counted *due debt*,) wrecks of the sea, with the skins of beasts killed in their dominion, and many like things, as *first-fruits*, &c., so they wanted none: for in case of war, both people and estate was wholly at their dispose; therefore none demanded nor expected pay. If we respect their court, it was doubtless maintained in great magnificence, in distinction from the *subject*, which is the utmost can be obtained by the greatest monarch; their families and attendants being well cloathed, with skins of moos, bear, deer, beaver, and the like: The provisions for their tables—as flesh, fish, roots, fruits, berries, corn, beans, in great abundance and variety—was always brought by their neighbouring subjects; of all which they were as void of care, as the most potent princes in the universe.

Dominion on seas. As the prince was acknowledg'd *absolute lord* on the *land*, so he had no less sovereignty at *sea*: for as all belonged to him which was stranded on the shore of his sea coast, so whatever whales or other wreck of value, floating on the sea, taken up on the seas washing his shores, or brought and landed from any part of the sea, was no less his own.

I shall conclude this brief account of the Indians in general with what long since passed between the late much honour'd Mr. Thomas Mayhew, and an Indian prince, who ruled a large part of the main land:

Grandure. This prince coming to Martha's Vineyard with his usual attendants, being about eighty persons well armed, came to Mr. Mayhew's house; and, being admitted, sat down. Mr. Mayhew entred the room, but being

acquainted with their customs, took no notice of the prince's being there (it being with 'em in point of honour incumbent on the inferior to salute the superior): A considerable time being past, the prince broke silence, and said, "Sachem," (a word importing in their language not more than noble or worshipful,) "Mr. Mayhew, are you well?" to which having a friendly reply, and treating of several things, and of the island Martha's Vineyard being peopled with English; the prince desiring something wherein the English were concern'd, Mr. Mayhew promising to effect what he desired, immediately subjoin'd, that he must "first speak with the inhabitants." The prince demanded why he recalled his promise: For, said he "what *I* promise or speak, is always true; but you English governors cannot be true; for you cannot make your words nor intentions true; but mine are always true, for *I* make them true:" greatly disdaining the *popular government* of the English in this countrey.

Having promised an account of the conversion of many Indians inhabiting these parts of America it may be well expected I should say something of their religion while heathen:

They generally acknowledg'd and worship'd *many gods*; therefore ^{Religion.} greatly esteem'd and reverenc'd their priests, powaws, or wizards, who were esteemed as having immediate converse with the gods: To them therefore they address'd themselves in all difficult cases: yet could not all that desire that dignity (as they esteem'd it) obtain *familiarity* with the infernal spirits; nor were all powaws alike successful in their addresses; but they become such, either by immediate revelation, or in the use of certain rites and ceremonies, tradition had left a means conducing to that end: insomuch that parents often out of zeal dedicated their children to the gods; and educated them accordingly, observing certain diet, debarring sleep, &c.; yet of the many thus design'd, but few obtain'd their desire.

Supposing that where the practice of *witchcraft* has been highly esteemed, there may be given the plainest demonstration of mortals having familiarity with infernal spirits, I am willing to let my reader know that not many years since died here one of the powaws, who never pretended to *astrological knowledge*, yet could precisely inform such who desire his assistance from whence *goods stolen* from them were taken, and whither carried; with many things of the like nature; nor was he ever known to endeavour the concealing his knowledge to be immediately from a *god subservient to Him*, that the *English worshipped*. This powaw being by an Englishman worthy of credit, (who lately inform'd me of the same) desired to advise him who had stolen certain goods which he had lost, having formerly been an eye witness of his ability; the powaw, after a little pausing, demanded why he requested that from him, since himself served another God, that therefore he could not help him; but added, "If you can believe that my god will help you, I will try what I can do;" which diverted the man from

further inquiry. I must a little digress, and tell my reader that this powaw's wife was accounted a godly woman, and liv'd in the practice and profession of the Christian religion, not only by the approbation, but encouragement of her husband. She constantly prayed in the family, and attended the public worship on the Lord's-day. He declared that he could not blame her, for that she served a God that was above his: but that as to himself, his god's continu'd kindness oblig'd him not to forsake his service.

That the powaws, by the infernal spirits, often killed persons, caused lameness and impotency, as well as shew'd their art in performing things beyond humane, by diabolick skill; such who have conversed much among them have had no reason to question.

Their practice was, either by desiring the spirit to them appearing to perform what mischief they intended, or to form a piece of leather like an arrow-head, tying an hair thereto; or using some *bone*, as of fish, (that it might be known witchcraft, to the bewitch'd) and over which they perform'd certain ceremonies; and dismiss'd them to effect their desire.

Such enchanted things have most certainly either entred the bodies of the intended to be by them wounded, or the devil hath form'd the like within their flesh, without any outward breach of the skin; which we have good reason to believe—the powaws acknowledging that practice, and such things having been taken out of the flesh of the supposed to be bewitch'd; or, by their seizing something of the *spirit* (as the devil made them think) of such they intended to torment or kill, while it wandred in their *sleep*. This they kept, being in form of a fly, closely imprison'd; and accordingly as they dealt with this, so it fared with the *body* it belong'd to.

Of the cures perform'd by them on the bewitched I could give many instances. I shall briefly hint at two:

The one, of an Indian on Martha's Vineyard, called afterward George; who having been sometime greatly tormented, and now wholly impotent, his friends advise him to the powaws, concluding him to be bewitch'd. They being met, and dancing round a great fire, the sick lying by, some of the neighbours entred the house, being perswaded that a great powaw (now call'd to cure) had bewitch'd the sick: They threaten him that, as he had bewitch'd, unless he would cure the sick man, they would burn him in the fire. After many excuses, too long here to relate, they took him up, resolving at least to a little singe him; who no sooner felt the heat of the fire near him, but the *sick* immediately recovered.—This was a thing publicly known to the English, as well as Indians, in the neighbourhood: there can be no doubt of it.

The other I shall instance in was a relation from Capt. Thomas Dagget, Esq., now deceased, and Richard Sarson, Esq., justices of the peace; who being on an island, where a bewitch'd woman lay in great extremity, and wholly impotent—the powaws there having without success endeavour'd

the cure—the related sent to Martha's vineyard for more famous'd powaws; the said gentlemen were admitted to be present on certain conditions; the powaws go to dancing, who, with the spectators, used certain ceremonies usual in such cases. One of the powaws praying to his god, with such ardent desires and vervecy, that Capt. Dagget told me, had it been to the true God, it had been a prayer exceeding most that he had heard. The issue was, they in a deer skin caught the spirit (as they said) which entred the woman. This, they said, was the spirit of an English-man drown'd in the adjacent sound: Yet it was then supposed the powaw was by which bewitch'd her. The issue was, she immediately recover'd: The powaw told her, "unless she remov'd to Martha's Vineyard, she would again be sick; for, being an English spirit, he could not long confine it.

SECTION II.

OF THE CONVERSION OF THE INDIANS INHABITING CERTAIN ISLANDS NEAR ADJOINING TO THE CONTINENT OF NEW-ENGLAND; AND THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL BY SOME SENT TO THE MAIN LAND FROM THENCE.

THE worshipful Thomas Mayhew, in the year 1641, having obtain'd a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and Elizabeth Isles, to make a settlement, his son Mr. Thomas Mayhew, in the year 1642, settl'd at Martha's Vineyard, with a few other inhabitants, where his reputation for piety, his natural gifts, beside the acquir'd by his education, (having attain'd no small knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues, and being not wholly a stranger to the Hebrew,) soon occasion'd his call to the ministry among that handful.

Not long after, viz: in the year 1644, God, who had ordain'd him an evangelist for the conversion of these Gentiles, stirr'd him up with an holy zeal and resolution to assay what success he might find in that work; he takes opportunity to insinuate the love and good will he bore to that people; and soon finds occasion to let them know their "deplorable condition," under Satan, who as he had kept them in ignorance of those *bodily* and *earthly things*, which might render their lives in *this world* more happy; so of those that related to their *future happiness* in that to come. And whereas he could not be in hopes of being heard in a more public, he treats them in a more private way; sometimes going to some particular houses of persons whom he esteem'd most rational and well qualified, other while discussing with particular men.

The first Indian imbracing the motion of forsaking their gods, and praying to the true God, was called *I-a-coomes*; esteemed by the Indians as a contemptible person among themselves: unto this man God, who ordereth all things for his own glory, gave so great a measure of *faith* and *confidence* in his power, that he is soon beyond the fear of concealing his contempt of *their gods*; the sachems and powaws being much inraged, threaten his

life; the powaws or wizzards told him (a thing publickly known) that he could not be ignorant that they could kill such as displeas'd them, viz: by witchcraft.

He answers for himself before the sachems, witches, and a great assembly; acknowledges the god they worshipp'd had *great power*, but limited, and was subservient to the God he now had chosen: therefore, although by their means many had suffered much, and some were killed, he despis'd their power, as being himself a servant of "Him whose power over ruled all powers, and ordered all things:" the expecting multitude wait the event, which, while they concluded to be *sickness* or *death*, the good man remains wholly sound to their astonishment.

Mr. Mayhew makes use of this advantage, is uncessant in his labour, and promises, now while they stumbled in doubt of their own, to set them in the right path: he spares not his body by night nor day; lodges in their houses, proposes such things to their consideration he thinks firstly requisite, solves all their scruples and objections, and tells them they might plainly see it was in good will for their good, from whom he expected no reward, that he sustained so much loss of time, and endured wet and cold.

It pleas'd God to give such success to these endeavours, that it was not long before he obtain'd *publick audience* among them, when generally he spent more time *after sermon* in reasoning with them than *in sermon*; whereby, I must tell my reader, it came to pass that their religion was as well in *head* as *heart*.

This worthy servant of the Lord continued his painful labours among them until the year 1657, in which time God was pleas'd to give such success to his faithful and unwearied labour, that many hundred men and women were added to the church; such who might truly be said to be "holy in conversation," and for knowledge such "who needed not to be taught the first principles of religion;" beside the many hundred looser professors of which, that such worthy Christians whose godly zeal for propagating the gospel to such who sat "in darkness, and saw no light," provok'd an holy emulation to compass sea and land, by their liberal contributions for *proselyting* the heathen to the service and worship of the Lord Jesus (who yet survive) might rejoice, since that God gave a blessing to, and caused a plentiful harvest to succeed their sowing in these waters; and that the successors and children of those ever to be honoured deceas'd Christians might rejoice that their predecessors' religious intent, in giving freely of their worldly goods to advance the work for the salvation of souls, was so far from diminishing their estates, that they thereby left an inheritance to their children's children.

I shall give a true relation of the progress and present state of the undertaking, and God's blessing following the endeavours of those he called for converting the Indians on Martha's Vineyard and adjacent

islands; by letting the world know who, and how qualified these were, who were esteem'd Christians.

When such a number possessed the Christian religion as gave occasion to the Indians in general to esteem them a sect differing from themselves, and by the denomination of "praying men," to signalize that difference; and that their number was such as to *meet publickly* to worship God; such who forsook their heathenish worship and idolatry, professing to become Christians, in the publick assembly declar'd the grounds and reasons moving them to embrace the one and forsake the other way, with their *resolution* to pray, to serve, and endeavour to obey the true God in Jesus Christ; how this resolution was wrought in them; what temptations had obstructed, what *reason, scripture* and *strength* from God had encourag'd them, and enabl'd 'em to retain such resolution; how they had often pray'd to God, and yet been overcome by discouragements, and temptations, &c., closing all by professing a resolution, by God's assistance, to pray to and serve him, and him only; begging the prayers of the congregation to God in their behalf; which said, many of the congregation took them by the hand, in token of love and good will.

If, such after public profession, any was observed not to perform the usual worshipping of God, in praying with their families, desiring a blessing on their food, or the like, (who yet in their public meeting constantly attended,) they were publickly examin'd of the same: of which let me give a remarkable instance.

One who, after his admission (if I may so term it) into the number and society of the "praying Indians," being present at a great *assembly* after the exercise, was by him that preach'd inform'd that it was reported he had ceased to pray, desir'd him to let the congregation know what grounds and motives occasioned such neglect: the man answer'd, "It is true, he had not lately used publickly to pray, yet did sometimes pray privately: that he did not in his judgment disapprove the service of God, but acknowledged it to be good; but found himself weak, not able to live up to the rules of that religion; but when God should give him more strength, he hoped he should be again a praying man."

Thus Mr. Mayhew continu'd his almost inexpressible labour and vigilant care for the good of the Indians, whom he justly esteemed his joy and crown; and having seen so great a blessing on his faithful endeavours in the making known the name of his Lord among these Gentiles, with indefatigable pains, expecting no reward but alone from Him, who said "go teach all nations: lo I am with you;" God moved the hearts of some godly Christians in England to advance a considerable sum for encouraging the propagating and preaching the gospel to the Indians in New-England; and seeing the spirit given to sundry of the Indians, with the gift of *prophecy*—according to the promise given by Him who "ascended and gave gifts unto men"—an able godly Englishman, nam'd Peter Foul-

ger, who was employ'd in teaching the youth in reading, writing, and the principles of religion, by catechising; and being well learn'd in the Scripture, able to assist them in what might be needful, his honour'd father the governour, well skilled in their language, and highly honouring the work of their conversion; whereby, if in his absence any difficult matter might happen, they might find suitable assistance; in the year 1647, he intended a short voyage for England; but, alas! the ship wherein he took passage was never heard of.

Thus came to an immature death Mr. Mayhew, who was so affectionately esteem'd of by the Indians, that many years after he was seldom named without tears.

Mr. Thomas Mayhew, after the loss of his son, as aforesaid, seeing no such salary probably to be obtain'd that might invite a minister to embrace the work among the Indians, and little hopes of finding any of the spirit of his son or Mr. Eliot to bear the burden attending, and in that day of necessity to be undergone; without a prospect of more than could well be expected for encouraging so (in it self troublesome) employ; and that his only son had spent his strength, and yet rejoic'd in the midst of those many aches, pains and distempers contracted by his often lodging in their cold houses, and induring wet and cold, in faith of God's accepting of, and prospering him in that whereunto he could see nothing could rationally move him, concludes that it was "of God and not of man;" he therefore resolves to visit and encourage them often: he goes once every week to some of their plantations; and, with the assistance of godly Indians, who taught and instructed their neighbours on the Lord's days, perswaded the Indians of the Gayhead, who many years were obstinately resolved not to admit the glad tidings of the gospel among them, (being animated by the sachems of the continent,) now to imbrace it: so that now the Indians on the Islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, might justly bear the *denomination* of *Christians*; the number of adult persons on both islands being about *three thousand*; of which I have taken the more particular care to make an exact computation, that I might vindicate Mr. Cotton Mather from the imputation of over-reckoning, when in the Life of Mr. ELIOT he reckons the number supposed on Martha's Vineyard, professing the Christian religion, to be *sixteen hundred*.

The Indians being thus brought over to the acknowledgment and profession of the Christian religion, and many of them desiring to joyn in such communion, whereby they might enjoy the *presence* of God in all his ordinances, Mr. Mayhew and Mr. John Cotton, now pastor of the church of New Plimouth, who, having been sometime preacher to the English, had attain'd some knowledge of the Indian tongue, and preach'd unto them two years; being well satisfy'd with their suitable qualifications, after mature *consideration* and *advice*, concluded to give their help and assistance thereto: which was happily accomplish'd to the good satisfaction of the

English church, and godly professors of the island; who by advantage of many years acquaintance with them, had great experience of their qualifications. An Indian church confederated at Martha's Vineyard, August 22, 1670.

Mr. Mayhew, by Mr. Cotton's removing from the island, was left alone as to any English assistance: but Mr. John Mayhew, his grandson, being call'd to preach to a small people, by the urgent and ardent desires of the Indians, and being well skill'd in their language, comply'd with them; and once every week preached at some of their plantations. His "diligence" was now to be doubl'd, especially after Mr. Mayhew his grandfather's death in the year 1681, by reason of certain *heterodox opinions*, likely to take root among them; and being a man of great natural parts, he used to desire such who had imbib'd any of those principles, to produce their reasons; as likewise any that desir'd to be resolv'd in any matter, to give him advantage to resolve them in publick; that others might receive satisfaction and instruction: whereby I believe and know, that they receiv'd more *conviction, instruction, and satisfaction* than in the ordinary way of *preaching*; which always, notwithstanding, preceded *that*: insomuch that none of those *erroneous opinions* spread to the disturbance or unsettlement of the church nor generality of professors among them. But having finish'd what God in his all-wise providence saw good to improve him in, he deceas'd in the year 1688, leaving the Indians (if I might now so term them) in an orderly way of religiously *congregating* in their assemblies on the Lord's day, and hearing their several teachers, who usually began with prayer, sang part of a psalm; then from some portion of Scripture spake for the *conversion and edification* of his hearers; as also a church which then or soon after consisted of at least one hundred communicants, being according to the most strict order of the *congregational way*: which leads me to say something of the *discipline* us'd among them.

The church then are a "selected company of professing believers," in covenant according to the congregational practice, having officers accordingly; and keeping up the exercise of a *severe discipline* by publick admonition in case of the disorderly walking of any member of their society: and if, after the reproof and admonition of the church, any proceed in their evil courses, such are *proceeded* with by excommunication.

I would then willingly know of those detractors who either publicly or more privately have endeavour'd to scandalize so great a work, what kind of people they expect to see a church consist of; or when it will come to pass that some shall not be retain'd in churches (who yet may be deem'd an "holy people") whose conversation may be grievous to the church, tho' the church can find no *expedient* for their excommunication? I know that many who are in no measure qualified for church-fellowship, think it no small disparagement to themselves that Indians should be accounted worthy of what themselves cannot be admitted to. How it is

in other places I know not: but here some whose *religious pretences* have gain'd credit abroad, and have not scrupl'd to *stigmatize* the Indians with greatest opprobry, in particular cases of their *complaint* the Indians have been found wholly *innocent*, and themselves sordidly, villainous. But when shall it be that the "seed of the serpent" shall cease to hiss at, and open their mouths against the "seed of the woman?" which yet I could demonstrate hath, in several cases which have occur'd here against the Indians, broken the *serpent's head* in his children, and, if it were possible, fill'd them with shame and confusion,—however the sober religious people here have done and do *esteem 'em* as Christians indeed. And although the building be not all of "living stones," yet as it is an house, is so far *esteemed* an house of God; insomuch that I have heard some Godly English, their neighbours, members of churches, profess they were troubl'd that their unacquaintedness in their language was such, that they could not well (but otherwise would gladly) partake with them in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper.

I must acknowledge that, as the number of the Indians are greatly decreas'd, so especially of the Godly and religious; it being a thing so obvious, that in the year 1690, of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard alone, of the number of more than one hundred adult persons that died, not less than *three-fourths* were of the sober religious professors; that it was by the English inhabitants vulgarly taken notice of; the which notwithstanding, in the year 1692, of the before mention'd church, were remaining more than one hundred; without mentioning those many *confessors* before mention'd, whose publick declarations of their several convictions, temptations and resolutions to endeavour to *serve* the true God, would have drawn tears from the eyes of any who had but in the serious retirements of consideration acknowledg'd a *deity*.

I must not conclude before I tell the reader that, as in the apostolick times, the church sent forth from among themselves, for the conversion of the nations, so these Indians on Martha's Vineyard did: not only to the island of Nantucket, being about 1500 adult persons, but likewise to the main land.

Of those of Nantucket I shall subjoin a letter from Mr. John Gardner, who is well acquainted with them, having divers years assisted them in their government, by instructing them in the laws of England, and deciding difficult cases among them.

THE LETTER.

"WORSHIPFUL SIR: I have receiv'd yours of April the 8th, '94, with your desire to be informed of the present state of our Indians, as to their *number, worship and government*: an answer to your desires, take briefly.

"Their *decay* is great, chiefly in number, there being now but about five hundred grown persons; as to their worship, there are three societies or churches: two Congregational, one of the Baptists, but their number is small; but there are five constant assemblies or meet-



REV. JOHN MAYHEW.

ings; two amongst them that went by the name of the *Ante-peatames* or *Powatoms*; and that I may now say, there is not known a *Powaw* amongst them; and although it is true there is a great decay in religion among the first societies, many of their best men, and I may say *good* men, are dead: yet amongst the now 'praying Indians,' there is an increase; God raising up some even of themselves preachers, and serious men, too, some of them; which is cause of thankfulness. But that there is a decay with many, is to be lamented; the cause I take to be their 'not preserving the truth in the love of it;' their love to *drink*; their being more mindful of *form* than *substance*, which puts me upon endeavour to make them sensible that it is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is any thing, but the 'keeping the commandments of God;' 'faith that works by love,' 'the new creature,' and things of that nature.

"As to their government, they are wholly under their Majesty's or the English government: the method is, they have three distinct or town-courts, with power to hear and determine to forty shillings; the magistrates they chuse themselves yearly; and when chosen and approved of, they have *commissions*, with liberty of appeal to the English, which they make much use of; greater matters come to the English. This, in short, is the truth of their present state.

"I am your real friend and servant,

"JOHN GARDINER.

"*Nantucket*, May 17, 1694."

Here we must take notice of God's giving success to the ministry of the Indians; and acknowledge that, although there has been some decay, yet on that island there is not only a form, but in some measure the power of Godliness.

So likewise on the main land: by the alone ministry of the Martha's Vineyard Indians, was the civilizing and conversion of the Indians on the main land, at a place call'd *Succonet*, and parts adjacent; who, as they were converted by the ministry sent from the church of Martha's Vineyard, so the officers were by them (as likewise were those of *Nantucket*) ordain'd by laying on the hands of their presbytery; of these, although I have been no eye-witness, yet I have receiv'd account from even such who bare no great respect to religion, that they are as beyond comparison, exceeding the other Indians in *moral virtue*; so likewise from other judicious persons, their neighbours, of whom I shall name Mr. William Vobes, a person now *representing* the freeholders of those parts in the great and general assembly of the province of the Massachuset-bay in New-England: nor have these people as yet *dependance* on nor *expectation* from any other than their mother, the church of Martha's Vineyard.

SECTION III.

OF THE INDIANS' GOVERNMENT WHEN CHRISTIANS.

I have already told my reader, that the government of this people was the best (of all governments) monarchy; and it has been judg'd, not without reason, that a main obstruction in the progress of the gospel in the American plantations was, if not yet is, the jealousy the princes conceiv'd of the invasion of their government through the *pretences* of religion, and the eclipsing their *monarchical dignity*.

Mr. Thomas Mayhew therefore finding that the princes on these islands, who, although they maintain'd their absolute power and jurisdiction as *kings*, were yet bound to do certain homage to a potent prince on the continent; and although they were no great people, yet had been wasted by Indian wars, wherein the great princes on the continent (not unlike European princes for like reasons of state) were not unassisting, whereby they were necessitated to make these princes the balance to decide their controversies, and several jurisdictions, by presents annually sent, whereby obliging the princes to give their several assistance as occasion requir'd; and seeing his son as aforesaid, in a zealous endeavour for their *conversion*, he judg'd it meet that Moses and Aaron joyn hands: he therefore prudently lets them know that, by order from his master the king of England, he was to govern the English which should inhabit these islands; that his master was in power far above any of the Indian monarchs; but that, as he was powerful, so was he a great lover of justice: that therefore he would in no measure invade their *jurisdictions*; but, on the contrary, assist them as need requir'd; that religion and government were distinct things. Thus in no long time they conceiv'd no ill opinion of the Christian religion.

When afterwards the number of the Christian Indians were increas'd among them, he perswaded them to admit of the counsels of the judicious Christians among themselves; and in cases of more than ordinary *consequence*, of a *jury* for trial; when likewise he promis'd his assistance and direction with the prince; when *notwithstanding* the prince's *assent* was to be obtain'd, tho' he were no Christian.

Thus within a few years there was a happy government settl'd among them, and records kept of all actions and acts passed in their several courts, by such who, having learn'd to write fairly, were appointed thereto. The princes with their sachems (or nobles) made public acknowledgment of their subjection to the king of England, being notwithstanding mindful to be understood as subordinate princes, to govern according to the laws of God and the king. Here I shall take leave to insert two *remarkables*:

During the late unhappy war between the English and the Indians in New-England, about nineteen years since, an evil spirit possess'd too many of our English, whereby they suffer'd themselves to be unreasonably exasperated against all Indians: of such, there were some on these islands who could hardly be so moderated by Mr. Mayhew, and others in government with him, as to be restrain'd from rising to assay the disarming of the Indians: for whose satisfaction Captain Richard Sarson, Esq., was ordered with a small party (the Indians being on these islands twenty to one, having arms) to treat the Indians on the west end of Martha's Vineyard, who were mostly to be doubted. He returns with the ensuing answer: that the delivering their arms would expose them to the will of the Indians engag'd in the *present war*, who were not less theirs than the enemies of the English; that they had never given occasion of the distrust inti-

mated: if in any thing not hazarding their safety, they could give any satisfaction for the proof of their fidelity, they would willingly attend what should reasonably be demanded of them; but they were unwilling to deliver their arms, unless the English would propose some *mean* for their safety and livelihood. With this return, they drew a writing in their own language, which I have often read, and would have *verbatim* inserted, but can't at present find it. The substance was, that as they had submitted to the crown of England, so they resolved to assist the English on these islands against their enemies, which they esteem'd in the same respect equally their own, as subjects to the same king: which was subscrib'd by the persons of the greatest note among them.

Having this answer, the government resolv'd, and accordingly improv'd them as a guard, furnishing them with suitable ammunition, and found them so faithful, that even some nearly related, in observance of "general instructions" given them, so soon as they landed from the continent, were immediately brought before the governour to attend his pleasure: inso-much that the English (although the war, with respect to the multitude of Indians, inhabiting the continent, and their advantage by the *nearness* to the French had no good aspect) took no care, but left the whole to the Indians; nothing doubting to be advertised by them of any danger from the enemy. This was the effect of the bringing the gospel of peace among them, viz: a peace bringing gospel.

The other *observable* I shall add to shew as their *loyalty*, so their *observance* of the laws of England.

In the time of the late *revolution*, when many, in hopes there was "no king in Israel," expected to have done what they saw good in their *own eyes*, several of our English, threatening to fetch certain sheep in possession of the Indians inhabiting a small island adjacent to Martha's Vineyard—which sheep they asserted were stolen from 'em, who met with repulse—the sachem, lest there should happen any *misunderstanding* of that matter, immediately makes his report to me in these words, viz:

"Several of our English have been on my island, and would have forcibly taken sheep from thence; and we are much threatned therewith: I am doubtful, if they persist in that resolution, it may occasion bloodshed: you know that while your grandfather and my father liv'd, there never happened any difference in such things, nor hope will be occasion given by me. I desire the same amity may be continued: nor can the English say that we have not manifested our allegiance to the king by a continued subjection.

"And although 'tis true we have desired your order should come to us, rather than your officer, which hath generally been observ'd; yet we are willing, in case the English pretend any thing ours have injur'd them in, let an officer by writ from authority do his duty; then we shall know how in an orderly way to be reliev'd: yet shall the least boy bringing your order, as in your grandfather's time, command any thing: and if you see cause on any complaint about our sheep, you may command all of them; hoping to find, as hitherto, a decision by the rules of justice: we hope we shall not see (as is too much practis'd in other places) an Englishman pretending an Indian to be in his debt, to come to our houses and pay himself: or, in other cases, beat our people; but as hitherto we may have equal justice, being

the king's subjects; and violence, and riot committed on our people by the English may be steem'd of the same nature and quality as ours against them: of which, with the justices, we pray you would consider, and take speedy care."

I shall, as to their government, only add, that in their several plantations, or townships, they elect three or more to joyn with the sachems (or lords of the place) who hold courts for issuing such controversies as happen among them, the sachem presiding in such courts; or in case he decline that office, another is elected in his place. If either party dislike the judgment given, he appeals to a superior court, which consists of some of the most esteem'd of each place, being some of their magistrates, where some principal sachem is elected to preside for one year: and from this court an appeal lies to the English court.

In giving judgment, they observe such rules and orders made and recorded among themselves, and the English law, the knowledge whereof they much aspire unto. They have likewise some among them, whom the less able to declare or defend their own cases, improve as attornies; some of which are, to admiration, critical in their pleadings.

I shall close the whole, when I have told the reader that their children are generally taught to read, and many to write.

In one of their towns the last winter, viz: 1693, thirty children were at school; twenty more of the same place, at the same time, accidentally being not supplied with books, could not attend it. Such who are too far distant from any school, are often taught by some of their neighbours; in divers places are lesser schools.

THE POST-SCRIPT.—Having, among many things worthy of notice in the precedent discourse, omitted some remarkables of the Indian converse with *infernal spirits*, I thought meet to briefly touch some things therein remarkable, and to insert a narrative of the decease of a prince, memorable for his forsaking his people for the sake of Christ, and his return with happy success in proselyting his subjects to the worship of God in Christ.

This I find written on the out-side of a book, in the library of Mr. John Mayhew, deceased; which please to take as followeth:

"MITARK, *Sachem (rather Prince) of the Gay-head, on Martha's Vineyard, deceased January, 1683.*—This prince's subjects being resolv'd to continue in heathenism, notwithstanding his embracing the gospel, grew so disaffected to him, that he for a time remov'd to the east end of Martha's Vineyard, whither, after three years abode at the said place, he again return'd, having perswaded his people into a willingness that such who would might attend the glad tidings he pretended to bring; whereupon he himself open'd to them the mysteries of the gospel, dispensing the word to such as came to hear him; insomuch that at this day that people are all Christians by profession.

"The day before his death, I being with him, inquired of him concerning his hope, who, after he had treated some time of the mutability of an earthly life, said, 'I have hope in God, that when my soul departeth out of this body, God will send his messengers, who shall conduct it to himself, to be with Jesus Christ,' (and then with great earnestness pronounced

these words:) 'where that everlasting glory is! As for my reasons [said he] I my self have had many wrongs of enemies, of whom I have sought no revenge, nor retain'd evil in thought, word, nor deed; and I also expect the same from God.'

"But [said he] I proceed no further; for God is very merciful.' Then I ask'd him of his willingness to die. He replied, 'It is now seven nights since I was taken sick, and I have not yet ask'd of God to live longer in the world. In this world are some benefits to be enjoyed; also, many troubles to be endured; but with respect to the hope I have in God, I am willing to die: here I am in pain; there I shall be freed from all pain, and enjoy that rest that never endeth.'

"Then pointing to his daughters, he said, 'There be my three daughters,' (relating how they were disposed of.) 'And you, my daughters, if you lose your father, mourn not for me, but mourn for your selves, and for your sins: mourn not for me; for though you are unwilling to spare me, and I might be helpful to you if I should live longer in this world, yet to die is better for me.'"

Of Powaws, or persons improving the infernal spirits to effect their intended malicious harms, I can inform of a converted sachim, who, in his publick protestation, said as followeth, viz:

"That he having often employ'd his god, which appear'd to him in form of a snake, to kill, wound, and lame such whom he intended mischief to, he employ'd the said snake to kill; and that failing to wound or lame Hiacoons, the first convert on Martha's Vineyard—all which proved ineffectual—and having seriously considered the said Hiacoom's assertion, that none of the *powaws* could hurt him, since his God whom he now serv'd was the great God, to whom theirs was subservient—he resolv'd to worship the true God: from which time, during seven years, the said snake gave him great disturbance; but that he never, after his praying to God in Christ, imploy'd that said snake in any thing, which about that time ceas'd to appear to him.

A FURTHER ACCOUNT CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG
THE INDIANS IN OTHER PARTS OF NEW-ENGLAND.

CONCERNING the further progress of the gospel among the Indians in America, the reader may take this following account, which is extracted out of several letters sent to the Reverend Increase Mather, president of the College at Cambridge in New-England.

Mr. Samuel Treat, pastor of the church in Eastham, in a letter bearing date August 23, writeth as followeth:

"REVEREND AND WORTHY SIR: I being advertised that it would not be unseasonable or unserviceable, at this juncture, to give your self a true and impartial account both of the number, as also of the present state of our Indians, and acceptation and entertainment of the gospel among them, and their profess'd subjection thereunto; sir, you may be assur'd as followeth:

"That there are five hundred and five adult persons of Indians within the limits of our township, unto whom, these many years past, I have from time to time imparted the gospel of our Lord Jesus in their own language, (and I truly hope not without success,) and yet I continue in the same service, earnestly imploring, and not without hopes, expecting and waiting for a more plentiful down-pouring of the spirit from on high among them: and I verily do not know of, nor can I learn that there is so much as one of these five hundred Indians that does obstinately absent from, but do jointly frequent and attend on the preaching of the word, and countenance of the same, not only frequenting and attending seasons of

worship of a divine sanction, but also all other occasional opportunities, when the gospel is dispens'd to them; and when our congregations solemnize publick days of prayer with fasting, or of praises, (I usually giving them advertisement thereof,) they readily comply therewith, in their respective assemblies.

"They have four distinct assemblies in four villages belonging to our township, in which four assemblies they have four teachers of their own choice, of the more *sober, well-affected*, and *understanding* persons among them, who duly preach to them, when I am not with them: these Indian teachers repair to my house once a week, to be further instructed (*pro Mudulo meo**) in the *concernments* proper for their service and station.

"There are in the four abovesaid villages four schoolmasters (of the best accomplished for that service) who teach their youth to read and write their own language.

"There are also six justices of the peace (or magistrates) in the four abovesaid villages, who regulate their civil affairs, and punish criminals and transgressors of the civil law; they have their stated courts and other inferiour officers in a subserviency to their civil good order.

"There are among them many of a serious, sober, civilized conversation and deportment, who are making essays towards a further progressive step of obedience and conformity to the rules of the gospel, viz: an 'ecclesiastical combination,' having a great desire to be baptiz'd.

"They are very serviceable by their labour in the English vicinity, and have all along since our wars with their nation been very friendly to the English, and forward to serve them in that quarrel. Their deportment, and converse, and garb, being more manly and laudable than any other Indians that I have observ'd in the province.

"But, sir, I would not be tedious, only craving your interest at the throne of grace for us, that we may be serviceable to the name and kingdom of our LORD JESUS. So I subscribe,

"Sir, yours willingly,

"SAMUEL TREAT.

"*Eastham, Aug. 23, 1693.*"

Mr. James Noyce, pastor of the church in Stonington, in a letter dated the fifteenth of March last, writeth thus:

"REVEREND SIR: Yours I receiv'd, and rejoice that God hath stirr'd up any that doth take care and contribute towards advancing Christ's kingdom amongst the poor heathen; and do and did formerly believe, that where God sends light, he intends love; and where God gives little, he expects less; and therefore the labours of the reverend Mr. Eliot, Mr. Mayhew, &c., have not been lost, they have not run in vain, but that many have gone to heaven of their deceased hearers. And I should count it my joy and crown to win one soul of them to Christ. And am in hope that some one or two of the Pequots, that were my friends, and liv'd on my land, upon my endeavour have obtain'd mercy now dead, who dy'd praying, renounc'd wholly the way of the heathen worship, &c.

"Also, some of our captive servants, professing the faith, with many tears, are baptiz'd, and give good testimony in their knowledge, converse and conversation of a real gracious work upon them.

"I have in my house a witty hopeful sachem's son, one of the chiefest quality in these parts, bound fast to me to be instructed to read and write, and in the way of life, which hitherto gives great hopes and no discouragement; he is about thirteen years of age. And once I had the advantage to astonish many of the heathen; and of the chief of them, by God's answering prayers in the presence of many heathen, by raising a very sick Indian lad, (English also present) after the lad was given over by Indians and English, and was speechless; and several Powaws had *powawed*, and given that *sentence* that the lad would die; but he is alive to this day: the story is too large to write, but I believe God did glorifie himself in the sight of the heathen, according to the humble and earnest petitions made in the presence of about thirty heathen: all seem'd to be much confounded and awakened. One very witty and wise sachem, there present, told me he would be a Christian, but he was

* According to my own system.

afraid his heart would not be right, without which, profession would be in vain, and he was afraid *wine* and *women* would be his ruine, he should not forbear; but he own'd, and almost all present, when I pray'd, our God was the great and true God, but they were poor Indians, and they did not know him. Of these things, and much more, many English witnesses are alive, but some are dead.

"I have heard also the reverend Mr. Fitch did, at the request of the Mohegs, keep a fast for *rain*, in the time of a great drouth, at the request of the heathen, when their Powaws had long cried for rain; and God answer'd by sending rain the same day, to the great astonishment of the heathen.

"Yours to serve,

"JAMES NOYCE.

"*Stonington, Mar. 15, 1634.*"

Mr. Rowland Cotton, minister at Sandwich, in a letter of June 27, 1693, writeth thus:

"REVEREND SIR: I have endeavour'd to take an exact account of those Indians, adult persons, who do constantly attend upon the dispensation of the gospel in the place that at present I am concern'd for. And we do find that in Mashipau, Sanctuit, and Cortuit, villages bordering on each other, and all belonging to the same assembly, there are no less than two hundred and fourteen, besides several straglers that have no settled place, do repair thither. To carry on the work of the Lord's day, there is appointed one Simon Papomint; and at other times I shall diligently intend their good according to my capacity.

"Reverend sir, I desire your blessing on your servant,

"ROWL. COTTON.

"*Sandwich, June 27, 1693.*"

Mr. Thomas Tupper also has given an account of one hundred and eighty Indians, unto whom he does dispense the word, concerning whom he has charitable hopes that they do (and that with zeal and sincerity) embrace the gospel. There are moreover in Plimouth colony about five hundred Indians, amongst whom Mr. John Cotton (pastor of the church in Plimouth, and son to the famous Cotton of Boston) hath and doth preach the gospel.

Likewise Mr. Peter Thatcher, pastor of the church in Milton, is a faithful labourer among the Indians at Punkepaog. So is Mr. Grindal Rawson, pastor of the church in Mendham, among the Indians in those parts; and Mr. Bondet, who is minister to the French congregation at Oxford, in the Nipmug country.

The Indian church at Natick (which was the first Indian church in America) is, since blessed Eliot's death, much diminish'd and dwindle'd away. But Mr. Daniel Gookin hath bestow'd his pious cares upon it.

Besides the labours of the English in New-England, Mr. Dellius (a Dutch minister) at Albany has learn'd the language of the Indians in those parts; God has graciously smil'd on his endeavours, so as that considerable numbers of them are converted to the faith of Christ, and there is reason to hope that what is done, is but the first fruits of a great harvest to follow.

Take the account which himself giveth in a letter bearing date the 16th of January last. His words are these:

"REVEREND SIR: I have this to add to my former, that a Jesuit call'd Milet, whom the Oneydes took prisoner about four years ago, and who is now in that Castle a great man

among them, uses all his subtilty to frustrate my labours, by making false impressions upon the Indians concerning our religion; yet Almighty God is pleas'd to strengthen my proselytes in that way I teach them, more and more. Sometimes there happens difference and disputes between my proselytes and his, concerning the points of religion; but ours alledge they confute the others. This I must say for them, that they take a great deal of pains, and are very zealous to learn, and very devout in their practice. I am, under favour, of opinion, that the Jesuit catechism, with the cases of conscience added thereto, writ by their own hands, which they learn the Indians, which is either in your or your reverend son, Mr. Cotton Mather's possession, may be serviceable to convince our proselytes and others, French that come here, of their pernicious *principles*; and wish the same might be sent me.

"I had put six or seven psalms in their native language upon our notes, but were not perfected; now they are finish'd, and the ten commandments also.

"The new infant church among the heathen increases, there being seventeen last communion day, the thirty-first of December last, who took the sacrament with us, and four others baptiz'd the same day. 'Thus God is sought of them that asked not for him, and is found of them that sought him not.' I think that God has a great people of them yet: the Lord sending a blessing to those means that are us'd for the enlargement of his kingdom among them; and bless you, and all that labour in his vineyard; which shall ever be the prayers of him, who is, Reverend sir,

"Your most faithful and obedient servant in our Lord Jesus,

"GODEFR. DELLIUS.

"*Albany*, Jan. 16, 1693-4."

AN APPENDIX,

Relating Things Greatly Remarkable, fetch'd from one Little Island of Christianized Indians.

IT is not among the English only, but among the Indians also, that our glorious Lord Jesus Christ hath been glorify'd in "doing of wonders." And altho' some of those wonders have been mention'd elsewhere, but more of 'em have been faultily bury'd in such oblivion that they are never like to have any mention at all in this world, yet I am able to furnish one considerable part of a chapter in our church history, with a collection of *remarkables*, fetch'd from no more than one little party of Christianiz'd Indians; even those upon the one little island of Martha's Vineyard. It is possible that some of the Americans may be the *posterity* of those Canaanites, who after the wars of Canaan, set up their pillars in Africa, with that inscription, "We are of those that fled from the face of Joshua the robber!"

But behold how Jesus the Saviour has follow'd them, and conquer'd them with his glorious grace!

Reader, "stand still, and consider the wondrous works of God!"

(I.) THE "UNKNOWN GOD" *wonderfully making Himself Known to a Poor Pagan*.—How far our sovereign and gracious God may in an *extraordinary manner* discover of himself unto some among the poor Pagans that have not enjoy'd the preaching of the gospel, who can particularly determine?—Wonderful is the story which we have in Aquinas, of a corpse taken up out of a sepulchre in the days of Constantine and Irene, which had on it a plate of gold, whereon these words were engrav'd:

*"Christus nascetur ex Virgine, Ego credo in illum: O Sol, sub Irenes et Constantini Temporibus iterum me videbis.** A story so wonderful will not engage me to write *pro Salute Aristotelis*;† or to defend a *problem* advanc'd even by some of our own great reformers, *de Animabus Paganorum*;‡ lest I incur the censure passed by one of the ancients, on those who endeavour to prove Plato a Christian, till they prove themselves little better than heathen. It is indeed a principle in the Alcoran of Mahomet, that "let a man's religion be what it will, he shall be sav'd if he *conscientiously* live up to the rules of it." And it is fitter for Mahometans than for Christians to maintain a principle so derogatory unto the vertue of the gospel, which, "if it be hid, it is hid unto them that be lost." None more sincerely than we non-conformists, do subscribe unto that article of the church of England, they "are to be held accursed, who presume to say, that every man shall be sav'd by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and light of nature: for holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be sav'd."

But I will wholly leave my reader to his own judgment on another story somewhat wonderful.

Pammehanuit, an Indian of prime quality on Martha's Vineyard, and his wife, having buried their five first children successively, every one of them within ten days of their birth, notwithstanding all their use of powaws and of medicines to preserve them, they had a sixth child (a son) born about the year 1638, which was a few years before the English first settled on that Vineyard. The mother was greatly perplexed with fear that she should lose this child, like the former: and utterly despairing of any help from such means as had been formerly tried with so little success, as soon as she was able, (which among the Indians is quickly and *within less than ten days*) with a sorrowful heart, she took her child, and went out into the field, that she might there weep out her sorrows. While she was here musing on the insufficiency of all humane help, she felt it powerfully suggested unto her mind, that "there is one Almighty God who is to be pray'd unto;" that "this God hath created all the things that we see;" and that "the God who had given being to her self and all other people, and given her child unto her, was easily able to continue the life of her child."

Hereupon this poor blind Pagan resolv'd that she would seek unto this God for that mercy, and she did accordingly. The issue was, that her child liv'd; and her faith (such as it was) in Him who thus answer'd her prayer, was wonderfully strengthen'd: The consideration whereof caus'd her to *dedicate* this child unto the service of that God who had preserv'd his life; and educate him, as far as might be, to become the servant of God.

Not long after this, the English came to settle on Martha's Vineyard;

* Christ shall be born of a virgin; I believe in Him: O son! thou shalt see me again in the times of Constantine and Irene. † In favor of the salvation of Aristotle. ‡ Concerning the souls of the heathen.

and the Indians, who had been present at some of the English devotions, reported that they assembled frequently together; and that the man who spoke among 'em often look'd upwards. This woman, from this report, presently concluded that their assemblies were for prayers; and that their prayers were unto that very God whom she had addressed for the *life of her child*. She was confirm'd in this, when the gospel was not long after preached by Mr. Mayhew to the Indians there; which gospel she readily, and cheerfully, and heartily embrac'd. And in the confession that she made publickly at her admission into the church, she gave a relation of the preparation for the *knowledge of Christ*, wherewith God in this wonderful way had favour'd her. But that which adds to this wonder is, that this very child has prov'd an eminent preacher of Christ unto the other Indians. He is living at this time (1696) a very religious Christian and a laborious minister, and one who not only is pastor to an Indian church on Martha's Vineyard, consisting of some scores of regenerate souls, but also has taken pains to carry the gospel unto other Indians on the main land with a notable effect thereof. His name is Japhet.

(II.) A MIRACLE.—A Christian Indian, living at Martha's Vineyard, had his arm so wither'd, that he could make no use of it. Upon which occasion he went unto divers of his relations, desiring them to join with him in prayer for the recovery of his arm. He could find no faith in any of 'em about the matter, except some little in his wife; with whom therefore he set apart a time solemnly to seek after Christ in the case which thus distress'd him: And behold, he was quickly after this perfectly restor'd, unto the astonishment of all his neighbours.

It is a remarkable passage which Mr. Daniel Rogers hath (in his "*Naaman*") about our New-English plantations, "Who can or dare deny but that the calling of those Americans to the knowledge of the truth, may seem a weighty occasion to expect from God the gift of miracles?" Behold, reader, the expectation remarkably accommodated!

(III.) WONDROUS ANSWERS OF DEVOUT PRAYERS AMONG THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS.—Our Christian Indians are distinguish'd by the name of "*praying* Indians:" And when they have become Christians, they have been favour'd by Heaven with notable successes of their praying. There liv'd at Martha's Vineyard a godly Indian, call'd William Lay, who was both a magistrate and a minister among his countreymen. This man was in the year 1690 visited with a sore fit of sickness, which prevail'd upon him so far, that he lay speechless, in the last conflict with death, as his friends apprehended, for several days together. At length his wife, supposing his end very near, desired Japhet, the pastor of the Indian church, to pray with him, who, coming to the house, could scarce perceive any life now left in him. However, Japhet would not pray at this time with-

out first singing a psalm; and particularly the eleven first verses of the eighty eighth psalm. Now, they had hardly sung two verses before the dying man began to revive, and stir up his eyes, and move his lips, and lift his hands; and then he began to sing with them, and quickly his voice was as high, if not higher, than any of theirs. Thus he continu'd singing, with his hands lifted up, until they concluded; and then, laying down his hands, he seem'd again fallen into his dying posture. Japhet then goes to prayer, and soon after prayer was begun, the sick man began once more to revive: And lifting up his hand, he got Japhet by the hand, and held him till prayer was ended; and then he immediately open'd his mouth in the praises of God, who, he said, "had heard prayer on his behalf, and graciously restor'd him from the mouth of the grave, that he might see his goodness in this world; and he believ'd would bestow life eternal upon him in the world to come."—The man recover'd, and walk'd abroad: But about half a year after this, he fell into another sickness, whereof he dy'd.

Another very notable answer of prayer did Abel Aosoowe, an elder of the Indian church at Martha's Vineyard, count himself oblig'd unto Heaven for. In the month of January, 1685, he with his wife undertook to pass over Monument Bay, about five leagues, in a little canoo; but when they were got a little more than half way, the ice came so upon them, as to enclose them on every side, and cover the water as far as ever they could see. They were now in extream distress, and cry'd unto God with earnest prayers for deliverance; but especially for the salvation of their souls, which they thought was all they had now to hope for. In this distress they continued for several hours; but at length, immediately after one of their prayers, the ice open'd just at the head of their canoo, and went on opening to them; so that they had a free, though a streight passage to the shore, for divers miles together; the ice closing still together again just as the canoo had passed it. Their friends on the shore, beholding some of their distress, but unable to help them in it, beheld also with astonishment the relief thus granted them, and gave them a joyful welcome.

(IV.) A NOTABLE CONVERSION OF AN OBSTINATE INFIDEL.—Reader, behold "one saved as by fire!" No longer ago than the year 1695, about the beginning of October, the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ mov'd the heart of Japhet for to carry his gospel unto the Indians in a plantation which hitherto were without the knowledge of the "great salvation." These Indians were, by the blessing of Heaven on the preaching of Japhet, brought generally to subject themselves unto the gospel. Yet there was one man among them at first very obstinate; who nevertheless, after much obstinacy, promised at length to forsake his heathenism, and embrace the religion of Christ. But when Japhet was gone off, this man goes to

his brother, and expresses his dislike of the Christian religion, and signifies that he would return to his old heathenish customs. His brother dissuaded him from this apostacy, and reminded him of his promises; but withal told him, "that if he did forsake the Lord Jesus Christ, he might expect some dreadful judgment from that glorious Lord upon him."—He took not his brother's council; and within a few days the awful judgment of God overtook him. His house was consum'd by fire; and his three children, which were all he had, consum'd in it; but by what means the fire was kindled, it could never be known. The man was gone from home; and at his return, seeing so horrid a spectacle as his family in ashes, he fell horribly distracted, continuing in his distraction a whole day together. But then he came to himself, and immediately acknowledged, "that what had befallen him, was a just hand of God upon him for his unbelief." He professed his unfeign'd sorrow for his impiety, and renewed his promises to yield obedience unto the gospel; and hath ever since conformed his life according to those promises.

(V.) AN HORRID MURDER STRANGELY DETECTED AND REPENTED.—The most barbarous people in the world cannot forbear observing, "that a murderer, vengeance suffereth not to live." Those children of Cain often promise to themselves a concealment of their villainy: But a Bessus will find the very swallows to chirrup out his murder of his father. A *barbarous* people become *Christian*, shall bring in one to increase the number of the examples which verifie that observation.

About the year 1668, an Indian squaw was found murdered at Martha's Vineyard, and the neighbourhood suspected an Indian man, whose name was Pamahtuk, to be the author of the murder. Nevertheless, upon his examination, he deny'd that fact; and because the fact could not be proved against him, he was left at liberty. More than twenty years after this there was another Indian squaw found murdered, and this Pamahtuk, with some others, were thereupon questioned, who all denied the murder; nor was there any evidence to convict them of it. Hereupon an Indian present moved that Pamahtuk might be again interrogated concerning the murder committed so many years ago; and behold the poor creature immediately confessed himself guilty of that old murder; and, after a fair trial, was executed for it. He confessed that he killed the squaw to hide her being with child by him (a crime severely punished among the *Christian* Indians). But now, instead of his hiding his sin, he said, "his sin had found him out." He seemed very penitent; and when he came to the place of execution, he declared "that as he justly deserved, so he was freely willing to die; and that he had enjoyed more peace of conscience in a few days, now since he confessed his crime, than he had for many years before." Several of the Indian preachers, and others, did seriously apply themselves to him with such advice as they judg'd suitable for him;

and particularly one of them told him, "that though he had been standing idle till the eleventh hour, yet, if he would now at last believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, he should certainly be accepted." Whereupon he earnestly desired the spectators to take special notice of his end, and be warned thereby to take heed of the sins which had brought him thereunto; beseeching their prayers for him, and professing their hopes of mercy from God through our Lord Jesus Christ. In fine, being asked concerning the latter murder, he answer'd that he was, as to that, wholly innocent; adding, that he was now going to die, and he knew no reason, why he should not confess *that*, as well as the other, if he had been guilty of it.

(VI.) SADDUCISMUS TRIUMPHATUS.*—Come hither, ye prophane Sadducees, that will not believe the being of a devil, for fear lest you must thence infer the being of a God. We will relate some things well known to prudent and honest witnesses: And when you have read this relation, mock on!

The Indians of Martha's Vineyard, who are now serious Christians, will, upon their own too certain knowledge, abundance of them acknowledge the witchcrafts wherein they had actual conversations, and explicit confederacies with devils, while they were yet Pagans. They know that many persons among them have been, by the zeal of their parents, dedicated unto their infernal gods, and educated for the special service of those gods; but that the *dæmons* accept only some here and there, to make dangerous *powaws* or wizzards of them. They know that these powaws often employ their dæmons to smite their neighbours with blindness and lameness, and other mischiefs, and sometimes to kill them, and sometimes to cure their maladies. They know that their manner is, to form a piece of leather like an arrow-head, and then tie an hair unto it; or take a bone of some dead creature: Over these things they use magical ceremonies, whereupon a dæmon presently snatches them away, and conveys them into the bodies of the persons to be afflicted; or, sometimes the dæmon pretends unto them that he brings a portion of the spirit of the person closely imprisoned in a fly; and as they deal with the fly, so it fares with the body of the person intended.

It would fill a volume to recite the incontestable instances which that island hath had of these witchcrafts; but before the gospel, and power, and spirit of Christ, they have been happily extinguish'd.

One well known powaw, whose faculty chiefly lay in discovering and recovering of *stolen goods*, by the help of a "God subservient [he said] unto Him whom the English worshipped," had a wife who was a Godly Christian; and this not only with the approbation, but by the encouragement of her husband. She constantly pray'd in her husband's family,

* Sadducism vanquished.

and attended the publick worship on the Lord's-days: he declaring "that he could not blame her, for she serv'd a God that was above his: but, as for himself, he could not forsake the service of his own lesser god, being so much oblig'd by his kindnesses."

Another well known powaw, designing to kill an Indian, who accidentally lodg'd in the house with him and his brother, went forth to enchant an hair. While he was abroad, his brother alter'd his place about the fire, where they slept, and the strange Indian came into his place. The conjurer coming in with his devilish implement, gave it a direction to the back of his enemy, which by his mistake proved his brother, and the devil therewith immediately kill'd him. Afterwards he would on all occasions grievously lament unto the English the disaster of this misapplication.

There was a prince on this island, who, upon his conversion to God, made this confession unto the church whereto he joined himself: That being a powaw, he had often employed his god, who appear'd unto him still in the form of a snake, to kill, wound, and lame, such as he design'd mischief unto. But, that employing the said snake to hurt the first Indian that became a Christian on this island, all prov'd ineffectual, according to the assertion of that memorable Indian, "that none of the powaws could hurt him, for his God was greater than any of theirs." Hereupon he resolved himself to become a Christian, and worship the true God: from which time, for seven years together, that snake often annoyed him with sore disturbances.

CHAPTER VII.

THAUMATOGRAPHIA PNEUMATICA;*

RELATING THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD IN PRETERNATURAL OCCURRENCES.

Miranda cano, sed sunt credenda.†—

WHEN two goats were offered unto the Lord (and only unto the Lord) on the day of expiation, among the ancient Israelites, we read that one of them was to fall by lot unto Azazel. Azazel cannot, without some hardship on the sense, be taken for the name of the *scape-goat* it self: But it is no other than the name of the Devil himself, as might easily be proved from the monuments of the greatest (both Jewish and Christian) antiquities.

In the signification of the word Azazel, there is indeed a notable declaration of those two properties that have signalized the devil; his being first a powerful, and then an apostate spirit. [עז] *Fortis*,‡ [אזל] *Abiens, fugiens*.§ The *scape-goat*, presented as a sacrifice unto the holy

* Wonders of the spirit world. † The themes I sing are marvellous, yet true. ‡ Brave. § Fleeing.

God, was order'd by him to be deliver'd up unto Azazel upon these two intentions. One design hereof might be to intimate unto the people what would be the miserable condition of them who did not by faith in the Messiah get the guilt of their sins removed. They that have their sins lying upon them, and are "led forth with the workers of iniquity," must become a prey to Azazel, even to Satan, unto whose temptation they did in their sinning yield obedience. And indeed our Lord has expressly told us (perhaps not without some allusion to this *levitical goat*) that he will send the goats which have their sins upon them to be with the "Devil and his angels."

But another and a greater design of it, might be to represent a main article in the dreadful sufferings which were to befall our Lord Messiah when he should come to suffer for our sins. When our Lord Jesus Christ underwent his humiliation for us, this point was very considerable in it; he was carried into the wilderness, and there he was exposed unto the buffetings and outrages of Azazel. The assaults that Satan then and afterwards made on our Lord Jesus Christ, producing a most horrible anguish in his mind, made such a figure in his conflicts for us, that they were well worthy of a most particular prefiguration. And one thing in the *prefiguration* must be, that the goat for Azazel must be sent into the desert. In the days of Moses, it seems, deserts were counted very much an habitation of devils: Yea, they really were what they were counted; and for that cause the names of *Shedim* and *Zijim* were put upon them; and when the Scriptures foretel desolations to such and such places, they still make the devils to be their inhabitants.

Who can tell whether the envy of the devils at the favour of God unto men, may not provoke them to affect retirement from the sight of populous and prosperous regions, except so far as they reckon their work of tempting mankind necessary to be carry'd on? Or, perhaps, it is not every countrey before which the devils prefer the deserts. Regions in which the devils are much served by those usages, either in worship or manners, which are pleasing to them, are by those doleful creatures enough resorted unto. Yea, if sin much abound any where, some devils entreat that they may "not be sent from thence into the wilderness." But regions like the land of Israel, where the true God is continually prayed unto, and where the word of God is continually sounding, are filled with such things as are very uneasie unto the devils: The devils often recede much from thence into the wilderness, as the *devil of Mascon* would say to Mr. Perreaud, the minister that lived in the haunted house, "While you go to prayer, I'll take a turn in the street."

Thus to omit what Alexander Hales reports of one retiring *ad loca desertituta omni Habitatore*,* where spirits taught him the things which he wrote in his book "*De Magicis*;"† we know that in Lucian the famous Magician

* Uninhabitable places.

† On Magic.

Mithrobarzanes, with his companions, betook themselves ες τι χωριον ερημικον, και υλωδες, και ανηλιον—"into a desert, woody, shady region"—for a conversation with spirits.

Whatever becomes of the observation which we have hitherto been making, there has been too much cause to observe, that the Christians who were driven into the American desert, which is now call'd New-England, have to their sorrow seen Azazel dwelling and raging there in very tragical instances. The devils have doubtless felt a more than ordinary vexation, from the arrival of those Christians with their sacred exercises of Christianity in this wilderness: But the sovereignty of Heaven has permitted them still to remain in the wilderness, for our vexation, as well as their own.

Molestations from *evil spirits*, in more sensible and surprising operations, than those *finer methods*, wherein they commonly work upon the minds of all men, but especially of *ill men*, have so abounded in this countrey, that I question whether any one town has been free from *sad examples* of them. The neighbours have not been careful enough to *record* and *attest* the prodigious occurrences of this importance, which have been among us. Many *true* and *strange* occurrences from the invisible world, in these parts of the world, are faultily buried in oblivion. But some of these very stupendous things have had their *memory* preserv'd in the written memorials of honest, prudent, and faithful men; whose veracity in the relations cannot without great injury be question'd.

Of these I will now offer the publick some remarkable histories; for every one of which we have had such a sufficient evidence, that no *reasonable man* in this whole countrey ever did question them; and it will be unreasonable to do it in any other. For my own part, I would be as exceedingly afraid of writing a *false thing*, as of doing an *ill thing*: but have my pen always move in the *fear of God*.

THE FIRST EXAMPLE.—Ann Cole, a person of serious piety, living in the house of her godly father at Hertford, in the year 1662, was taken with very strange fits, wherein her tongue was improv'd by a dæmon, to express things unknown to her self. The general purpose of the discourse, which held sometimes for a considerable while, was, that such and such persons (named in the discourse) were consulting how they might carry on mischievous designs against her and several others, by afflicting their bodies or destroying their good names; upon all which, the general answer heard among these invisible speakers, was, "Ah! she runs to the rock!" After such an entertainment had held for some hours, the dæmons were heard saying, "Let us confound her language, that she may tell no more tales." Whereupon the conference became unintelligible to the standers by; and then it pass'd in a *Dutch tone*, giving therein an account of mischiefs that had befallen divers persons, and, amongst the rest, what had befallen to a

woman that liv'd next neighbour to a Dutch family then in the town, which woman had been prematurely indispos'd. Several eminent ministers wrote the speeches of the spirits, thus heard in the mouth of this Ann Cole; and one of the persons therein mentioned, as active in the matter then spoken of, (whose name was Greensmith,) being then in prison on suspicion of witchcraft, was brought before the magistrates. The ministers now reading to her what they had written, she with astonishment confessed that the things were so, and that she with other persons, named in the papers, had familiarity with a devil. She said that she had not yet made a *formal covenant* with her devil, but only promised that she would go with him when he called her, which she had sundry times done accordingly; and that he told her that at Christmas they would have a *merry meeting*, and then the agreement between them should be subscribed. She acknowledged, the day following, that when the ministers began to read what they did, she was in such a rage that she could have torn them to pieces; and she was resolved upon the denial of her guilt: but after they had read a while, she was as if her flesh were pull'd from her bones, and she could no longer deny what they charged upon her.

She declared that her devil appear'd unto her first in the shape of deer, skipping about her, and at last proceeded so far as in that shape to talk with her; and that the devil had frequently carnal knowledge of her.

Upon this confession, with other concurrent evidence, the woman was executed, and other persons accused made their escape; whereupon Ann Cole was happily deliver'd from the extraordinary troubles wherewith she had been exercis'd.

THE SECOND EXAMPLE.—In the town of Groton, one Elizabeth Knap (October, 1671,) was taken after a very strange manner; sometimes weeping, sometimes laughing, sometimes roaring, with violent agitations, crying out "Money! money!" Her tongue would be for many hours together drawn like a semi-circle up to the roof of her mouth; so that no fingers apply'd unto it could remove it. Six men were scarce able to hold her in some of her fits; but she would skip about the house, yelling and howling, and looking hideously.

On December 17, her tongue being drawn out of her mouth to an extraordinary length, a dæmon began manifestly to speak in her; for many words were distinctly uttered, wherein are the *Labial letters*, without any motion of her lips at all: words also were utter'd from her throat sometimes when her mouth was wholly shut; and sometimes words were utter'd when her mouth was wide open; but no organs of speech us'd therein. The chief things that the dæmon spoke, were horrid railings against the godly minister of the town: but sometimes he likewise belch'd out most nefarious blasphemies against the God of heaven. And one thing about this young woman was yet more particularly remarkable: she

cry'd out in her fits that a certain woman in the neighbourhood appear'd unto her, and was the only cause of her affliction. The woman thus cry'd out upon was doubtless an holy, a devout, a vertuous person; and she, by the advice of her friends, visited the afflicted. The possess'd creature, tho' she was in one of her fits, and had her eyes wholly shut, yet when this innocent woman was coming, she discover'd herself wonderfully sensible of it, and was in grievous agonies at her approaches.

But this innocent woman, thus accus'd and abus'd by a malicious devil, pray'd earnestly *with* as well as *for* this possess'd creature; whereupon, coming to herself, she confess'd that she had been deluded by Satan, and compell'd by him unreasonably to think and speak evil of a good neighbour without a cause. After this, there was no further complaint of such an one's apparition; but she said some devil, in the shape of divers, did very diversly and cruelly torment her, and then told her, it was not *he*, but *they*, that were her tormentors.

THE THIRD EXAMPLE.—In the year 1679 the house of William Morse, at Newberry, was infested with dæmons after a most horrid manner, not altogether unlike the dæmons of Tedworth. It would fill many pages to relate all the infestations; but the chief of 'em were such as these:

Bricks, and *sticks*, and *stones*, were often by some invisible hand thrown at the house, and so were many pieces of wood: a cat was thrown at the woman of the house, and a *long staff* danc'd up and down in the chimney; and afterwards the same long staff was hang'd by a line, and swung to and fro; and when two persons laid it on the fire to burn it, it was as much as they were able to do with their joint strength to hold it there. An *iron crook* was violently by an invisible hand hurl'd about; and a chair flew about the room until at last it litt upon the table, where the meat stood ready to be eaten, and had spoil'd all, if the people had not with much ado saved a little. A *chest* was by an invisible hand carry'd from one place to another, and the doors barricado'd, and the keys of the family taken, some of them from the bunch where they were ty'd, and the rest flying about with a loud noise of their knocking against one another. For one while the folks of the house could not sup quietly, but ashes would be thrown into their suppers, and on their heads, and their cloaths; and the *shoes* of the man being left below, one of them was fill'd with ashes and coals, and thrown up after him. When they were a-bed, a stone weighing about three pounds was divers times thrown upon them. A box and a board was likewise thrown upon them; and a bag of hops being taken out of a chest, they were by the *invisible hand* beaten therewith, till some of the hops were scatter'd on the floor, where the bag was then laid and left. The man was often struck by that hand with several instruments; and the same hand cast their good things into the fire: yea, while the man was at prayer with his household, a *beesom* gave him a blow on

his head behind, and fell down before his face. When they were winnowing their barley, dirt was thrown at them; and assaying to fill their half bushel with corn, the *foul corn* would be thrown in with the *clean*, so irresistibly, that they were forc'd thereby to give over what they were about.

While the man was writing, his *inkhorn* was by the invisible hand snatch'd from him; and being able no where to find it, he saw it at length drop out of the air down by the fire. A shooe was laid upon his shoulder; but when he would have catch'd it, it was rapt from him; it was then clapt upon his head, and there he held it so fast, that the *unseen fury* pull'd him with it backward on the floor. He had his cap torn off his head, and in the night he was pull'd by the hair, and pinch'd, and scratch'd; and the invisible hand prick'd him with some of his awls, and with needles, and bodkins; and *blows* that fetch'd blood were sometimes given him. Frozen clods of cow dung were often thrown at the man; and his wife going to milk the cows, they could by no means preserve the vessels of milk from the like annoyances, which made it fit only for the hogs.

She going down into the cellar, the trap-door was immediately by an invisible hand shut upon her, and a table brought, and laid upon the door, which kept her there till the man remov'd it. When he was writing another time, a dish went and leapt into a pail, and cast water on the man, and on all the concerns before him, so as to defeat what he was then upon. His cap jump'd off his head, and on again; and the pot lid went off the *pot* into the *kettle*, then over the fire together.

A little boy belonging to the family was a principal sufferer in these molestations; for he was flung about at such a rate, that they fear'd his brains would have been beaten out: nor did they find it possible to hold him. His bed cloathes would be pull'd from him, his bed shaken, and his bed-staff leap forward and backward. The man took him to keep him in a chair; but the chair fell a dancing, and both of them were very near being thrown into the fire.

These, and a thousand such vexations befalling the boy at home, they carry'd him to live abroad at a doctor's. There he was quiet; but returning home, he suddenly cry'd out, "he was prick'd on the back;" where they found strangely sticking a *three-tin'd fork*, which belong'd unto the doctor, and had been seen at his house after the boy's departure. Afterwards his troublers found him out at the doctor's also; where, crying out again "he was prick'd on the back," they found an *iron spindle* stuck into him; and on the like out cry again, they found pins in a paper stuck into him; and once more, a long iron, a bowl of a spoon, and a piece of a pan-shred, in like sort stuck upon him. He was taken out of his bed, and thrown under it; and all the knives belonging to the house were one after another stuck into his back, which the spectators pull'd out: only one of them seem'd unto the spectators to come out of his mouth. The poor boy was divers times thrown into the fire, and preserv'd from scorching

there with much ado. For a long while he bark'd like a dog, and then he *clocqu'd* like an hen; and could not speak rationally. His tongue would be pull'd out of his mouth; but when he could recover it so far as to speak, he complain'd that a man call'd P——l, appeared unto him as the cause of all.

Once in the day-time he was transported where none could find him, till at last they found him creeping on one side, and sadly dumb and lame. When he was able to express himself, he said, "that P——l had carried him over the top of the house, and hurled him against a cart-wheel in the barn;" and accordingly they found some remainders of the thresh'd barley, which was on the barn floor, hanging about his garments.

The *spectre* would make all his meat, when he was going to eat, fly out of his mouth; and instead thereof, make him fall to eating of ashes, and sticks, and yarn. The man and his wife, taking the boy to bed with them, a chamber pot with its contents was thrown upon them; they were severely pinch'd and pull'd out of the bed; and many other fruits of *devilish spite* were they dogg'd withal, until it pleas'd God mercifully to shorten the *chain of the devil*. But before the devil was chain'd up the *invisible hand*, which did all these things, began to put on an astonishing *visibility*.

They often thought they felt the hand that scratch'd them, while yet they saw it not; but when they thought they had hold of it, it would give them the slip.

Once the *fist* beating the man, was discernible, but they could not catch hold of it. At length an apparition of a Blackamoor child shew'd itself plainly to them. And another time a drumming on the boards was heard, which was follow'd with a voice that sang, "Revenge! revenge! sweet is revenge!" At this the people, being terrify'd, call'd upon God: whereupon there follow'd a mournful note, several times uttering these expressions: "Alas! alas! we knock no more, we knock no more!" and there was an end of all.

THE FOURTH EXAMPLE.—In the year 1683, the house of Nicholas Desborough, at Hartford, was very strangely molested by stones, by pieces of earth, by cobs of Indian corn, and other such things, from an invisible hand, thrown at him, sometimes thro' the door, sometimes thro' the window, sometimes down the chimney, and sometimes from the floor of the room (tho' very close) over his head; and sometimes he met with them in the shop, the yard, the barn, and in the field. There was no violence in the motion of the things thus thrown by the invisible hand; and tho' others besides the man happen'd sometimes to be hit, they were never hurt with them; only the man himself once had pain given to his arm, and once blood fetch'd from his leg, by these annoyances; and a fire, in an unknown way kindled, consum'd no little part of his estate. This trouble began upon a controversie between Desborough and another person about a chest

of cloaths, which the man apprehended to be unrighteously detain'd by Desborough; and it endur'd for divers months; but upon the restoring of the cloaths thus detain'd, the trouble ceased.

At Brightling in Sussex, in England, there happened a tragedy not unlike to this, in the year 1659. 'Tis recorded by Clark in the second volume of his *“Examples.”*

THE FIFTH EXAMPLE.—On June 11, 1682, showers of stones were thrown by an invisible hand upon the house of George Walton at Portsmouth. Whereupon the people going out, found the gate wrung off the hinges, and stones flying and falling thick about them, and striking of them seemingly with a *great force*; but really affecting 'em no more than if a *soft touch* were given them. The glass windows were broken to pieces by stones that came not from *without*, but from *within*; and other instruments were in like manner hurl'd about. Nine of the stones they took up, whereof some were as hot as if they came out of the fire; and, marking them, they laid them on the table; but in a little while they found some of them again flying about. The spit was carry'd up the chimney; and coming down with the point forward, stuck in the back-log; from whence one of the company removing it, it was by an invisible hand thrown out at the window. This disturbance continu'd from day to day; and sometimes a dismal hollow *whistling* would be heard, and sometimes the *trotting* and *snorting* of an horse, but nothing to be seen. The man went up the great bay in a boat unto a farm he had there: but there the stones found him out; and carrying from the house to the boat a *stirrup-iron*, the *iron* came jingling after him through the woods as far as his house; and at last went away, and was heard of no more. The *anchor* leap'd overboard several times and stopt the boat. A cheese was taken out of the press, and crumbld all over the floor: a piece of iron stuck into the wall, and a kettle hung thereupon. Several cocks of hay, mow'd near the house, were taken up and hung upon trees, and others made into small whips, and scattered about the house. The man was much hurt by some of the stones: he was a Quaker, and suspected that a woman, who charg'd him with injustice in detaining some land from her, did by witchcraft occasion these preternatural occurrences. However, at last, they came unto an end.

THE SIXTH EXAMPLE.—In June, 1682, Mary the wife of Antonio Hordado, dwelling near the Salmon-falls, heard a voice at the door of her house, calling, “What do you here?” and about an hour after had a blow on her eye, that almost spoil'd her. Two or three days after, a great stone was thrown along the house; which the people going to take up, was unaccountably gone. A *frying pan* then in the chimney rang so loud, that the people at an hundred rods distance heard it; and the said Mary with her husband, going over the river in a canoo, they saw the *head* of a *man*,

and, about three foot off, the *tail* of a *cat*, swimming before the canoo, but no body to join them; and the same apparition again follow'd the canoo when they return'd: but at their landing it first disappear'd. A stone thrown by an invisible hand after this, caus'd a swelling and a soreness in her head; and she was *bitten* on both arms black and blue, and her breast scratch'd; the impression of the teeth, which were like a man's teeth, being *seen* by many.

They deserted their house on these occasions, and tho' at a neighbour's house, they were at first haunted with *apparitions*, the *satanical molestations* quickly ceas'd. When Antonio return'd unto his own house, at his entrance there, he heard one walking in his chamber, and saw the boards buckle under the feet of the walker; and yet there was no body there. For this cause he went back to dwell on the other side of the river; but thinking he might plant his ground, tho' he left his house, he had five rods of good log-fence thrown down at once, and the footing of neat cattle plainly to be *seen* almost between every row of corn in the field; yet no cattle seen there, nor any damage done to his corn, or so much as a leave of it cropt.

THE SEVENTH EXAMPLE.—Mr. Philip Smith, aged about fifty years, a son of eminently vertuous parents, a deacon of a church in Hadley, a member of the General Court, a justice in the countrey Court, a select man for the affairs of the town, a lieutenant of the troop, and, which crowns all, a man for *devotion*, *sanctity*, *gravity*, and all that was honest, exceeding exemplary. Such a man was, in the winter of the year 1684, murder'd with an hideous witchcraft, that fill'd all those parts of New-England, with astonishment. He was, by his office, concern'd about relieving the indigences of a wretched woman in the town; who being dissatisfy'd at some of his just cares about her, express'd her self unto him in such a *manner*, that he declar'd himself thenceforward apprehensive of receiving mischief at her hands.

About the beginning of January he began to be very *valetudinarius*, labouring under pains that seem'd *Ischiatick*. The standers by could now see in him one *ripening* apace for another world, and fill'd with grace and joy to an high degree. He shew'd such *weanedness* from and *weariness* of the world, that he knew not (he said) whether he might pray for his *continuance* here: and such assurance he had of the Divine love unto him, that in raptures he would cry out, "Lord, stay thy hand! it is enough, it is more than thy frail servant can bear!" But in the midst of these things he still utter'd an hard suspicion that the ill woman who had *threatned* him, had made impressions with enchantments upon him. While he remain'd yet of a *sound mind*, he very sedately, but very solemnly charg'd his brother to look well after him. Tho', he said, he now understood himself, yet he knew not how he might be. "But be sure," said he, "to

have a care of me; for you shall see strange things. There shall be a wonder in Hadley! I shall not be dead, when 'tis thought I am!" He press'd this charge over and over; and afterwards became delirious; upon which he had a speech *incessant* and *voluble*, and (as was judg'd) in various languages. He cry'd out not only of *pains*, but also of *pins*, tormenting him in several parts of his body; and the attendants found one of them.

In his distresses he exclaim'd much upon the woman aforesaid, and others, as being seen by him in the room; and there was divers times, both in that room and over the whole house, a strong smell of something like musk, which once particularly so scented an apple roasting at the fire, that it forc'd them to throw it away. Some of the young men in the town being out of their wits at the strange calamities thus upon one of their most belov'd neighbours, went three or four times to give disturbance unto the woman thus complain'd of: and all the while they were disturbing of her, he was at ease, and slept as a weary man: yea, these were the only times that they perceiv'd him to take any sleep in all his illness. Gally pots of medicines, provided for the sick man, were unaccountably empty'd: audible scratchings were made about the bed, when his hands and feet lay wholly still, and were held by others. They beheld fire sometimes on the bed; and when the beholders began to discourse of it, it vanish'd away. Divers people actually felt something often stir in the bed, at a considerable distance from the man; it seem'd as big as a cat, but they could never grasp it. Several trying to lean on the bed's head, tho' the sick man lay wholly still, the bed would shake so as to knock their heads uncomfortably. A very strong man could not lift the sick man to make him lie more easily, tho' he apply'd his utmost strength unto it; and yet he could go presently and lift a bed-sted and a bed, and a man lying on it, without any strain to himself at all. Mr. Smith dies; the jury that view'd his corpse found a swelling on one breast, his *privaties* wounded or burn'd, his back full of bruises, and several holes that seem'd made with awls. After the *opinion* of all had *pronounc'd* him dead, his *countenance* continu'd as lively as if he had been alive; his eyes closed as in a slumber, and his nether jaw not falling down.

Thus he remain'd from Saturday morning about sun rise, till Sabbath-day in the afternoon; when those who took him out of the bed found him still warm, tho' the season was as cold as had almost been *known* in any age: and a New-English winter does not want for cold. On the night following, his countenance was yet fresh as before; but on Monday morning they found the face extreemly *tumify'd* and discolour'd. It was black and blue, and fresh blood seem'd running down his cheek upon the hairs. Divers noises were also heard in the room where the corpse lay; as the clattering of chairs and stools, whereof no account could be given. This was the end of so good a man.

And I could with *unquestionable evidence* relate the tragical deaths of

several good men in this land, attended with such præternatural circumstances, which have loudly called upon us all to "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling."

EIGHTH EXAMPLE.—There was one Mary Johnson try'd at Hartford in this countrey, upon an indictment of "familiarity with the devil," and was found guilty thereof, chiefly upon her own confession. Her confession was attended with such convictive circumstances, that it could not be slighted. Very many material passages relating to this matter are now lost; but so much as is well known, and can still be prov'd, shall be inserted:

She said her first familiarity with the devil came through *discontent*, and wishing the devil to take this and that, and the devil to do that and t'other thing: whereupon a devil appear'd unto her, *tendring* her what *services* might best *content* her. A devil accordingly did for her many services. Her master blam'd her for not carrying out the ashes, and a devil afterwards would clear the hearth of ashes for her. Her master sending her to drive out the hogs that sometimes broke into their field, a devil would scowre the hogs away, and make her laugh to see how he feaz'd them. She confess'd that she had murder'd a child, and committed uncleanness both with *men* and with *devils*. In the time of her imprisonment, the famous Mr. Stone was at great pains to promote her conversion from the devil to God; and she was by the best observers judged very penitent, both before her execution and at it; and she went out of the world with comfortable hopes of mercy from God through the merit of our Saviour. Being ask'd what she built her hopes upon, she answer'd, "Upon these words: 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest;' and these: 'There is a fountain set open for sin and uncleanness.'" And she dy'd in a frame extreamly to the satisfaction of them that were spectators of it.

THE NINTH EXAMPLE.—*Hæc ipse miserrima vidi.**—Four children of John Goodwin, in Boston, which had enjoy'd a religious education, and answer'd it with a towardly ingenuity—children, indeed, of an exemplary temper and carriage, and an example to all about them for piety, honesty, and industry—these were, in the year 1688, arrested by a very stupendous witchcraft. The eldest of the children, a daughter of about thirteen years old, saw cause to examine their laundress, the daughter of a scandalous Irish woman in the neighbourhood, about some linen that was missing; and the woman bestowing very bad language on the child, in her daughter's defence, the child was immediately taken with odd fits, that carried in them something *diabolical*. It was not long before one of her sisters, with two of her brothers, were horribly taken with the like fits, which the most *experienc'd* physicians pronounced extraordinary and preternatural:

* These things these wretched eyes beheld.

and one thing that the more confirmed them in this opinion was, that all the children were tormented still just the same part of their bodies, at the *same time*, tho' their pains flew like swift lightning from one part unto another, and they were kept so far asunder, that they neither saw nor heard one another's complaints. At 9 or 10 a-clock at night, they still had a release from their miseries, and slept all night pretty comfortably. But when the day came, they were most miserably handled. Sometimes they were *deaf*, sometimes *dumb*, sometimes *blind*, and often all this at once. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, and then pull'd out upon their chins, to a prodigious length. Their mouths were forc'd open to such a wideness, that their jaws went out of joint; and anon clap together again, with a force like that of a spring lock; and the like would happen to their shoulder-blades and their elbows, and hand wrists, and several of their joints. They would lie in a benumb'd condition, and be drawn together like those that are ty'd neck and heels; and presently be stretch'd out—yea, *drawn back* enormously. They made piteous out-cries, that they were cut with *knives*, and struck with *blows*; and the plain prints of the *wounds* were seen upon them. Their necks would be broken, so that their neck-bone would seem dissolv'd unto them that felt after it; and yet on the sudden it would become again so stiff, that there was no stirring of their heads; yea, their heads would be twisted almost round; and if the main force of their friends at any time obstructed a dangerous motion which they seem'd upon, they would roar exceedingly: and when devotions were performed with them, their *hearing* was utterly taken from them. The ministers of Boston and Charlestown, keeping a day of prayer with fasting, on this occasion, at the troubled house, the youngest of the four children was immediately, happily, finally delivered from all its trouble. But the magistrates being awakened by the noise of these grievous and horrid occurrences, examined the person who was under the suspicion of having employ'd these troublesome dæmons; and she gave such a wretched account of herself, that she was committed unto the gaoler's custody.

It was not long before this woman (whose name was Glover) was brought upon her trial; but then the court could have no answers from her but in the Irish, which was her native language, although she understood English very well, and had accustom'd her whole family to none but English in her former conversation. When she pleaded to her indictment, it was with *owning*, and *bragging*, rather than *denial* of her guilt. And the interpreters, by whom the communication between the bench and the barr was managed, were made sensible that a *spell* had been laid by another witch on *this*, to prevent her telling tales, by confining her to a language which 'twas hoped nobody would understand. The woman's house being searched, several *images*, or *poppets*, or babies, made of raggs, and stuffed with goats' hair, were thence produced; and the vile woman confessed

that her way to torment the objects of her malice, was by wetting of her finger with her spittle, and stroaking of those little images. The abus'd children were then present in the court; the woman kept still stooping and shrinking, as one that was almost prest unto death with a mighty weight upon her. But one of the images being brought unto her, she odly and swiftly started up, and snatch'd it into her hand: but she had no sooner snatch'd it, than one of the children fell into sad fits before the whole assembly. The judges had their just apprehension at this, and carefully causing a repetition of the experiment, they still found the same event of it, tho' the children saw not when the hand of the witch was laid upon the images. They ask'd her "whether she had any to stand by her?" She reply'd, "she had:" and looking very pertly into the air, she added, "No, he's gone!" and she then acknowledg'd that she had *one*, who was her prince; with whom she mention'd I know not what communion. For which cause, the night after, she was heard expostulating with a devil for his thus deserting her, telling him that "because he had served her so basely and falsely, she had confessed all."

However, to make all clear, the court appointed five or six physicians to examine her very strictly, whether she was no way craz'd in her intellectuals. Divers hours did they spend with her; and in all that while no discourse came from her but what was *agreeable*; particularly when they ask'd her what she thought would become of her soul, she reply'd, "You ask me a very solemn question, and I cannot tell what to say to it." She profest herself a Roman Catholick, and could recite her *Pater-noster* in Latin very readily; but there was one clause or two always too hard for her, whereof, she said, "she could not repeat it, if she might have all the world."

In the upshot, the doctors return'd her *compos mentis*, and sentence of death was past upon her. Divers days past between her being arraign'd and condemn'd; and in this time one Hughes testify'd that her neighbour, (call'd Howen) who was cruelly bewitch'd unto death about six years before, laid her death to the charge of this woman, and bid her (the said Hughes) to remember this; for within six years there would be occasion to mention it. One of Hughes' children was presently taken ill in the same woful manner that Goodwin's was; and particularly the boy, in the night cry'd out, that a *black person* with a *blue cap* in the room tortur'd him, and that they try'd with their hand in the bed for to pull out his bowels. The mother of the boy went unto Glover the day following, and asked her, "Why she tortured her poor lad at such a rate?" Glover answered, "Because of the wrong she had receiv'd from her; and boasted, "that she had come at him as a black person with a blue cap; and with her hand in the bed, would have pulled his bowels out, but could not." Hughes denied that she had wronged her; and Glover, then desiring to see the boy, wished him well; upon which he had no more of his indis-

positions. After the condemnation of the woman, I did myself give divers visits unto her; wherein she told me that she did use to be at meetings, where her prince with four more were present. She told me who the four were, and plainly said, "that her prince was the devil." When I told her *that* and *how* her prince had cheated her, she reply'd, "If it be so, I am sorry for that!" And when she declin'd answering some things that I ask'd her, she told me, "she would fain give me a full answer, but her spirits would not give her leave;" nor could she consent, she said, without their leave, "that I should pray for her." At her execution, she said the afflicted children should not be reliev'd by her death, for others besides she had a hand in their affliction. Accordingly the three children continu'd in their furnace as before; and it grew rather "seven times hotter" than it was. In their fits they cry'd out [they] and [them] as the authors of all their miseries; but who that [they] and [them] were, they were unable to declare: yet, at last, one of the children was able to discern their shapes, and utter their names. A blow at the place where they saw the spectre, was always felt by the boy himself, in that part of his body that answer'd what might be stricken at: and this, tho' his back were turn'd, and the thing so done, that there could be no collusion in it. But as a *blow* at the spectre always hurt him, so it always help'd him too: for after the agonies to which a push or stab at that had put him, were over (as in a minute or two they would be) he would have a respite from his ails a considerable while, and the spectre would be gone: yea, 'twas very credibly affirmed that a dangerous woman or two in the town receiv'd wounds by the blows thus given to their spectres. The calamities of the children went on till they barked at one another like dogs, and then purred like so many cats. They would complain that they were in a *red-hot oven*, and sweat and pant as much as if they had been really so. Anon they would say that cold water was thrown on them, at which they would shiver very much.

They would complain of blows with great cudgels laid upon them, and we that stood by, though we could see no cudgels, yet could see the marks of the blows in red streaks upon their flesh.

They would complain of being roasted on an *invisible spit*; and lie and roll and groan as if it had been most sensibly so; and by and by shriek that knives were cutting of them. They would complain that their heads were *nail'd* unto the floor, and it was beyond an ordinary strength to pull them from thence. They would be so limber sometimes, that it was judg'd every bone they had might be bent; and anon so stiff, that not a joint of them could be stirr'd.

One of them dreamt that something was growing within his skin, cross one of his ribs. An expert chirurgeon searcht the place, and found there a brass pin, which could not possibly come to lie there as it did without a prestigious and mysterious conveyance. Sometimes they would be verry

mad; and then they would climb over high fences; yea, they would fly like geese, and be carried with an incredible swiftness through the air, having but just their toes now and then upon the ground, (sometimes not once in *twenty foot*) and their arms *wav'd* like the wings of a bird. They were often very near drowning or burning of themselves; and they often strangled themselves with their neckclothes; but the providence of God still order'd the seasonable succours of them that look'd after them. If there happened any mischief to be done where they were, as the dirtying of a garment, or spilling of a cup, or breaking of a glass, they would laugh *excessively*.

But upon the least reproof of their parents, they were thrown into inexpressible anguish, and roar as excessively. It usually took up abundance of time to dress them or undress them, through the strange postures into which they would be *twisted*, on purpose to hinder it; and yet the dæmons did not know our thoughts: for if we us'd a jargon, and said, "Untie his neckcloth," but the party bidden understood our meaning to be "untie his shooe;" the *neckcloth*, and not the *shooe*, has been by *writhen postures* rendred strangely *inaccessible*. In their beds they would be sometimes treated so, that no cloaths could for an hour or two be laid upon them. If they were bidden to do a *needless* thing (as to rub a *clean* table) they were able to do it unmolested; but if to do any *useful* thing (as to rub a *dirty* table) they would presently, with many torments, be made incapable.

They were sometimes hindred from eating their meals, by having their teeth set, when any thing was carrying unto their mouths. If there were any discourse of God, or Christ, or any of the "things which are not seen, and are eternal," they would be cast into *intolerable anguishes*. All praying to God, and reading of his word, would occasion 'em a very *terrible vexation*. Their *own* ears would then be stopt with their *own* hands, and they would roar, and howl, and shriek, and hollow, to drown the voice of the devotions; yea, if any one in the room took up a Bible, to look into it, though the children could see nothing of it, as being in a crowd of spectators, or having their faces another way; yet would they be in *wonderful torments* till the Bible was laid aside. Briefly, *No good thing* might then be endur'd near those children, which, while they were *themselves*, lov'd every good thing, in a measure that proclaim'd in them the fear of God. If I said unto them, "Child, cry to the Lord Jesus Christ!" their teeth were instantly set. If I said, "Yet, child, look unto him!" their eyes were instantly pull'd so far into their heads, that we fear'd they could never have us'd them any more.

It was the eldest of these children that fell chiefly under my own observation: for I took her home to my own family, partly out of compassion to her parents, but chiefly that I might be a critical eye-witness of things that would enable me to confute the *sadducism* of this debauch'd age. Here she continu'd well for some days; applying herself to actions of

industry and piety: But November 20, 1688, she cry'd out, "Ah, they have found me out!" and immediately she fell into her fits; wherein we often observ'd that she would cough up a ball as big as a small egg into the side of her wind-pipe, that would near choak her, till by stroaking and by drinking it was again carry'd down.

When I pray'd in the room, first her hands were with a *strong*, tho' not *even* force, clapt upon her ears: and when her hands were by our force pull'd away, she cry'd out, "They make such a noise, I cannot hear a word!" She complain'd that Glover's chain was upon her leg; and, assaying to go, her gait was exactly such as the *chain'd witch* had before she dy'd. When her tortures pass'd over, still frolicks would succeed, wherein she would continue hours—yea, days together—talking perhaps never *wickedly*, but always *wittily* beyond herself: and at certain provocations her torments would *renew* upon her, till we had left off to give them; yet she frequently told us in these frolicks, "That if she might but steal or be drunk, she should be well immediately." She told us, "that she must go down to the bottom of our well," (and we had much ado to hinder it,) "for they said there was plate there, and they would bring her up safely again."

We wonder'd at this; for she had never heard of any plate there; and we our selves, who had newly bought the house, were ignorant of it; but the former owner of the house just then coming in, told us "There had been plate for many years lost at the bottom of the well." Moreover, one singular passion that frequently attended her, was this:

An *invisible chain* would be clapt about her, and she, in much pain and fear, cry out when [they] began to put it on. Sometimes we could with our hands knock it off, as it began to be fasten'd: But ordinarily, when it was on, she would be pull'd out of her seat with such violence *towards* the fire, that it was as much as one or two of us could do to keep her out. Her eyes were not brought to be perpendicular to her feet, when she rose out of her seat, as the *mechanism* of an humane body requires in them that rise; but she was dragg'd *wholly* by other hands. And if we stamp'd on the hearth, just between her and the fire, she scream'd out, "That by jarring the chain, we hurt her."

I may add, that [they] put an unseen rope, with a cruel noose, about her neck, whereby she was choak'd until she was black in the face: and tho' it was got off before it had kill'd her, yet there were the red marks of it, and of a finger and a thumb near it, remaining to be seen for some while afterwards. Furthermore, not only upon her own looking into the Bible, but if any one else in the room did it, *wholly unknown* to her, she would fall into unsufferable torments.

A Quaker's book being brought her, she could quietly read whole pages of it; only the name of GOD and CHRIST, she still skipp'd over, being unable to pronounce it, except sometimes, stammering a minute or two or more upon it: and when we urg'd her to tell what the word was that she

miss'd, she would say, "I must not speak it: they say I must not. You know what it is: 'Tis G, and O, and D." But a book against Quakerism [they] would not allow her to meddle with. Such books as it might have been profitable and edifying for her to read, and especially her catechisms, if she did but offer to read a line in them, she would be cast into hideous convulsions, and be tost about the house like a foot ball: But books of jests being shown her, she could read them well enough, and have cunning descants upon them. Popish books [they] would not hinder her from reading; but [they] would from reading books against Popery. A book which pretends to prove "that there are no witches," was easily read by her; only the name devils and witches might not be utter'd. A book which proves "that there are witches," being exhibited unto her, she might not read it; and that expression in the story of Ann Cole, about running to the rock, always threw her into sore convulsions.

Divers of these trials were made by many witnesses: but I, considering that there might be a snare in it, put a seasonable stop to this fanciful business. Only I could not but be amaz'd at one thing: A certain Prayer-book being brought her, she not only could read it very well, but also did read a large part of it over, calling it her Bible, and putting a more than ordinary respect upon it. If she were going into her tortures, at the tender of this book, she would recover her self to read it: Only when she came to the Lord's Prayer, now and then occurring in that book, she would have her eyes put out; so that she must turn over a new leaf, and then she could read again. Whereas also there are scriptures in that book, she could read them there: but if any shew'd her the very same scriptures in the Bible it self, she should sooner die than read them: and she was likewise made unable to read the Psalms in an ancient metre, which this Prayer-book had in the same volume with it.

Besides these, there was another inexplicable thing in her condition. Ever now and then, an invisible horse would be brought unto her by those whom she only call'd [them] and [her company,] upon the approach of which, her eyes would be still clos'd up: For (said she) "they say I am a tell-tale, and therefore they will not let me see them." Hereupon she would give a spring as one mounting an horse, and settling her self in a riding posture, she would in her chair be agitated, as one sometimes ambling, sometimes trotting, and sometimes galloping very furiously. In these motions we could not *perceive* that she was mov'd by the stress of her feet upon the ground, for often she touch'd it not. When she had rode a minute or two, she would seem to be at a rendezvous with [them] that were [her company,] and there she would maintain a discourse with them, asking them many questions concerning her self, [we gave her none of ours] and have answers from them, which indeed none but her self perceiv'd. Then would she return, and inform us "How [they] did intend to handle her for a day or two afterwards," and some other things that she

inquir'd. Her horse would sometimes throw her with much violence; especially if any one stabb'd or cut the air under her. But she would briskly mount again, and perform her fantastick journies, mostly in her chair; but sometimes also she would be carry'd from her chair, out of one room into another, very odly, in the postures of a riding woman. At length, she pretended that her horse could ride up the stairs; and unto admiration she rode (that is, was toss'd as one that rode) up the stairs. There then stood open the study of one belonging to the family; into which entring, she stood immediately on her feet, and cry'd out, "They are gone! they are gone! They say that they cannot—God won't let 'em come here!" Adding a reason for it, which the owner of the study thought more *kind* than *true*. And she presently and perfectly came to her self, so that her whole discourse and carriage was alter'd unto the greatest "measure of sobriety;" and she sate reading of the Bible and other good books for a good part of the afternoon. Her affairs calling her anon to go down again, the dæmons were in a quarter of a minute as bad upon her as before; and her *horse* was *waiting* for her. Some then, to see whether there had not been a fallacy in what had *newly* hapned, resolv'd for to have her up unto the study, where she had been at ease before; but she was then so strangely distorted, that it was an *extream difficulty* to drag her up stairs. The dæmons would pull her out of the people's hands, and make her *heavier* than perhaps *three* of her self. With incredible toil, (tho' she kept screaming, "They say I must not go in,") she was pull'd in; where she was no sooner got, but she could stand on her feet, and, with an alter'd note, say, "Now I am well."

She would be faint at first, and say, "She felt something to go out of her!" (the noises whereof *we* sometimes heard, like those of a mouse) but in a minute or two she could apply her self to devotion, and express her self with *discretion*, as *well as ever* in her life.

To satisfie some strangers, the *experiment* was divers times, with the same success, repeated; until my lothness to have any thing done like making a charm of a room, caus'd me to forbid the repetition of it. But enough of this. The ministers of Boston and Charlestown kept another day of prayer with fasting, for Goodwin's afflicted family: after which, the children had a sensible, but a gradual abatement of their sorrows, until *perfect ease* was at length restor'd unto them. The young woman dwelt at my house the rest of the winter; having by a vertuous conversation made herself enough welcome to the family. But ere long, I thought it convenient for me to entertain my congregation with a sermon on the "memorable providences" wherein these children had been concern'd, [afterwards publish'd.] When I had begun to study my sermon, her *tormentors* again seiz'd upon her, and manag'd her with a special design, as was plain, to disturb me in what I was then about.

In the worst of her extravagancies formerly, she was more dutiful to

myself than I had reason to expect. But now her whole carriage to me was with a *sawciness*, which I was not used any where to be treated withal. She would knock at my study door, affirming "that some below would be glad to see me," though there was none that ask'd for me. And when I chid her for telling what was false, her answer was, "Mrs. Mather is always glad to see you!" She would call to me with numberless importunences: And when I came down, she would *throw* things at me, though none of them could ever hurt me: and she would hector me at a strange rate for something I was doing above, and threaten me with *mischief* and *reproach*, that should revenge it. Few tortures now attended her, but such as were provok'd. Her frolicks were numberless, if we may call them hers. I was in Latin telling some young gentlemen, that if I should bid her look to God, her eyes would be put out: upon which her eyes were presently serv'd so. Perceiving that her troublers understood Latin, some trials were thereupon made whether they understood Greek and Hebrew, which it seems they also did; but the Indian languages they did seem not so *well* to understand.

When we went unto prayer, the dæmons would throw her on the floor at the feet of him that pray'd, where she would whistle, and sing, and yell, to drown the voice of prayer, and she would fetch blows with her fist, and kicks with her foot, at the man that pray'd: But still her fist and foot would always recoil, when they came within an inch or two of him, as if rebounding against a wall: and then she would beg hard of other people to strike him, which (you may be sure) not being done, she cry'd out, "He has wounded me in the head." But before the prayer was over, she would be laid for dead, wholly senseless, and (unto appearance) breathless, with her belly swell'd like a drum; and sometimes with croaking noises in her. Thus would she lie, most exactly with the stiffness and posture of one that had been two days laid out for dead. Once lying thus, as he that was praying, was alluding to the words of the Canaanites, and saying, "Lord, have mercy on a daughter vex't with a devil," there came a big, but low voice from her, in which the spectators did not see her mouth to move, "There's two or three of us." When prayer was ended, she would revive in a minute or two, and continue as frolicksome as before.

She thus continu'd until Saturday towards the evening; when she assay'd with as nimble, and various, and pleasant an application, as could easily be us'd, for to divert the young folks in the family from such exercises as it was proper to meet the Sabbath withal: But they refusing to be diverted, she fell fast asleep, and in two or three hours waked perfectly herself, weeping bitterly to remember what had befallen her. When Christmas arrived, both she at my house, and her sister at home, were by the dæmons made very drunk, though we are fully satisfied they had no *strong drink* to make them so; nor would they willingly have been so to

have gained the world. When she began to feel her self drunk, she complained, "Oh! they say they will have me to keep Christmas with them. They will disgrace me when they can do nothing else." And immediately the ridiculous behaviours of one drunk were, with a wondrous exactness, represented in her *speaking*, and *reeling*, and *spewing*, and anon *sleeping*, till she was well again. At last the dæmons put her upon saying that she was dying, and the matter proved such that we fear'd she really *was*; for she lay, she toss'd, she pull'd, just like one dying, and urg'd hard for some one to die with her, seeming loth to *die alone*. She argu'd concerning death, with a paraphrase on the thirty-first Psalm, in strains that quite amaz'd us: And concluded that tho' she was "loth to die," yet, if God said she must, *she must!* Adding, that the Indians would quickly shed much blood in the country, and horrible tragedies would be acted in the land. Thus the vexations of the children ended.

But after a while, they began again; and then one particular minister, taking a particular compassion on the family, set himself to serve them in the methods prescribed by our Lord Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the Lord being *besought thrice* in *three* days of prayer, with fasting on this occasion, the family then saw their *deliverance* perfected; and the children afterwards, all of them, not only approved themselves devout Christians, but unto the praise of God reckon'd these their afflictions among the special *incentives* of their Christianity.

The ministers of Boston and Charlestown, afterwards accompany'd the printed narrative of these things with their attestation to the truth of it. And when it was reprinted at London, the famous Mr. Baxter prefixed a preface unto it, wherein he says: "This great instance comes with such convincing evidence, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee, that will not believe it."

THE TENTH EXAMPLE.—William Davies, with nine sailors, whereof one was a negro, and one boy, and one passenger, sail'd out of Boston, December 28, 1695, in the ship call'd the Margaret, of about eighty tuns, bound for Barbadoes, laden with fish, beef, and a small parcel of lumber. Within a few days, one of the sailers, named Winlock Curtis, being at the helm, about 8 a-clock at night call'd unto the captain, telling him that he could steer no longer; whereof, when the captain ask'd him the reason, he besought the said captain to think him "neither drunk nor mad," and then added, "that he had but a little time to tarry here;" constantly affirming therewithal, that a spirit, appearing by the *Biddekel*, accus'd him of killing a woman, (which the sailer said that he had left alive,) and reported unto him that the rest of the ship's company had signed "*the book*," which he was from that argument now urg'd also to sign. The sailer declared his resolution that he would never hearken to the devil, and requested that he might be furnished with a Bible; in the reading

whereof he was at first greatly interrupted; but at length he was able distinctly to read it. On the day following, he was violently and suddenly seiz'd in an *unaccountable manner*, and *furiously thrown down* upon the deck, where he lay *wallowing* in a great agony, and foam'd at the mouth, and grew black in the face, and was near strangled with a *great lump* rising in his neck nigh his throat, like that which *bewitch'd* or *possess'd* people use to be attended withal. In a few days he came a little to himself; but still behav'd himself as one much under the power of some devil; talking of the visions which he *saw* in the air, and of a spirit coming for him with a boat. The ship's company, to prevent his going over-board to that invisible spirit, which he attempted once to do, confined him to his cabin, and there ty'd him and bound him so that they tho't they had him fast enough: but he soon came forth without noise, to their great astonishment. He then fell into a sleep, wherein he continu'd for *twenty-four hours*; after which, he came to himself, and remain'd very sensible, giving a particular narrative of the odd circumstances which he had been in, and calling for pen and ink, to write them down. But he put off doing it until the ship, then under a fresh gale, should be a little quieter; and so it came to be altogether neglected.

Upon January 17, in the north lat. 19, sailing S. W. with a fresh gale east, and E. and by S. about 9 at night, a small white cloud arose without rain, or any extraordinary increase of wind; which, falling upon the ship, immediately pressed her down to star board at once: And the hatches flying out, she was immediately so full of water, that it was impossible to recover her. If she had not been laden with lumber, she must have sunk to the bottom: Whereas now, being full of water, which drown'd the boy sleeping in the cabin, she soon righted, and floated along overflowed with sea, after this, for eleven weeks together, in which time there hapned the ensuing passages:

First, within a few days, one Mr. Dibs, the passenger, who formerly had been very undaunted and courageous, began to talk oddly of several persons in Barbadoes, adding, "that one stood at the main mast who came for him with a wherry." And soon after this he was gone insensibly, none knowing *when* or *how*. About a fortnight after this, one John Jones was in the same *insensible manner* carry'd away, and so was the above mentioned Winlock Curtis. Within about a fortnight more, one of their number dy'd, thro' the unconquerable difficulties of the voyage. And about a fortnight further, the negro, sitting as not in his right mind, and another sailer, were in the night *insensibly* carry'd away. About a week after, one Sterry Lion, the carpenter, not being in any disorder of mind at all, often spoke of his end being at hand, and that it would be by a wave of the sea, fetching him away. Him they *saw* carry'd away by a wave about nine a-clock in the morning.

All this while their food was *only* flesh, which they eat raw, because

they could now have no fire; and fresh fish, which in great quantities came into the vessel unto them. At several times, and especially before the taking away of any one of their number, they heard various and wondrous noises, like the voice of birds, as turkeys and other fowl. While they were in this condition, they saw three vessels, and judg'd that all the three *saw* them. Nevertheless, none came a-near to relieve them. Their lodging was on two boards placed athwart the rail, near the taff'ril, covered with a sail: And the first land they discover'd was Desiado; but a northerly current hinder'd their landing there. The next land was *grand terra*; but the wind in the north hinder'd their landing there also. At last, with a little sail, being reduc'd into three in number, they ran their ship ashore at Guadalupa, the sixth of April, about 2 a-clock on Monday morning, where the French kindly entertained them, not as prisoners, but as travellers. Thence they came to Barbadoes, and there they made oath to the truth of this narrative.

THE ELEVENTH EXAMPLE.—Reader, into this chapter, with too much of reason, may be transcribed a passage, which I have had occasion formerly to publish in a book about “the cause and cure of a wounded spirit.”

“There are very cruel *self-murderers*, whereto the wounds on people's *consciences* have driven them. Such a consternation is upon them, that they can't pitch upon any other project for their own repose, than that of hanging, drowning, stabbing, poysoning, or some such foaming piece of *madness*. But, in God's name, *think again*, before you do so vile a thing! Think, by whose impulse 'tis that you are dragg'd into this curs'd action. Truly, 'tis a more than ordinary impulse of the devil, whereof I have seen most prodigious evidences.

“One that came to me with a ‘wounded soul,’ after all that I could plead with him, left me with these words: ‘Well, the devil will have me after all!’ And some company just then hindring me from going after him, as I intended, ere I could get at him, he was found sitting in his chamber, choak'd unto death with a *rope*, which rope nevertheless was found, not about his neck, but in his *hand* and on his *knee*.

“The sensible *assistance* which the devil has frequently among us given to these *unnatural executions*, does manifestly shew, that they who dogg'd the swine into the deep of old, are the same that compel persons to be so much worse than swine, as to kill themselves. These doleful creatures we have seen sometimes hang themselves to death, while their feet are yet upon the ground. Yea, by a line which hath presently broken, and yet left them dead. And I think some that have been found and fetc'h'd before their life was wholly extinguish'd in them, have confess'd unto me to this purpose: ‘That they had no sooner given the first stop unto their breath, but they presently lost all sort of sense: Only they felt such a load immediately upon their shoulders, that they could not help themselves, though their knees were upon the floor all the while.’

“Moreover, the strange obstructions that are given to mens' coming into a probability of deliverance from their hurries, do further manifest that the armies of hell are herein beleaguering of them. How often have people been at a minister's door to have spoken with him; but having no power to knock, they have gone away, and laid violent hands upon themselves! People at the threshold of this very meeting-house have had a forcible and furious kind of whisper made in their minds that they must be gone to some other congregation: but at length, overcoming their invisible pull-backs, they have come in; and a large part of my sermon hath been to dissuade any hurry'd souls from the murdering of them-

selves; which God has bless'd unto the saving of them. It seems the bloody dæmons had, unto their vexation, some way learnt what I was to preach about. The result of all is thus much, since 'tis the devil which puts you upon your thus wronging of your selves, don't resign your selves unto the conduct of that hellish murderer. Are the devil's hands, I pray, so desirable, that you will needs throw your selves into them, while the hands of the Saviour are yet open to receive you—to relieve you! 'Oh, do thy self no harm!'"

THE TWELFTH EXAMPLE.—Strange *premonitions* of death approaching, are matters of such a frequent occurrence in history, that one is ready now to look upon them as no more than matters of common occurrence. The learned know that Suetonius hardly lets one of his twelve Cæsars die without them: and the vulgar talk of them as things happening every day amongst their smaller neighbours.

Even within a fortnight of my writing this, there was a physician who sojourn'd within a furlong of my own house. This physician, for three nights together, was miserably distrest with dreams of his being drown'd. On the third of these nights his dreams were so troublesome, that he was cast into extream sweats, by struggling under the imaginary water. With the sweats yet upon him, he came down from his chamber, telling the people of the family what it was that so discompos'd him. Immediately there came in two friends that ask'd him to go a little way with them in a boat upon the water. He was at first afraid of gratifying the desire of his friends, because of his late presages. But it being a very calm time, he recollected himself, "Why should I mind my dreams, or distrust the Divine Providence?" He went with them, and before night, by a thunder-storm suddenly coming up, they were all three of them drown'd.—I have just now enquir'd into the truth of what I have thus related; and I can assert it.

But *apparitions* after death are things which, when they occur, have more of *strangeness* in them. And yet they have been often seen in this land: particularly, persons that have died abroad at sea have, within a day after their death, been seen by their friends in their houses at home. The sights have occasion'd much notice and much discourse at the very time of them; and records have been kept of the time, (reader, I write but what hath fallen within my own personal observation;) and it hath been afterwards found that very time when they thus appear'd.

I will, from several instances, which I have known of this thing, single out one that shall have in it much of *demonstration*, as well as of particularity.

It was on the second of May, in the year 1687, that a most ingenious, accomplish'd, and well-dispos'd young gentleman, Mr. Joseph Beacon by name, about 5 a'clock in the morning as he lay, whether sleeping or waking he could not say, (but he judg'd the latter of them,) had a view of his brother, then at London, although he was now himself at our Boston, distant'd from him a thousand leagues. This his brother appear'd to him in the morning, (I say) about 5 a'clock, at Boston, having on him a Ben-

gale gown which he usually wore, with a napkin ty'd about his head: his *countenance* was very pale, ghastly, deadly, and he had a bloody wound on one side of his forehead. "Brother!" says the affrighted Joseph. "Brother!" answer'd the apparition. Said Joseph, "What's the matter, brother? how came you here?" The apparition reply'd, "Brother! I have been most barbarously and inhumanely murder'd by a debauch'd fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my life." Whereupon he gave a particular description of the murderer; adding, "Brother, this fellow, changing his name, is attempting to come over unto New-England, in *Foy*, or *Wild*: I would pray you, on the first arrival of either of these, to get an order from the governour to seize the person whom I have now describ'd; and then do you indict him for the murder of me your brother. I'll stand by you, and prove the indictment." And so he vanish'd. Mr. Beacon was extreamly astonished at what he had seen and heard: and the people of the family not only observ'd an *extraordinary* alteration upon him for the week following, but have also given me under their hands a full testimony that he then gave them an account of this apparition. All this while, Mr. Beacon had no advice of any thing amiss attending his brother then in England: but about the latter end of June following, he understood, by the common ways of communication, that the April before, his brother, going in haste by night to call a coach for a lady, met a fellow then in drink with his doxy in his hand. Some way or other the fellow thought himself affronted in the hasty passage of this Beacon, and immediately ran in to the fire side of a neighbouring tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a fire-fork, wherewith he grievously wounded Beacon on the skull, even in that very part where the apparition shew'd his wound. Of this wound he languish'd until he dy'd, on the 2d of May, about 5 of the clock in the morning, at London. The murderer, it seems, was endeavoring an escape, as the apparition affirm'd; but the friends of the deceas'd Beacon seiz'd him; and, prosecuting him at law, he found the help of such friends as brought him off without the loss of his life: since which, there has no more been heard of the business.

The history I receiv'd of Mr. Joseph Beacon himself, who, a little before his own pious and hopeful death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the story, written and sign'd with his *own* hand, and attested with the circumstances I have already mention'd.

I know not how far the reader will judge it agreeable unto the matters related in this article, if I do insert——But I *will* here insert a passage which I find thus enter'd among my *own adversaria*:

"14 D. 2 M. 1684.—Mr. J. C., deacon of the church in Charlstown, told me, that his wife having been sick for divers months, was on the 31st of August last seiz'd with the pangs of death; in which being delirious, and asking divers times 'who would go with her, whither she was going?' at length she said, 'Well, my son Robert will go,' and addressing her speech thereupon as unto him, she express'd her satisfaction that they should *go together*. This son of

hers was at that time in Barbadoes; and his friends here have since learn'd that he also dy'd there, and this at the very *hour* when his mother here gave up the ghost; and (which is further odd) not *without* the like expressions concerning his mother, that his mother had concerning him."

THE THIRTEENTH EXAMPLE.—In the present evil world, it is no wonder that the operations of the evil angels are more sensible than of the good ones. Nevertheless, 'tis very certain that the good angels *continually*, without any defilement, fly about in our defiled atmosphere, to minister for the good of them that are to be the "heirs of salvation."

The natives of heaven, as Dr. Fuller phraseth it, grudge not to guard those who are only free denizens thereof. The excellent Rivet hath well expressed what is to be believ'd of this matter, "that every one of them, who shall be heirs of salvation, hath, besides what may be with him on extraordinary occasions, always one particular angel with him, is a probable truth, and not against the Scripture. Albeit, we cannot from thence infer that it is always the same angels." Now, tho' the "angelical ministration" is usually "behind the curtain" of more *visible* instruments and their actions, yet sometimes it hath been with *extraordinary circumstances* made more obvious to the sense of the faithful.

Of all that hath occur'd in this land, this only shall here be express'd.

I find in the diary of my dear, and reverend, and excellent friend, Mr. John Bailly, a wonderful passage concerning his eminently pious wife, who died at our Watertown; which I will here transcribe:

"APRIL 14, 1691, she was dying all day. Toward sun set she said unto me especially, and unto others, that we had done her the greatest diskindness that ever she met with since she was born, in keeping her back, and not delivering her up to God in Christ, whom she lov'd above all, and long'd to be withal. She begg'd as for her life, that *we* would, and *I* especially, take off our love wholly from her, and give our all to the Lord Jesus Christ, as she had often done, and was now willing again to do. She would never be quiet, until I promised before all those witnesses present (which were many) and before the holy angels, who she desired would seal to it with their golden seals, that I would be willing to part with her and let her go; and that I would give my *all* up to the Lord Jesus Christ (even her self and every thing else:) which, in the name of Christ, I promis'd to labour to be willing, and I would be willing to do.

"This gave her some content; and she said, that God had appear'd unto her, and that she was full of the joys of the Holy Ghost, and that she had whole floods of the love of God in her soul, and she could not stand under it. She often said, that she had rivers of joy, and that she could scatter it about the town, and that all this was to her the worst of sinners; and that it was not only undeserv'd, but also unexpected. She desir'd every one to take heed of slighting the Lord Jesus Christ; and she assur'd them, that if they entertain'd him, they should be as full of love and joy as she: and she advis'd them to give up all unto God, and make much of him; for there was none like him; and as long as she had a tongue or a breath, she would praise him: and she ask'd us all that, if we would not or could not praise him on our own accounts, yet we would do it on hers; for she was top-full, brim-full, and running over. She said, death had no terror at all in it; but she could as freely die as ever she went to sleep. She said, 'I deserve none of this love; but if Christ will give it, who can hinder it? Go to him; he is no niggard; he has love and grace enough for you all: I

cannot bear it, it is so heavy! Ay,' said she, 'my poor husband, tho' a disconsolate man, Jesus Christ will fit him with all this love before he dies; and he will fill you all, if it be not your own fault.' She said unto him, 'If any body want me, this poor man will: yet, as well as I love him, and I now love him better than ever, and shall bless God through all eternity for him; yet I would not be hir'd by millions of worlds to live a day or an hour with him from Christ: and yet, if God would have me to live, I would live. This hour is the happiest hour that ever I had since my mother bound my head. There was never such an instance of *free grace*, as I am perswaded, since the world begun. Let all take notice, to the glory of *free grace*, that I go off the stage nobly and honourably.' She said that she was going to the Lord, and if thousands of devils should tell her otherwise, she would not believe them. God had now made her amends for all the troubles she had met withal in the world. She then desir'd that we would sing some psalm of praise to the riches of free grace: but our harps were hang'd on the willows; we did it not. Yet there was melodious singing at that very time! I heard it myself, but intended never to speak of it until the nurse B. and M. S. spoke of it. They went unto the fire, thinking it was there; but they heard it best when within the curtains. God, by his holy angels, put an honour upon my dear little woman; and by it reprov'd us, that seeing we would not sing, (being bad at it) they would!"

THE FOURTEENTH EXAMPLE.—To conclude our wonders of the invisible world, there will doubtless be expected an account of the wonders that afflicted New-England in the year 1692. Now, having in my hands a most unexceptionable account thereof, written by Mr. John Hales, I will here content myself with the transcribing of that, and I will assure the reader that he hath now to do with a writer who would not for a world be guilty of over-doing the truth in an history of this importance.

SADDUCISMUS DEBELLATUS.*

§ 1. IN the latter end of the year 1691, Mr. Paris, pastor of the church in Salem-Village, had a daughter of nine, and a niece of about eleven years of age, sadly afflicted of they knew not what distempers: and tho' he made his application to physicians, yet still they grew worse. At length one physician gave his opinion that "they were under an evil hand." This the neighbours took up, and concluded they were *bewitch'd*. He had also an Indian man-servant and his wife, who afterwards confess'd that, without the knowledge of their master or mistress, they had taken some of the afflicted person's urine, and mixing it with meal, had made a cake, and baked it, to find out the witch, as they said. After this, the afflicted persons cry'd out of the Indian woman named Tituba, that she did pinch, prick, and grievously torment them; and that they saw her here and there, where no body else could; yea, they could tell where she was, and what she did, when out of their humane sight. These children were bitten and pinch'd by invisible agents; their arms, necks, and backs turn'd this way and that way, and return'd back again; so as it was impossible for them to do of themselves, and beyond the power of any *epileptick fits* or natural diseases to effect. Sometimes they were taken dumb, their mouths stopp'd, their throats choak'd, their limbs rack'd and tormented, so as might move

* Sadducism stormed.

an heart of stone to sympathise with them, with bowels of compassion for them. I will not enlarge in the description of their cruel sufferings, because they were in all things afflicted as bad as John Goodwin's children at Boston, in the year 1689. So that he that will read Mr. Mather's book of "*Memorable Providences*," may read part of what these children, and afterwards sundry grown persons, suffer'd by the hand of Satan at Salem-Village and parts adjacent, *An.* 1691-2. Yet there was more in these sufferings than in those at Boston, by pins invisibly stuck into their flesh, prickings with irons, &c., as in part published in a book printed 1693, viz: "*The Wonders of the Invisible World*." Mr. Paris, seeing the distress'd condition of his family, desired the presence of some worthy gentlemen of Salem, and some neighbour-ministers, to consult together at his house; who, when they came, and had inquir'd diligently into the sufferings of the afflicted, concluded they were preternatural, and fear'd the hand of Satan was in them.

§ 2. The advice given to Mr. Paris about them was, that he should sit still and wait upon the providence of God, to see what time might discover, and to be much in prayer for the discovery of what was yet secret. They also examin'd Tituba, who confess'd the making a cake, as is above-mention'd, and said her mistress, in her own country, *was* a witch, and had taught her some means to be us'd for the discovery of a witch, and for prevention of being bewitch'd; but said that she herself was not a witch.

§ 3. Soon after this, there were two or three private fasts at the minister's house; one of which was kept by sundry neighbour-ministers; and after this, another in publick at the village; and several days afterwards of publick humiliation, during these molestations, not only there, but in other congregations for them: and one general fast, by order of the general court, observ'd throughout the colony, to seek the Lord, that he would rebuke Satan, and be a light unto his people in this day of darkness. But I return to these troubles. In a short time after, other persons who were of age to be witnesses, were molested by Satan, and in their fits cry'd out upon Tituba, and Goody O. and S. G. that they, or spectres in their shape, did grievously torment them. Some of their village-neighbours complain'd unto the magistrates at Salem, desiring they would come and examine the afflicted and the accused together; the which they did: the effect of which examination was, that Tituba confess'd she was a witch; and that she, with the two others accus'd, did torment and bewitch the complainers; and that these, with two others, whose names she knew not, had their *witch-meetings* together, relating the times when, and places where, they met, with many other circumstances elsewhere to be seen at large. Upon this, the said Tituba and O. and G. were committed to prison upon suspicion of acting witchcraft. After this, the said Tituba was again examin'd in prison, and own'd her first confession in all points, and then was herself afflicted, and complain'd of her fellow-witches tormenting of her for

her confession, and accusing them; and being search'd by a woman, she was found to have upon her body the marks of the devil's wounding her.

§ 4. Here were these things rendred her confession credible: 1, That at this examination she answer'd every question just as she did at the first; and it was thought that, if she had feign'd her confession, she could not have remembr'd her answers so exactly. A lyar, we say, had need have a good memory: but truth, being always consistent with itself, is the same to-day as it was yesterday. 2, She seem'd very penitent for her sin in covenanting with the devil. 3, She became a sufferer herself, and, as she said, for her confession. 4, Her confession agreed exactly (which was afterwards verify'd in the other confessors) with the accusations of the afflicted. Soon after, these afflicted persons complain'd of other persons afflicting of them in their fits, and the number of the afflicted and the accus'd began to increase. And the success of Tituba's confession encouraged those in authority to examine others that were suspected; and the event was, that more confess'd themselves guilty of the crimes they were suspected for. And thus was the matter driven on.

§ 5. I observ'd, in the prosecution of these affairs, that there was in the justices, judges, and others concern'd, a conscientious endeavour to do the thing that was right; and to that end, they consulted the precedents of former times, and precepts laid down by learn'd writers about witchcraft; as, Keeble on the Common Law, Chapt. *Conjuration*, (an author approv'd by the twelve judges of our nation:) also, Sir Matthew Hale's *Trials of Witches*, printed An. 1682; Glanvil's *Collection of Sundry Trials in England and Ireland* in the year 1658, 61, 63, 64, and 81; Bernard's *Guide to Jury-men*; Baxter's and R. B., their *Histories about Witches, and their Discoveries*; C. Mather's "*Memorable Providences*," relating to witchcrafts, printed 1685.

§ 6. But that which chiefly carry'd on this matter to such an height was the increasing of confessors until they amounted to near upon fifty; and four or six of them upon their trials own'd their guilt of this crime, and were condemn'd for the same, but not executed. And many of the confessors confirmed their confessions with very strong circumstances; as their exact agreement with the accusations of the afflicted, their punctual agreement with their fellow-confessors, their relating the times when they covenanted with Satan, and the reasons that mov'd 'em thereunto; their witch-meetings, and that they had their mock-sacraments of *Baptism* and the *Supper*, in some of them; their signing the devil's book, and some shew'd the scars of the wounds which they said were made to fetch blood with to sign the devil's book, and some said they had imps to suck them, and shew'd sores raw, where they said they were suck'd by them.

§ 7. I shall give the reader a taste of these things in a few instances. The afflicted complain'd that the spectres which vex'd them, urged them to set their hands to a book, represented to them (as to them it seem'd) with threatnings of great torments if they sign'd not, and promises of ease

if they obey'd. Among these, D. H., as she said, (which sundry others confess'd afterwards) being overcome by the extremity of her pains, did sign the book presented, and had the promised ease, and immediately upon it a spectre in her shape afflicted another person, and said, "I have sign'd the book, and have ease: now do you sign, and so shall you have ease!" And one day this afflicted person pointed at a certain place in the room, and said, "There is D. H." Upon which, a man with his rapier struck at the place, tho' he saw no shape; and the afflicted called out, saying, "You have given her a small prick about the eye." Soon after this, the said D. H. confess'd herself to be made a witch, by signing the devil's book, as abovesaid, and declar'd that she had afflicted the maid that complain'd of her, and in doing of it, had receiv'd *two wounds* by a sword or rapier; a small one about the eye, which she *shew'd* to the magistrates, and a bigger on the side, of which she was search'd by a discreet woman, who reported that D. H. had on her side the sign of a wound newly heal'd. This D. H. confess'd that she was at a witch-meeting at Salem-Village, where were many persons that she nam'd, some of whom were in prison then, or soon after, upon suspicion of witchcraft; and she said G. B. preach'd to them, and such a woman was their deacon, and there they had a sacrament.

§ 8. Several others, after this, confess'd the same things with D. H. In particular, Goody F. said that she, with two others, (one of whom acknowledg'd the same) rode from Andover to the same village witch-meeting, upon a stick above the ground, and that in the way the stick brake, and gave the said F. a fall; "whereby," said she, "I got a fall and hurt, of which I am still sore." I hapned to be present in prison when this F. own'd again her former confession to the magistrates. I asked her if *she* rode to the meeting on a stick? She said, "yea." I inquired what she did for victuals: she answered that she carried bread and cheese in her pocket, and that she and the Andover company came to the village before the meeting began, and sat down together under a tree, and eat their food; and that she drank water out of a brook to quench her thirst; and that the meeting was upon a plain grassy place, by which was a cart-path, in which were the tracks of horses' feet: and she also told me how long they were going, and returning; and, some time after, told me she had some trouble upon her spirit; and when I enquired what, she said she was in fear that G. B. and M. C. would kill her; for they appeared unto her (in spectre, for their persons were kept in other rooms in the prison) and brought a sharp-pointed iron, like a spindle, but four-square, and threatened to stab her to death, because she had confessed her witchcraft, and told of them that they were with her; and M. C. above named was the person that made her a witch. About a month after, the said F. took occasion to tell me the same story of her fears that G. B. and M. C. would kill her; so that the thing was much on her spirit.

§ 9. It was not long before M. L., daughter of the said F., confess'd that she rode with her mother to the said witch-meeting, and confirm'd the substance of her mother's confession. At another time M. L. junior, the grand-daughter, aged about 17 years, confesses the substance of what her grand-mother and mother had related, and declares that when they, with M. C., rode on a stick or pole in the air, she, the said grand-daughter, with R. C., rode upon another (and the said R. C. acknowledged the same) and that they set their hands to the devil's book: and (*inter alia**) said, "O, mother! why did you give me to the devil?" twice or thrice over. The mother said she was sorry at the heart for it; it was through that wicked one. Her daughter bad her repent, and call upon God, and said, "Oh, mother! your wishes are now come to pass; for how often have you wished that the devil would fetch me away alive!" and then said, "Oh, my heart will break within me!" Then she wept bitterly, crying out, "O Lord, comfort me, and bring out all the witches!" And she said to her grand-mother, "Oh, grand-mother, why did you give me to the devil? Why did you perswade me? O, grand-mother, do not deny it!" Then the grand-mother gave account of several things about their confederates and acts of witchcraft, too long to rehearse. Moreover, another declared, that she with widow S. went to Captain W. S., and the said S. gave him a blow with a great stick, and yet was to him invisible. Captain W. declar'd he had a sore blow, as if with a great stick, but saw nobody. The widow S. denied that she struck him. Then M. P., the confessor, very boldly look'd up into her face, and said, "Goody S., you know you did strike him, and I saw you do it," and then told the manner how it was done, and how they came to him, and returned.

§ 10. Nextly, I will insert the confession of a man, about forty years of age, W. B., which he wrote himself in prison, and sent to the magistrates, to confirm his former confession to them:

"God having call'd me to confess my sin and apostacy in that fall, in giving the devil advantage over me, appearing to me like a black, in the evening, to set my hand to his book, as I have own'd to my shame. He told me that I should not want, so doing. At Salem-Village, there being a little off the Meeting-house, about an hundred fine blades, some with rapiers by their sides, which was call'd (and might be more for ought I know) by B. and Bu. and the TRUMPET sounded, and bread and wine, which they called the *Sacrament*; but I had none; being carried over all upon a stick, never being at any other meeting. I being at cart Saturday last all the day, of hay and English corn, the devil brought my shape to Salem, and did afflict M. S. and R. F. by clitching my hand: And on Sabbath-day my shape afflicted A. M., and at night afflicted M. S. and A. M. E. J. and A. F. have been my enticers to this great abomination, as one hath owned, and charged her other sister with the same. And the design was to destroy Salem-Village, and to begin at the minister's house, and to destroy the churches of God, and to set up Satan's kingdom, and then all will be well. And now I hope God hath made me in some measure sensible of my sin and apostacy; begging pardon of God, and of the honourable magistrates, and all God's people; hoping, and promising by the help of God, to set to my heart and hand to do what in me lieth to destroy such wicked worship; humbly begging the prayers of God's people for me, I may walk humbly under all this great affliction, and that I may procure to myself the sure mercies of David."

* Among other things.

Concerning this confession, note—1, It was his own free act in prison. 2, He said [The devil, like a black sheep.] This he had before explain'd to be like a *black man*. 3, That on a certain day was heard in the air the "sound of a trumpet" at Salem-Village, nigh the Meeting-house, and upon all enquiry, it could not be found that any mortal man did sound it. 4, The three persons, he saith, the devil in his shape afflicted, had been, as to the time and manner, afflicted as he confesseth. 5, That E. J. confessed as much as W. B. charged her with. 6, Many others confess'd a witch-meeting or witch-meetings at the village as well as he.

Note also, that these confessors did not only witness against themselves, but against one another, and against many, if not all those that suffer'd for that crime. As for example: When G. B. was tried, seven or eight of these confessors, severally call'd, said they knew the said B., and saw him at a witch-meeting at the village, and heard him exhort the company to pull down the kingdom of God, and set up the kingdom of the devil. He deny'd all; yet said he justify'd the judges and jury in condemning of him; because there were so many positive witnesses against him; but said he dy'd by false witnesses. M. C. had to witness against two or three of her own children, and several neighbours, that said they were in confederacy with her in her witchcraft. A. F. had three of her children, and some of the neighbours, her own sister, and a servant, who confess'd themselves witches, and said she was in confederacy with them. But, alas! I am weary with relating particulars: Those that would see more of this kind, let them have recourse to the records.

§ 11. By these things you may see how this matter was carry'd on, viz: chiefly by the complaints and accusations of the afflicted (bewitch'd ones, as it was suppos'd) and then by the confessions of the *accus'd*, condemning themselves and others. Yet experience shew'd that the more there were apprehended, the more were still afflicted by Satan; and the number of confessors increasing, did but increase the number of the accused; and the executing of some, made way for the apprehending of others: For still the afflicted complain'd of being tormented by new objects, as the former were remov'd. So that those that were concern'd, grew amaz'd at the number and quality of the persons accus'd, and feared that Satan by his wiles had enwrapped innocent persons under the imputation of that crime. And at last it was evidently seen that there must be a stop put, or the generation of the children of God would fall under that condemnation. Henceforth, therefore, the juries generally acquitted such as were tried, fearing they had gone too far before. And Sir William Phips, the Governor, repriev'd all that were condemn'd, even the confessors as well as others. And the confessors generally fell off from their confession, some saying, "They remembered nothing of what they had said;" others said, "They had belied themselves and others." Some broke prison and ran away, and were not strictly searched after. Some acquitted, some dis-

missed, and, one way or other, all that had been accused were set or left at liberty. And, altho' (had the times been calm) the condition of the confessors might have called for a *Melius inquirendum*,* yet, considering the combustion and confusion this matter had brought us unto, it was thought safer to under-do than over-do, especially in matters capital, where what is once compleated cannot be retrieved; but what is left at one time, may be corrected at another, upon a review and clearer discovery of the state of the case. Thus this matter issued somewhat abruptly.

§ 12. It may be queried, How doth it appear that there was a going too far in this affair?

4. 1, By the numbers of the persons accus'd, which at length increas'd to about an hundred; and it cannot be imagin'd that in a place of so much knowledge, so many in so small a compass of land, should so abominably leap into the devil's lap all at once.

2, The quality of several of the accus'd was such as did bespeak "better things, and things that accompany salvation;" persons, whose blameless and holy lives before did testifie for them; persons that had taken great pains to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; such as we had charity for, as for our own souls: and charity is a Christian duty commended to us.

3, The number of the afflicted daily increased, until about fifty persons were thus vex'd by the devil. This gave just ground to suspect some mistake, which gave advantage to the "accuser of the brethren" to make a breach upon us.

4, It was considerable, that *nineteen* were executed, and all denied the crime to the death, and some of them were knowing persons, and had before this been accounted blameless livers. And it is not to be imagin'd but that, if all had been guilty, some would have had so much tenderness as to seek mercy for their souls, in the way of confession and sorrow for such a sin. And as for the "condemn'd confessors" at the bar (they being repriev'd) we had no experience whether they would stand to their self-condemning confessions when they came to die.

5, When this prosecution ceas'd, the Lord so "chain'd up Satan," that the afflicted grew presently well: the accused are generally quiet; and for five years since, we have no such molestation by them.

6, It sways much with me, which I have since heard and read, of the like mistakes in other places. As in Suffolk in England, about the year 1645, was such a prosecution, until they saw, that unless they put a stop, it would bring all into blood and confusion. The like hath been in France, until nine hundred were put to death. And in some other places the like. So that New-England is not the only place circumvented by the "wiles of the wicked and wily serpent" in this kind.

Wierus de Præstigiis Dæmonum,† p. 678, relates that an Inquisitor in the

* Closer investigation.

† Wier on the Traces of Evil Spirits.

Subalpine Valleys enquir'd after women witches, and consum'd above a hundred in the flames, and daily made new offerings to Vulcan of those that needed *hellebore* more than fire. Until the countrey-people rose, and by force of arms hinder'd him, and referr'd the matter to the Bishop. Their husbands, men of good faith, affirmed, that in that very time they said of them that they had play'd and danc'd under a tree, they were in bed with them.

In Chelmsford in Essex, Anno 1645, there were thirty try'd at once before Judge Coniers, and fourteen of them hang'd, and an hundred more detain'd in several prisons in Suffolk and Essex.

As to our case at Salem, I conceive it proceeded from some mistaken principles: as that Satan cannot assume the shape of an innocent person, and in that shape do mischief to the bodies and estates of mankind; and that the devil, when he doth harm to persons in their body or estate, it is (at least, most commonly, generally and frequently) by the help of our neighbour, some witch in covenant with the devil; and that when the party suspected looks on the parties suppos'd to be bewitch'd, and they are thereupon struck down into a fit, as if struck with a cudgel, it is a proof of such a covenant. *Cum multis aliis.**

The worthy author, from whose manuscript I have transcrib'd this narrative, does there confute these mistaken *principles*; and in his confuting of one, viz: "That if the party suspected appear in spectre to the afflicted, and the afflicted give a blow with knife, sword, &c., (or some other on their behalf) and the spectre seems wounded or bleeding, or to have their garment torn by the blow receiv'd; and the party spectrally represented be presently searched, and there is found upon their body a wound or blood, even on the same part of their body, or a rent on the same part of the garment which appeared on the spectre to the afflicted, this hath been accounted a strong evidence to prove the party suspected to be a confederate with Satan in afflicting the complainer;" he hath divers notable passages. One of them is this:

"The person or garment so represented to the afflicted by the spectre, was wounded, or bleeding, or cut, or rent before: and the devil, knowing this, represents to the afflicted that part of the spectre which answers to the body wounded, or garment rent; and then the searchers, finding such wounds upon or rents about the person suspected, are ready to conclude it was done by the stroke at the spectre, which was done before. There was at Chelmsford an afflicted person, that in her fits cried out against a woman, a neighbour, which Mr. Clark, the minister of the gospel there, could not believe to be guilty of such a crime. And it hapned, while that woman milked her cow, the cow struck her with one horn upon the forehead, and fetch'd blood: and while she was thus bleeding, a spectre in her likeness appeared to the party afflicted; who, pointing at the spectre, one struck at the place, and the afflicted said, 'You have made her forehead bleed?' Hereupon some went unto the woman, and found her forehead bloody, and acquainted Mr. Clark of it; who forthwith went to the woman, and ask'd, 'how her forehead became bloody?' and she answer'd, 'By a blow of the cow's horn,' as abovesaid: whereby he was satisfy'd, that it was a design of Satan to render an innocent person suspected."

* Much more is added.

Another instance was at Cambridge about forty years since.

“There was a man much troubled in the night with cats, or the devil in their likeness, haunting of him. Whereupon he kept a light burning, and a sword by him as he lay in bed; for he suspected a widow-woman to send these cats or imps, by witchcraft, to bewitch him. And one night, as he lay in bed, a cat, or imp, came within his reach, and he struck her on the back: and upon enquiry, he heard this widow had a sore back. This confirmed his suspicion of the widow, he supposing it came from the wound he gave the cat. But Mr. Day, the widow’s chirurgeon, clear’d the matter; saying, this widow came to him, and complain’d of a sore in her back, and desired his help, and he found it to be a boyl, and ripen’d and heal’d it, as he us’d to do other boyls. But while this was in cure, the suppos’d cat was wounded, as is already rehears’d. Again, I knew a woman that was spectrally represented unto an afflicted maid, who complain’d that she was in such a part of the room; whereupon one struck at it with his rapier in the scabbard, and the afflicted said, ‘You have rent her gown in such a place, and her gown is green.’ Afterwards this woman was observ’d, when apprehended, to have that green gown on, (which doubtless she would not have worn then, if she had known any thing of its being rent, by striking at her spectre) and there was found a rent sow’d up, just in the place the afflicted had said it was torn by the scabbard in the same manner. I afterwards ask’d this woman how her gown came so torn: she answer’d, by going into such a yard about a year before, and such an one knew it to be so.”

The author, elsewhere speaking of another *mistaken principle*, takes occasion to mention the following passage:

“I remember, when there was a great discourse about witches, a very holy man heard his wife say she desir’d a sucking pig; and he going to a neighbour’s house, saw a sow with a litter of pigs, and took a fancy to one of them in particular for his wife, and ask’d the owner for *that pig*. The owner denied him: hereupon he went away in a great passion, very unsuitable to such a person; and that very pig left its dam and company, and followed this man to his home. This was observed, and it was supposed Satan might have some hand in it; taking advantage upon the passion of so good a man, to render him suspected by such an *accident*, if he could.”

Upon the whole, the author spends whole chapters to prove that there yet is a witch: and he gives this definition of one, viz: a person “that, having the free use of reason, doth knowingly and willingly seek and obtain of the devil, or any other god, besides the true God Jehovah, an *ability* to do or know strange things, or things which he cannot by his own humane abilities arrive unto. This person is a witch.”

But thus much for that manuscript.

AN APPENDIX.

A TOKEN FOR THE CHILDREN OF NEW-ENGLAND;

OR,

Some Examples of Children in whom the Fear of God was remarkably budding before they Died,

IN SEVERAL PARTS OF NEW-ENGLAND.

PRESERVED AND PUBLISHED FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF PIETY IN OTHER CHILDREN.

IF the children of New-England should not with an early piety set themselves to know and serve the Lord Jesus Christ, the God of their fathers, they will be condemn'd, not only by the example of pious children in other parts of the world, the publish'd and printed accounts whereof have been brought over hither, but there have been exemplary children in the midst of New-England itself, that will rise up against them for their condemnation. It would be a very profitable thing to our children, and highly acceptable to all the Godly parents of the children, if, in imitation of the excellent Janoway's "*Token for Children*," there were made a true collection of notable things, exemplified in the lives and deaths of many amongst us whose childhood have been signaliz'd for what is virtuous and laudable.

In the "*Church-History of New-England*" there will be found the lives of many eminent persons, among whose eminences not the least was "their fearing of the Lord from their youth," and their being "loved by the Lord when they were children."

But among the many other instances of a childhood and youth deliver'd from vanity by serious religion, which New-England has afforded, these few have particularly been preserved:

EXAMPLE I.—Little more than thirteen years old was John Clap, of Scituate, when he dy'd; but it might very truly be said of him, "that while he was yet young, he began to seek after the God of his father." From his very infancy he discover'd a singular delight in the holy Scripture, whereby he was made wise unto salvation; and he also made himself yet further amiable by his obedience to his parents, and his courtesie to all his neighbours. As he grew up, he signaliz'd his concern for eternity, not only by his diligent attendance upon both public and private catechising, but also by the like attendance on the ministry of the Word, which he would ponder and apply, and confer about with much discretion of soul, and pray for the good effect thereof upon his own soul. Yea, 'twas even from his childhood observable in him, that ever after he began to speak reasonably, he would both affectionately regard the family prayers, and likewise, both morning and evening, with a most unweary'd constancy, recommend himself by his own prayers unto the mercies of God.

Arriving higher in his age, he was very conscientious of his duty, both

to God and man; and particularly careful of his father's business, which now became his own calling. At work with his father in the field, he would frequently be propounding of questions, by the answers whereof he might be promoted in the knowledge of God: and at the seasons which others usually employ to vain purposes, he would be abounding in the exercises of devotion. But of all the imitable things to be seen in him, he was exemplary for nothing more than his endeavours in *preparation* for, and *sanctification* of, the Lord's day. Yea, his parents have affirmed, that for a year or two before he dy'd, "they never heard an unprofitable word come out of his mouth;" but he would often bewail the idle, trifling, vain discourses of other people.

About a year and a half before he died, the good Spirit of God bless'd him with yet a more thorow conviction of his misery by reason of *sin*, both original and actual; whence, tho' he had been such a pattern of *innocency*, yet he would aggravate his own sinfulness with lamentations truly extraordinary. And for his relief against the terrors of God, where-with he was now distracted, he was brought unto an utter despair of his own righteousness and abilities; but in this condition he came to adore the grace of God, offering a JESUS who is able "to save unto the uttermost:" in his *longings* to enjoy the love of God through Jesus, he was like the "hart panting after the water brooks!"

The wounds of his spirit were accompanied with a *languishing* and *consuming* of his flesh; yet with great patience he endur'd the hand of God, and he follow'd the Lord with prayers, with cries, with tears, for the *manifestation* of the divine love unto him.

It was also observ'd and admir'd that when he was abroad at the publick worship in the time of his weakness, he would stand the whole time of the long exercises, and be so affectionately attentive, that one might see every sentence uttered in those exercises make some impression upon him. The best Christians in the place profess'd themselves made asham'd by the fervency of this young *disciple*! and in days of publick humiliations, or thanksgivings, kept with regard unto the general circumstances of the country, he would bear his part with such a sense of the publick *troubles* or *mercies*, as argu'd more than a common measure of publick spirit in him.

The minister of the place visiting of him, after sickness had confin'd him, found him in an extream dejection of soul; his very body shook through his fear lest the day of grace were over with him; yet justifying of God, though he should be forever cast among the damned. But yet his fears were accompany'd with hopes in the all-sufficient merits of the blessed Jesus: in which hopes he continued, using all the means of grace according to his capacity, and lamenting after those whereof he was not capable.

A month before he dy'd, he kept his bed; the *first fortnight* whereof he was very comfortless, and yet very patient; abounding all this while in gracious admonitions unto other young people, that they would be con-

cern'd for their own eternal salvation. And you should not now have heard him complain that he wanted *health* and *ease*, though he did so; but that he wanted *faith*, and *peace*, and *Christ*; yet expressing a profound submission to the will of God. But in the *last fortnight* of his life, this poor child of God had his weary soul more comfortably satiated with the promises of the new covenant. God fill'd him with a marvellous assurance of his love, and so seal'd him with his own spirit, that he rejoic'd with joy unspeakable and full of glory. He would often be saying, "Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none on earth that I desire besides thee: my flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion forever;" and, "I know that my Redeemer lives, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth;" and, "If I live, I shall live unto the Lord; if I die, I shall die unto the Lord; and whether I live or die, I am the Lord's;" and, "When Christ, who is my life, shall appear, then shall I also appear with him in glory." He would profess that his communion with the Lord Jesus Christ was inexpressible, and the spectators judg'd his consolations to be as great as could be born in a mortal body. Being now asked, "Whether the thoughts of dying troubled him or not?" he reply'd, "No; death has no terrour to me, because Christ has taken away my sin, which is the sting of death." But being ask'd, "Whether he was willing to live?" he answer'd, "I am willing to submit unto the will of God; but if God hath appointed me to life, I desire I may live to his glory." And being asked, "Whether God had put out of doubt his interest in a dying, risen Jesus?" he return'd, "Yes; and God has fully answer'd my desires: I am now going to a thousand times better world." He told his mother, "I love you as dearly as my own life; yet I had rather die, and be with Christ."

He continu'd six days with his teeth so shut, as that they could not be open'd: and for the first three days and nights he took no sustenance; afterwards, though this but seldom, he suck'd in between his teeth nothing but a little cold water; in which time, they that laid their ears to his lips could over hear him continually expressing his comfort in God. But just before his death, his teeth were open'd; when he would often say, "Oh! how precious is the blood of Christ! it is worth more than a thousand worlds!" and often pray, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!" and at last, he gave up himself to God in those words: "Lord, Jesus, receive my spirit!" He desired his mother to turn his face unto the wall; whereupon she said, "John, dost thou now remember Hezekiah's turning his face unto the wall?" he said, "Yes, I do remember it:" and as she turn'd him in her arms, he so quietly breathed his soul into the arms of his blessed Saviour.

(Extracted out of the account written and printed by Mr. Witheral and Mr. Baker, Ministers of Scituate; and prefac'd by Mr. Urian Oakes, who takes that occasion to say of this John Clap, "he was a young old man, full of grace, though not full of days.")

EXAMPLE II.—Mr. Thomas Thornton, the aged and faithful pastor of Yarmouth, was blessed with a daughter, nam'd Priscilla, which, at the age of eleven, left this world, having first given demonstrations of an exemplary piety.

She was one remarkably grave, devout, serious; very inquisitive about the matters of eternity; and in her particular calling very diligent. She was nevertheless troubled with sore temptations and exercises about the state of her own soul; the anguish of her spirit, about her "body of death," caus'd her to pour out many tears and prayers; and she press'd that some other pious children of her acquaintance might with her keep a day of humiliation together, "that" (as she expressed it) "they might get power against their sinful natures." But it pleased God at length to bless the words of her godly mother for the quieting of her mind. It was her singular happiness that she had such godly parents; but it was her opinion and expression, "We trust too much to the prayers of our parents, whereas we should pray for our selves."

At last she fell mortally sick. In the beginning of her sickness, she was afraid of dying: "For," said she, "I know of no promise to encourage me." She could not but own that she had in some measure walked with God; yet she complained "that she had not found God meeting her in her prayers, and making her heart willing to be at his dispose;" and that the pride of her heart now lay as a load upon it. She own'd that she had many thoughts of Jesus Christ, and that "it grieved her that she had sinned against him, who had *done* and *dy'd* for her."

But many days were not past before she could profess her self willing to die, with some assurance of her then going to eternal blessedness. Many thanks and loves did she now render to one of her superiours, declaring, "'Twas because they had curb'd her and restrained her from sinful vanities:" And she said, "Were I now to choose my company, it should be among the people of God; I see plainly that they are the only company." She was not without her conflicts in this time, wherein one of her speeches was, "Damnation, that is the worst thing of all, but Christ is, of all, the best: I find it so: Christ is to me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption." She told her father, she knew she was made up of all manner of sin; but, said she, "I hope God has humbled me, and pardon'd me in the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ." Unto her affectionate mother she said, "Mother, why do you weep, when I am well in my soul? Well, will you mourn when I am so full of joy? I pray rejoice with me."

When she was extreamly spent, she said unto her parent, "O, my father! I have been much troubled by Satan, but I find Christ is too hard for him, and sin, and all." She now said, "I know that I shall die." And being ask'd whether she were afraid of death, with a sweet smile she replied, "No, not I: Christ is better than life!" And so she continu'd in a most

joyful frame, till she died; a little before which, it being the Lord's day, she ask'd what time of the day 'twas, and when they told her 'twas three of the clock, she replied, "What? is the Sabbath almost done? well, my eternal Sabbath is going to begin, wherein I shall enjoy all felicity, and sing hallelujahs to all eternity." And hereupon she quickly fell asleep in the Lord.

EXAMPLE III.—Mr. Nathanael Mather dy'd Oct. 17, 1688, at the age of nineteen, an instance of more than common learning and vertue. On his grave-stone at Salem there are these words deservedly inscribed: "The ashes of an hard student, a good scholar, and a great Christian."

He was one who used an extraordinary diligence to obtain skill in the several arts that made an accomplish'd scholar; but he was more diligent in his endeavours to become an experienc'd Christian.

He did with much solemnity enter into covenant with God, when he was about fourteen years old, and afterwards he renew'd that solemn action in such a form as this:

"I do renounce all the vanities and wretched idols and evil courses of the world.

"I do choose, and will ever have the great God for my best good, my last end, my only Lord, he shall be the only one, in the glorifying and enjoying of whom shall be my welfare, and in the serving of whom shall be my work.

"I will ever be rendering unto the Lord Jesus Christ my proper *acknowledgments* as unto my priest, my prophet, and my king; and the physician of my soul.

"I will ever be studying what is my duty in these things; and wherein I find my self to fall short, I will ever count it my grief and shame; and betake my self to the blood of the everlasting covenant.

"Now, humbly imploring the grace of the Mediator to be sufficient for me, I do, as a further solemnity, hereunto subscribe my name with both heart and hand."

Having done this, he did for the rest of his life walk with much watchfulness and exactness.

One of the directories which he drew up for himself, was this:

"O that I might lead a spiritual life! wherefore let me regulate my life by the word of God and by such scriptures as these:

"1, *For regulating my thoughts*—Jer. iv. 14; Isa. lxxv. 7; Mal. iii. 17; Psal. civ. 34; Phil. iv. 8; Prov. xxiii. 26; Deut. xv. 9; Eccles. x. 20; Prov. xxiv. 9; Mat. ix. 4; Zech. viii. 17.

"2, *For regulating my affections*—Col. iii. 2. 5; Gal v. 24. For my delight, Psal. i. 2; Psal. xxxvii. 5. For my joy, Phil. iv. 4; Psal. xliii. 4. My desire, Isa. xxvi. 8, 9; Ezek. vii. 16. My love, Matt. xxii. 37; Psal. cxix. 97. My hatred, Psal. xcvii. 10. My fear, Luke xii. 4, 5. My hope, Psal. xxxix. 7. My trust, Psal. lxxii. 8; Isa. xxvi. 4.

"3, *For regulating my speech*—Eph. iv. 29; Col. iv. 6; Deut. vi. 6, 7; Psal. cxix. 46; Psal. lxxi. 8. 24; Prov. xxxi. 26.

"4, *For regulating my work*—Tit. iii. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 12; 1 Tim. v. 10; Tit. ii. 14; Mat. v. 47; 1 Tim. vi. 8; Rev. iii. 2; Rom. xiii. 12; Acts xxvi. 20."

Another of his directories was form'd in an Hymn:

"Lord, what shall I return unto
Him from whom all my mercies flow?
(I.) To me to live, it Christ shall be;
For all I do, I'll do for thee.

"(II.) My question shall be oft beside,
How thou mayst most be glorify'd?
(III.) I will not any creature love;
But in the love of thee above.

"(IV.) Thy will I will embrace for mine
And every management of thine
Shall please me. (V.) A conformity
To thee, shall be my aim and eye.

"(VI.) Ejaculations shall ascend
Not seldom from me. (VII.) I'll attend
Occasional reflections, and
Turn all to gold that comes to hand.

"(VIII.) And in particular among
My cares, I'll try to make my tongue
A tree of life, by speaking all
As be accountable who shall.

"(IX.) But last, nay, first of all, I will,
Thy son my surety make, and still
Implore him that he would me bless
With strength as well as righteousness."

He would also keep whole days of prayer and praise, by himself: and he would set himself to consider much on that question, "What shall I do for God?"—He was much in meditation, and often wrote the chief heads of his meditation. He would read the Scriptures with a note, and a wish fetched out of every verse. And at night he would ask—

- I. What has God's mercy to me been this day?
- II. What has my carriage to God been this day?
- III. If I die this night, is my immortal spirit safe?

Many more such imitable things are in the history of his life (divers times printed at London) reported of him.

EXAMPLE IV.—Anne Greenough, the daughter of Mr. William Greenough, left the world when she was but about five years old, and yet gave astonishing discoveries of a regard unto God and Christ, and her own soul, before she went away. When she heard any thing about the Lord Jesus Christ, she would be strangely transported, and ravished in her spirit at it; and had an unspeakable delight in catechising. She would put strange questions about eternal things, and make answers her self that were extremely pertinent. Once particularly she asked, "Are not we dead in sin?" and presently added, "But I will take this way: the Lord Jesus Christ shall make me alive." She was very frequent and constant in secret prayer, and could not with any patience be interrupted in it. She told her gracious mother, "that she there prayed for her!" and was covetous of being with her mother, when she imagin'd such duties to be going forward. When she fell sick at last of a consumption, she would not by sports be diverted from the thoughts of death, wherein she took such pleasure, that she did not care to hear any thing else. And if she were asked, "whether she were willing to die?" she would still cheerfully reply, "Ay, by all means, that I may go to the Lord Jesus Christ."

EXAMPLE V.—At Boston, 12 d. 3 m., 1694, there died one Daniel Williams, in the eighteenth year of his age. There was a collection made of some of his dying speeches.

Being asked, whether he loved God, he replied, "Yes, I love him

dearly; for, Lord, whom have I in heaven but thee?" He said, "God has promis'd, 'they that seek him early shall find him:' ever since I was a child, I dedicated myself to seek and serve the Lord. Though I have not had so much time as some others, yet that little time which I had, I spent in waiting on and wrestling with God by prayer: and I said, 'I will not let thee go, till thou has blest me.'"

Seeing some of his relations weep, he said, "Why do you cry, when I am ready to sing for joy?" They saying, they knew not how to part with him, he reply'd, "Why? are you not willing I should go to my heavenly Father? I shall quickly be with my heavenly Father, and with his holy angels, where they are singing of hallelujahs. It is better being there than here. When I am there, I shan't wish my self here in this troublesome world again. I have a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is best of all."

He was much concerned for poor perishing souls. He would say, "Oh, that I had but strength! how would I pray, and sigh, and cry to God for the poor world that lives in sin and pride!"

He expressed himself most pathetically to his relations, when he took his leave of them. At last, he asked, "what angel that was that he saw before him? Well," said he, "I shall quickly be with him. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!"

A friend asking him how he did, he said, "I am one bound for heaven: I would not have you pray for my life; I am afraid you do."

On the day of his death, being full of pain, he said, "Jesus Christ bore more than this, and he died for me; and shall I be afraid to die, and go to him? No, I am not." Then said he, "O death, where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory!"

FINIS.

ECCLESIARUM PRÆLIA;

[THE BATTLES OF THE CHURCHES.]

OR, A BOOK OF THE WARS OF THE LORD.

THE SEVENTH BOOK

OF

THE NEW-ENGLISH HISTORY:

RELATING

THE AFFLICTIVE DISTURBANCES

WHICH

THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND HAVE SUFFERED

FROM THEIR VARIOUS ADVERSARIES:

AND THE WONDERFUL METHODS AND MERCIES

WHEREBY THE CHURCHES HAVE BEEN DELIVERED OUT OF THEIR DIFFICULTIES.

COMPOSED BY COTTON MATHER.

Nunquam Bella piis, nunquam Certamina desunt.

[The Christian warfare knows no armistice.]

Nunquam Majori Triumpho Vicinus quam Cum Decem Annorum Strage Vinci non Potuimus.—SULPIO.

[We never achieved a grander triumph, than that of holding out unconquered against martyrdom and massacre for ten years.]

Niteris incassum Christi Submergere Navim; Fluctuat, at Nunquam Mergitur illa Ratis.

[Vain will be your endeavour to sink the Christian bark: it may be tossed upon the waves, but can never founder.]

HARTFORD:

SILAS ANDRUS & SON

1853.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

ECCLESIARUM PRÆLIA:*

OR,

THE DISTURBANCES GIVEN TO THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

THE INTRODUCTION.

If any one would draw the picture of the church, (saith LUTHER,) let him take a silly poor maid, sitting in a wilderness, compassed about with hungry lions, wolves, boars and bears, and all manner of cruel and hurtful beasts; and in the midst of many furious men assaulting her every moment: for this is her condition in the world. Behold that *picture of the church* exemplified in the story of New-England, and now writ under it, "having obtained help from God, she continues to this day."

But before I have done my work, I should remember, without having Pliny for my remembrancer, *ingenuum est confiteri per quos profeceris.*† Indeed, our "*History of New-England*" is as little to be compared with Sir Walter Rawleigh's famous "*History of the World*," as *New-England* it self is to be compared with the *whole world*. Nevertheless, the incomparable Colonel Sydney assures me, he was so well assisted in his "*History of the World*," that an ordinary man with the same helps might have performed the same things. Whereas I must in the first place humbly complain of it, that I believe such a work as this was never done with so little assistance from the communications of inquisitive and intelligent friends. Two reverend persons, indeed—namely, Mr. John Higginson and Mr. William Hubbard—have assisted me, and much obliged me with informations for many parts of our history; and I have a parent also, who has often, to full satisfaction, answered many things that I have therein had occasion to be asking after. Some other particular persons have sometimes favoured me with *memorable passages*, which *they* knew concerning their own relations; and yet I know that many will ungratefully complain of me for not inserting of things which they never sent me, though they had an early advertisement of my undertaking; yea, the absurd and brutish *treats* which I have sometimes had from the relations of some whose *lives* and *names* I have heretofore, unto the best of my capacity, eternized in composures already published, have caused me to know that there are *base* people descended from *good* ones. But every undertaking of this nature being expensive, 'tis highly reasonable that I should make a publick and thankful mention of those worthy persons who have generously expressed their good will to my endeavours, by bearing some of the *expences* which this work hath called for. Our honourable Lieutenant Governour, WILLIAM STOUGHTON, Esq., the worshipful Samuel Sewal, Esq., the worshipful John Foster, Esq., the worshipful Adam Winthrop, Esq., and my good friends, Mr. Robert Bronsdon and Mr. Samuel Lilly, are those that have kindly *Mecenated* these my labours: may their *names* be found *written in the Lamb's book of life, as well as ours*!

After all, and above all, I must not incur that rebuke *Deus hic nihil fecit*!‡ I do on the bended knees of my soul give thanks to the Lord Jesus Christ, thro' whom strengthening of me, I have done all that I have done. "Bless that Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name!"

* The battles of the churches. † It is the part of magnanimity to own by whose aid we have profited.

‡ Has God accomplished naught of this?

CHAPTER I.

MILLE NOCENDI ARTES;*

OR, SOME GENERAL HEADS OF TEMPTATION,

WITH WHICH THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND HAVE BEEN EXERCISED.

Habet et Ecclesia Dies Caniculares.†—TERT.

§ 1. IT is written concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, "that he was led into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil;" and the people of the Lord Jesus Christ, "led into the wilderness" of New-England, have not only met with a continual *temptation* of the devil there—the *wilderness* having always had *serpents* in it—but also they have had, in almost every new *lustre* of years, a new assault of extraordinary temptation upon them; a more than common "hour and power of darkness." Besides the general disturbances which were given unto the minds of men, when the *ecclesiastical controversies*, which called for *synods* to compose them, were generally agitated, there have been successive "days of temptation," relating to the posture of things in the Commonwealth. Sometimes the contestations about the *negative*, have made us too nigh the *denying* of *reason* to one another: sometimes the measures of *compliance* with demands from the other side of the *water*, have occasioned some *fire* of contention among us. And there have been successively many "days of temptation," in this and that particular plantation throughout the country: one while, the rebuilding and removing of meeting houses has unfitted the neighbours for lifting up of "pure hands without wrath" in those houses: one while, the enclosing of *commons* hath made neighbours that should have been like *sheep*, to "bite and devour one another;" and one while, the disposal of little matters in the *militia* has made people almost ready to fall upon one another "with force of arms." It is to be added, there scarce ever was any *one great man* engaged much in the service of this people, but the people have at some time or other made it an extraordinary "day of temptation" for that man. And sometimes little *piques* between some *leading men* in a town, have *misled* all the neighbours far and near into most unaccountable *party-making*. Reader, every clause that thou hast hitherto read in this paragraph, is a subject upon which my observant countrymen can give themselves an *ample history*; and unto their own reflections I leave it, with the confessions which the synods in the primitive times often (and I think *too often*) made, *Peccavimus Omnes!* ‡

§ 2. There have been in the country, on the one side, rigid and highflown Presbyterians; on the other side, separating Morellian and Brownistical Independents; and not only have both of these had such a "jealous eye"

* A thousand baneful schemes.

† Even the church has its dog-days.

‡ We have all sinned.

upon one another, as has produced much temptation unto both, but also the true Congregational man, asserting the *authority* of the Presbytery, and yet not rejecting the *liberty* of the fraternity, maintaining the *decisive power* of synods, and yet leaving to particular churches the management of their own *particular affairs*, with a power of *self-preservation* and *self-reformation*; these have, between both, met with such things as have had no little temptation in them. One of our magistrates—namely, Major-General Denison—has written an *irenicum*,* relating to these differences, which has a good spirit breathing in it; whereas there have been persons among us which would make one think of Dr. Sibbs's memorable words: "When blindness and boldness, ignorance and arrogance, weakness and wilfulness, met together in one, it renders men odious to God, burdensome in society, dangerous in their counsels, troublers of better designs, untractable and incapable of better direction, miserable in the issue." Between such *violent* persons on both *extreams*, the truly *moderate* have sometimes been so crusht, that they have thought themselves, with Ignatius, between the *teeth* which would have *ground* them, to be made *Manchet* for heaven: for it has not at all times been the good hap of all men to believe, with Ambrose of old, *Si Virtutum Finis ille sit maximus, qui Plurimorum spectat Profectam, Moderatio prope Omnium est Pulcherrima.*† Yea, so *violent* once was one of these *factions*, that in a General Court of a Colony they exhibited a certain instrument, wherein the ministers of the churches indefinitely were charged with "a declension from primitive foundation-work; innovation in doctrine and worship, opinion and practice; invasion of the rights, liberties, and privileges of churches; usurpation of a lordly Prelatical power over God's heritage, and the like things, which are the leaven, the corrupting gangreen, the infecting, spreading plague, the provoking images of jealousy set up before the Lord, the accursed thing which hath provoked divine wrath, and further threatens destruction." Even *good men* have terribly and openly, at this rate, charged one another.

Tantæ ne Animis Cœlestibus Iræ?†

§ 3. If the ministers in this countrey, from the very beginning of it, might have their complaints heard, they would complain of *extream temptation* attending them in the business of their *maintenance*. The people being, as one of the ancients expresses it, *προς τα θεια μικρολογουμενοι*,§ have many times been content, that their pastors be accounted rather the *stars* than the *lamps* of the churches, provided, like the *stars*, they would *shine* without the supply of any *earthly contributions* unto them. All the provision hitherto made for the maintenance of the ministry, has been this: That while many ministers chuse to leave their *salaries* unto the voluntary

* Message of peace.

† If that is the highest attainment among all the virtues, which looks to the greatest good of the greatest number, then moderation is about the best of all. ‡ Can such resentments dwell in heavenly minds?—VIRGIL.

§ Chaffering and higgling in religious concerns.

contributions of the people, who upon the first day of the week make their collections, as the apostles directed the primitive churches to do; there are other ministers, who (sensible of what the great Voetius writes, *Hominum sæpe tanta est injustitia, fallacia, lubricitas, profanitas, ut expediat contractum intercedere*,*) make their *contracts* with the people at their first coming among them, or, perhaps, from year to year, for certain *stipends*; and though the stipends, by these contracts engaged, are usually small enough, yet by *bad payments*, (which are in the countrey known by the name of SYNECDOTRICAL PAY, being a certain figure in our avaritious and sacrilegious *rhetoric*, by which their passes, *pars pro toto*,†) they are usually made much smaller; nevertheless, if any should go to take the remedy which the *law* gives him for the recovery of his *arrears*, he would find the *remedy* much worse than the *disease*, and by using the *law*, wound all his future success in preaching the *gospel*. Rabbi Tarphon, (who was probably the *Tryphon* with whom Justin Martyr had his famous disputations,) was called הנהו העשירי—"the *wealthy priest*." But such a sight has been much a stranger in any of our Christian synagogues.

The national synods, in the French churches, were often put upon renewing of declarations, like that at Poitiers:

"The consistories of the respective churches shall be advised that for the time to come they do better discharge their duty towards their ministers, by succouring them in their necessities, and raising maintenance for them and their families, because foreign countries have been exceedingly scandalized at the neglect and ingratitude of divers churches, even in this particular."

And like that at Paris:

"A minister, complaining of his church's ingratitude, the provincial synod shall take cognizance thereof, weighing diligently the poverty of the church, and the temporal estate of the minister; and in case that church be guilty of very great and notorious ingratitude, the synod shall have full power to remove him for his better accommodation elsewhere; and all the churches shall be desired to shun ingratitude unto their ministers; (a sin too rife among us) and to take special care that they be more respected, and their labours better rewarded; not to enrich or fatten them, but to give them a becoming and a sufficient maintenance."

And like that at Montauban:

"Forasmuch as the ingratitude of divers persons, in not contributing to their minister's subsistence, is more notorious than ever, and that this crying sin threatens the churches with a total dissipation; after mature deliberation, we do decree, that in case these ungrateful wretches, having been several times admonished by their consistory, do persist obstinately in this their sin, their consistory shall deprive them of communion with the church in the sacraments."

The crime of *ingratitude* unto their ministers in the French churches, has been too frequent in the New-English; but with this *difference*, that *here* no synods ever did, as *there* the synods often did, with just corrections ani-

* The injustice, the dishonesty, the duplicity, the implety of men is oftentimes so great, that it is expedient to interpose formal contracts in order to enforce the performance of their obligations. † A part for the whole.

madvert upon it. The best ministers of New-England have generally been Calvinists, in respect of that contempt of *riches* which the great Calvin expressed when he wrote—

“*Clara voce pronuntiavimus, Episcopum furem esse, qui ex opibus Ecclesiasticis plus in Usum suum convertit, quam, quod necesse est ad Sobriam frugalemque, vitam sustinendam: Testati sumus, Ecclesiam pessimo veneno tentatam esse, dum tanta opum affluentia onerati sunt pastores, quæ ipsos postea obrueret: Consilium dedimus ut Ministris tantum erogaretur, quantum ad frugalitatem ordine suo dignam sufficeret, non quod ad luxum redundaret.*”*

But they have not all enjoyed the *competent* and *moderate* subsistence, which would thus have well contented them; while the law has exempted them from *taxes*, they have in reality been *taxed* above any one rank of men, whatsoever; nor does any but the Lord Jesus Christ know the *temptation* that many of them have endured, when they have been cheated of the *dues* promised unto them, and when a *Res Angusta Domi*† has broken their *spirits*, and hindred their *studies*, and ruined the *liberal education* of their families. Antigonus, wondring to see that studious philosopher Cleanthes grinding his own corn at the mill, Cleanthes told him, “I must either grind or starve:” Whereupon Antigonus noted it as a great indignity, that the *hands* whereby excellent things had been written, should be *galled* with mechanick labours. But New-England hath often caused the hands which *baptized* its people, and broke the “bread of life” unto them, to be galled with inferiour labours for the getting of bread; they must either *plough* or *starve*. The people have usually pretended their *poverty* as the cause of their thus “withholding more than is meet;” but it would be a *scriptural*, and therefore a *rational* conclusion, if they should conclude, that their thus “withholding more than is meet,” has been one moral cause of their poverty. However, there has been the wisdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in thus ordering his ministers to preach “under the Cross!”

§ 4. Sometimes in this countrey there have been prodigious and astonishing *scandals* given by the extraordinary *miscarriages* of some that have made a more than ordinary *profession of religion*; and incredible *temptation* has hereby been laid before the minds of multitudes. The wise man says, “A righteous man falling before the wicked, is as a troubled fountain, and a corrupt spring.” There have been among us those persons who have made such a profession of righteousness, that much notice has been taken of them, and others have been ready to think, “Surely Christianity is just such a thing as the lives of these men do represent it.” Now, the *falls* of these men before the wicked among us, have been “as a troubled fountain

* We have proclaimed aloud, that the bishop who converts more of the resources of the church to his own use than are necessary for a moderate and frugal style of living, is a robber: we have borne witness, that the church is tempted with a poisoned cup, whenever the ministers are so overloaded with riches that they are likely to be buried in them: we have counselled, that the church be required to furnish the ministry with such a subsistence only as comports with the frugality of their order, not with luxurious superfluities.

† Stinted supply of the necessaries of life.

and a corrupt spring;" just as if one had thrown *poison* into a *well* that all the town was to fetch water at. So were the heathen of old poisoned, when they said, *Christiani sancte vixissent si Christus sancta docuisset*.* Alas, how often have we seen this lamentable thing! Satan, who is often the executioner of the "wrath of God" upon a sinful world, hath desired leave to single out some high professors of religion, and push them on to some scandalous enormities; he hath desired leave to do the part of a devil, it may be, on some one man, that he might poison all the town by the *falls* of that man. The dreadful justice of God, who "gives none account of his matters," has permitted the *experiment*; and, lo! upon the experiment, some *strict*, and, it may be, some *old* professor that had been formerly troublesome to all the sinners in the neighbourhood; *he* has not only proved a *covetous*, and a *self-seeking* sort of a person, in his whole conduct of himself; but some *unclean* devil, or some *drinking* devil, or some *cheating* devil, or some *lying* devil, has drawn him to do monstrous things, and he hath played the devil horribly! Such doleful instances hereof there have been among us, as would poison a whole neighborhood—yea, a whole colony—with Atheism, if the Lord Jesus Christ had not an Almighty arm to secure his own religion. "Wo" hath been to hundreds of souls among us for the "offences" that have thus been given! The scandalous fall of David is by as transcendent a mystery of divine sovereignty *recorded*, as it was *ordered*. Some of the Pagans in the primitive times would not be Christians, because David was one of our greatest *saints*, though he did such damnable things; and many of the Christians would sin as damnably as the Pagans, pleading, *Si David, cur non et ego?*—"Why mayn't I, as well as David?" I believe there are a million of men in hell whose damnation was occasioned by the fall of David, though David himself be gone to heaven after all: But perhaps in his *fall*, and not in his *rise* again, David has been sometimes too much followed by some eminent professors of religion in this land; and the land has been filled with temptation by so venomous a mischief.

———*Quis talia fando*
Temperet a lachrymis? †

Such as these have all along been the more comprehensive *temptations* that have exercised the churches of New-England. But we will proceed unto an history of *troubles* more particular.

* Christians would have led holy lives, if Christ had taught holiness.

† At such a story, though it be his own,
Who can refrain from tears!—VIRGIL.

CHAPTER II.

LITTLE FOXES;

OR, THE SPIRIT OF RIGID SEPARATION IN ONE REMARKABLE ZEALOT,

VEXING THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND; AND THE SPIRIT OF GIDDY FAMILISM IN ANOTHER;
AND SOME LESSER CONTROVERSIES ARISING ABOUT THE CROSS IN THE BANNER,
AND ABOUT SWEARING ON THE GOSPELS.

*Hic se aperit Diabolus!**

§ 1. IT is remarkable, that in the sacred annals of that matchless and blessed church-history, which our God has given us in our Bible, there is a special *mark* often set upon the *first* persons that were eminent in this or that way of sinning, and were upon that score, "the chief of sinners:" and they who have observed this *remarkable*, have particularly *marked* the infamous Corah, the *first rebel* against the divine *church-order* established in the wilderness, as one instance to confirm the observation. There are some, not thoughtless persons, who, in numerating the troublesome and scandalous things that have disturbed us in our New-English wilderness, have complained of a crime, which they have distinguished by the name of CORAHISM; or that litigious and levelling spirit, with which the *separation* has been leavened. Now, tho' I would chuse rather to leave a *veil* than a *scar* upon the *memory* of any person, that by his miscarriage hath made himself too *memorable*; yet our church-history will be but an *unfinished piece*, if we do not set a *mark* upon *that man* who was one of the *first* that made themselves notable by their opposition to the church-order of these plantations; and this we may the more freely do, because of an injunction upon us, "to mark them that cause divisions."

§ 2. In the year 1654, a certain Windmill in the Low Countries, whirling round with extraordinary violence, by reason of a violent storm then blowing; the stone at length by its *rapid motion* became so intensely hot, as to fire the mill, from whence the flames, being dispersed by the high winds, did set a whole town on *fire*. But I can tell my reader that, about twenty years before this, there was a whole country in America like to be set on *fire* by the *rapid motion* of a windmill, in the head of one particular man. Know, then, that about the year 1630, arrived here one Mr. Roger Williams; who being a preacher that had less *light* than *fire* in him, hath by his own sad example, preached unto us the danger of that evil which the apostle mentions in Rom. x. 2: "They have a zeal, but not according to knowledge." Upon his arrival, the church of Salem invited him to assist Mr. Skelton in the charge of their souls; but the governour and council, fearing least not only that church would soon come to have nothing

* Here the devil shows himself.

of *Salem* in it, but also that the whole *political*, as well as *ecclesiastical* constitution of the country, would suffer by employing a minister of his character, did advise them to desist from "laying hands too suddenly upon him." And that which increased in them the suspicion of his *ill* character, was partly, indeed, his refusing to *communicate* with the church of Boston, because they would not make a publick and solemn declaration of repentance for their communicating with the church of England, while they were in the realm of England; (which the New-English reformers thought then would be to carry the matter as far beyond their sense, as the vulgar translation hath done to the text in Luke xv. 8, where, instead of *everrit domum*—"(*she swept the house*"—it reads, *evertit domum*, or "*she overset it*:") but partly his violent urging, that the civil magistrate might not punish breaches of the first table in the laws of the ten commandments; which assertion, besides the door which it opened unto a thousand profanities, by not being duly limited, it utterly took away from the authority all capacity to prevent the land, which they had purchased on purpose for their own *recess* from such things; its becoming such a "sink of abominations," as would have been the *reproach* and *ruin* of Christianity in these parts of the world. The church taking the advice of their *fathers* in the State, on this occasion, Mr. Williams removed unto Plymouth, where he was accepted as a preacher for the two years ensuing.

§ 3. But at Plymouth his turbulent and singular opinions not finding the entertainment which he expected, *he* desired a dismissal back to Salem from them; and *they*, perceiving the giddy courses of *separation*, whereto he would *abandon* himself, and whereby he might *endanger* them, wisely *humour'd* what he *desir'd*. Coming to Salem, in the time of Mr. Skelton's illness, the church, affected with the *fierceness* of his *talking* in publick, and the *starchtness* of his *living* in private, so far forgot themselves, as to renew their invitations unto him to become their pastor; and tho' the government again renewed their advice unto the people to forbear a thing of such ill consequence, yet *they* rashly pursued their motion, and *he* quickly accepted it. It happened that soon after this, the church made suit unto the court for a parcel of land, which lay commodious for their affairs; but the court, offended at the slight lately put upon them, delay'd their grant of what the church petitioned for; whereupon, incensed Mr. Williams enchants the church to join with him in writing letters of *admonition* unto all the churches whereof any of the magistrates were members, that they might admonish the magistrates of "scandalous injustice" for denying this petition. The neighbouring churches, both by petitions and messengers, took such happy pains with the church of Salem, as presently recovered that holy flock to a sense of his *aberrations*; which Mr. Williams perceiving, though he had a little before bragg'd, "that of all the churches in the world, those of New-England were the purest; and of all in New-England, that whereof himself was the teacher;" yet he now, stay-

ing at home, sent unto the church of Salem, then assembled, a letter, to give them notice, "that if they would not separate, as well from the churches of *New-England* as of *old*, he would separate from them." His more considerate church not yielding to these lewd proposals, he never would come to their assemblies any more; no, nor hold any *communion* in any exercise of religion with any person, so much as his own *wife*, that went up unto their assemblies; but at the same time he kept a meeting in his own house, whereto resorted such as he had infected with his *extravagancies*.

§ 4. These things were, indeed, very disturbant and offensive; but there were *two* other things in his *quixotism*, that made it no longer convenient for the civil authority to remain unconcerned about him. For, first, whereas the king of England had granted a royal charter unto the "governour and company" of this colony; which patent was indeed the very *life* of the colony; this hot-headed man publickly and furiously preached against the patent, as an "instrument of injustice," and pressed both rulers and people to be humbled for their sin in taking such a patent, and utterly throw it up; on an insignificant pretence of *wrong* thereby done unto the Indians, which were the natives of the country, therein given to the subjects of the English crown. Secondly, an order of the court, upon some just occasion had been made, that an "oath of fidelity" should be, though not *imposed* upon, yet *offered* unto the freemen, the better to distinguish those whose fidelity might render them capable of employment in the government: which order this man vehemently withstood, on a pernicious pretence that it was the prerogative of our Lord Christ alone to have his *office* established with an *oath*; and that an oath being the worship of God, *carnal persons*, whereof he supposed there were many in the land, might not be put upon it. These crimes at last procured a sentence of *banishment* upon him.

§ 5. The court, about a year before they proceeded unto the *banishment* of this *incendiary*, sent for the pastors of the neighbouring churches, to intimate unto them their design of thus proceeding against him; which yet they were loth to do, before they had advised the *elders* of it, because *he* was himself an elder. Mr. Cotton, with the consent of the other ministers, presented a request unto the magistrates, that they would please to *forbear* prosecuting of him, till they themselves, with their churches, had in a *church-way* endeavoured his conviction and repentance; for they alledged, that they hoped his *violences* proceeded rather from a *misguided conscience*, than from a *sedition principle*. The governour foretold unto them, "You are deceived in the man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you;" however, the proposal of the ministers was approved and allowed. But several of the churches having taken the best pains they could, tho' they happily brought the church of Salem to join with them in dealing with the man, yet the effect was, that he renounced them all, as *no churches* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Whereupon the court ordered his removal out of the jurisdiction.

§ 6. One passage that happened at his trial was a little odd. He complained in open court, that he was wronged by a slanderous report, as if he "held it unlawful for a father to call upon his child to eat his meat."

Mr. Hooker, then present, being moved hereupon to speak something, replied, "Why? You will say as much again, if you stand to your own principles, or be driven to say nothing at all." Mr. Williams expressing his confidence that he should never say it, Mr. Hooker proceeded: "If it be unlawful to call an unregenerate person to pray, since it is an action of God's worship, then it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to pray for a blessing upon his own meat. If it be unlawful for him to pray for a blessing upon his meat, it is unlawful for him to eat it; for it is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer, unsanctified: [1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.] If it be unlawful for him to eat it, it is unlawful for you to call upon him to eat it; for it is unlawful for you to call upon him to sin." Hereupon Mr. Williams chose to hold his peace, rather than make any answer: such the giddiness, the confusion, the *antocatacritic* of that *sectarian* spirit. I have read of a gentleman who had an humour of making singular and fanciful expositions of Scripture: but one Doctor Sim gave him a dose of *physick*, which, when it had wrought, the gentleman became *orthodox* immediately, and expounded at the old rate no more. Pity this Dr. Sim had but undertaken the cure of our Mr. Williams.

§ 7. Upon the sentence of the court, Mr. Williams with his party going abroad (as one says) to "seek their providences," removed into the southern parts of New-England, where he, with a few of his own sect, settled a place called Providence. There they proceeded not only unto the *gathering* of a thing like a church, but unto the *renouncing* of their *infant-baptism*; and at this further step of *separation* they stopped not, but Mr. Williams quickly told them, "that being himself misled, he had led them likewise out of the way;" he was now satisfied that there was none upon earth that could administer baptism, and so that their *last* baptism, as well as their *first*, was a *nullity*, for the want of a *called administration*; he advised them therefore to *forego* all, to *dislike* every thing, and wait for the coming of *new apostles*: whereupon they dissolved themselves, and became that sort of sect which we term *Seekers*, keeping to that one principle, "that every one should have the liberty to worship God according to the light of his own conscience;" but owning of no true *churches* or *ordinances* now in the word. It is a memorable reflection made on this occasion by Mr. Cotton, in a book which he published for his own vindication from the printed calumnies of Mr. Williams:

"It is a wise proverb," saith he, "of a wiser than Solomon: the 'backslider in heart [from any truth or way of God] shall be filled with his own ways.' They that separate from their brethren further than they have *just cause*, shall at length find cause, or at least think they have found cause just enough to separate from one another. I never yet heard of any instance to the contrary, either in England or Holland; and for New-England, there

is no such church of the separation at all that I know of. That separate church, (if it may be called a church) which separated with Mr. Williams, first broke into a division about a small occasion (as I have heard) and then broke forth into Anabaptism, and then into Antibaptism and familism, and now finally into no church at all."

§ 8. Mr. Williams, after this, was very instrumental in obtaining a charter for the government of Rhode-Island, which lay near and with his town of Providence, and was by the people sometimes chosen governour: but for the most part he led a more private life.

It was more than forty years after his exile that he lived here, and in many things acquitted himself so laudably, that many judicious persons judged him to have had the "root of the matter" in him, during the long winter of this retirement: He used many commendable endeavours to Christianize the Indians in his neighbourhood, of whose language, tempers and manners he printed a little relation with observations, wherein he *spiritualizes* the *curiosities* with two and thirty chapters, whereof he entertains his reader. There was always a good correspondence always held between him and many worthy and pious people in the colony, from whence he had been banish'd, tho' his keeping still so many of his dangerous principles kept the government, unto whose favour some of the English nobility had by letters recommended him, from taking off the sentence of his banishment. And against the Quakers he afterwards maintained the main principles of the Protestant religion with much vigour in some disputations; whereof he afterwards published a large account, in a book against George Fox and Edward Burrowes, which he entituled, "*George Fox digg'd out of his burrowes.*" But having reported thus much concerning Mr. Williams, we shall now supersede further mention of him, with the mention of another difference, which happened in our "primitive times," wherein he was (indeed but obliquely and remotely) concerned.

§ 9. It was about the year 1633 that one in *some* authority, under the *heat* of some impressions from the ministry of Mr. Williams, did by his *own* authority cut the *red-cross* out of the king's colours, to testify a zeal against the continuance or appearance of a *superstition*. This *hot action* met with a *warm censure*; and besides the mischiefs hereby occasioned among the trained soldiers, whereof some were loth to follow the *colours* which had the *cross*, lest they should put honour upon a Popish *idol*; others were loth to follow the colours which had not the *cross*, lest they should seem to cast off their allegiance to the crown of England; the business fell under agitation in the General Court.

The freemen of the colony show'd their displeasure at the gentleman chiefly concerned in this business, by discarding him from his place in the government; and a committee of those freemen, chosen by both magistrates and people, judged him to be guilty of a great offence, and worthy of admonition, and so to be one year disabled for bearing any publick office. An *harder* sentence was not passed, because real tenderness and

persuasion of *conscience*, and not any *ill-affected mind*, was the real original of his offence: but *so hard* a sentence was passed, as a signification of the desire which was rooted in the heart of the country, to approve themselves in all points thorough Englishmen and good subjects. Now, though the action of defacing the colours was generally disapproved, yet the *rite* of the "cross in the banner" became on this occasion a matter of controversie, wherein many pious and able men were differently perswaded; and some of our chief worthies maintained their different perswasions with *weapons* indeed no more dangerous than easie *pens*, and *effects* no worse than a little harmless and learned *ink-shed*, it will not be a thing unuseful or unpleasant unto a curious reader to have a brief *display* of that controversie.

§ 10. On the one side, they that pleaded against the use of "the cross in the banner," argued after this manner. The question is not, whether a private man may not march after his colours, which have the cross in them? for the Christian legions never scrupled following the *Labarum** of the Roman emperor, which was an idolatrous ensign. Yea, the Jews themselves, that made such earnest suit, first unto Pilate, and then unto Petronius, to have such an idolatrous ensign removed from the walls of their temple, yet without any scruple followed it into the field. Nor is it the question, whether the cross may be used in our colours, as a charm to protect us from enemies, to defend us from disasters, to procure victories unto us. The *faith* which the Roman Catholicks have in it, mentioned by Hoveden in the reign of Henry II., when England, France and Flanders distinguished themselves by their varieties of it, ever since retained, is abominable to all *real* Protestants. But the question is, whether the cross, as representing the cross of Christ, erected as a badge of Christianity, and a sign of distinction between Christians and Infidels, may by any prince or state be now in their banners reserved and employed? *This*, they approved not, and that for these reasons: *First*, That which God hath commanded utterly to be *destroyed*, should not be *retained* for the important uses of men; but God has commanded the "cross in the banner" to be destroyed. This may be thus proved: *images* of *idols* are commanded utterly to be destroyed: but the cross in the banner is the image of an idol, and the greatest idol in the church of Rome. The text in Deuteronomy, where this is commanded, will affect Christians as well as Jews; for the *moral reason* of the command still continues. If it be objected, that then the *temples* of idols were to be destroyed, it may be answered, Theodosius made a *law* that they should be so. However, we may distinguish between temples dedicated unto *idols*, and such temples as were dedicated unto *God* with *creatures*. The Papists, with Aquinas, deny their temples to have been dedicated unto *saints*; but affirm them dedicated unto the honour and service of God, for his blessings communicated by the saints, whose names are used on this occasion. These temples being purged from their "superstitious designa-

* Imperial standard.

tions," may be still used for our Christian assemblies, as our Saviour used the *Jewish water-pots* to turn the *water* into *wine*, tho' they were "superstitious purifications" for which they were placed there. Again, there is no *civil honour* to be given unto the image of an idol; the second commandment forbids all sort of honour, not only *sacred*, but *civil* also, to such an image; yea, and elsewhere, all mention of it with honour is prohibited. But now to advance the *cross* into the *banner*, is to put a *civil* and no little *honour* upon it: it is the cross in the ensign, which does now *insignire*, and render it *insign*; and it was the intention of Constantine to honour the cross, when he interdicted all executions of malefactors upon it, but improved it for his banner. Further, if the *figure* of the altar in *Damascus* might not be used as a badge of the religion and profession of the Israelites, then the figure of the cross may not be used as a badge of the religion and profession of the Protestants. For there is a like proportion; the Papists regard the cross as the altar whereon our Lord was offered: Now, such a figure of an altar was unlawful to the people of God. Once more, that which was *execrable* to our Lord, the sign of it should not be *honourable* to us. But so was the cross of our Lord; it made his death *accursed*; nor was it a pure instrument of meer martyrdom unto him. Moreover, if the partaking of *idolothytes* in the places where the idols are worshipped, express a communion with idols and idolaters, then the setting up of the cross in the places where idolaters do worship it, namely, in the banner, is an expression of communion in their idolatry. 'Tis true, such *meats*, when sold in the shambles, might be eaten without scruple of conscience; but besides this, that it was only a common place where these might be eaten; whereas the "cross in the banner" is in the temple, where the *apocalyptic Gentiles* do adore it; you may add, they were creatures of God, whereas the "cross in the banner" is only an humane contrivance. If it had been lawful for a man to have bought the *silver-shrines* of Diana, and have caused them to be worn for the cognisance of his family or his attendants; the cross might perhaps have been lawfully used in the banner for a cognisance. Finally, if the first use of the "cross in the banner," by Constantine, were superstitious, then "the first fruits being unclean, the whole lump of the following use is also unclean." But now, Eusebius will tell you, "that this saving sign the emperor used as a protection against all warlike and hostile powers." And Sozomen will tell you, that the emperor changed the image in the Roman *Labarum* for the sign of the cross, and so the soldiers, who were accustomed to worship the heathen imperial ensign, by the continual sight and worship of the cross, might be weaned from their country-rites, and brought on to worship that God alone whose sign it was." These were the chief of the considerations then urged against the cross by the faithful that were themselves in a wilderness, now preaching and suffering under the cross. That they thus argued, was not because they were those whom the apostle calls "enemies

unto the cross of our Lord;" they knew, they felt, they consented, that, *Omnis Christianus est Grucianus*—"every Christian must be a cross-bearer." Our king Edward I. was the comliest of men, tho' commonly called *crook-back*, by a mistake of the name *crouch-back*, [that is, *cross-back*] which name he has worn, because of his wearing a cross on his back. Our good old planters had the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ laid upon their back, by the manifold afflictions which they underwent for his truths and ways; but mankind will be mistaken, if they imagine those blessed soldiers, under the banners of the Lord Redeemer, to have been of a "defective stature" in Christianity, because of their not affecting to make the cross in their banners the *mark* of that Christianity. It is Catholicly—that is, *ridiculously*—enough given as the answer to the second question in the catechism, wherein the French new-converts are instructed; the question, "Whereby shall one know a true Christian?" the answer, *A ce qu'il fait le Signe de la Croix*; that is, "By this, that he makes the sign of the cross." Our New-Englanders were good Christians, but yet were loth to give the cross for the *sign* of their being so; they chose a *better sign* of it, by being themselves *crucified* unto the vanities of the world; that which made the cross disagreeable to them, was its being the great *idol* of Popery, which is but revived Paganism. As the primitive Christians, when the Pagans charged them with the veneration of the cross, answered, *Crucis nec Colimus, nec Optamus*;* this might a Minutius on the behalf of our New-English Christians have given for *their* answer also: If Tertullian reckoned it a scandal raised upon the primitive Christians, that they were, *Crucis Religiosi*,† you see the *New-English* Christians took an effectual course, that they might not on that part be scandalized.

§ 11. On the other side, they that pleaded for the use of "the cross in the banner," argued after this fashion: To state the question, we must know that it is necessary that there should be a *banner* displayed: and a banner with a cross in it, serves the end of a banner as much as any other. Had the *cross* never been *superstitiously abused*, the *civil use* of that figure could not be questioned; but the superstitious abuse is a thing that is added unto the civil use, and accordingly the superstitious abuse may again be removed from it; otherwise what a desolation of *bells* must be produced by a just *reformation* of superstitions? Wherefore, if the present authority does neither appoint nor declare any superstition in the observation of any civil usage, the superstition of that usage is at an end. Thus, tho' it be notoriously known that many persons in authority have their superstitious conceits about churches, yet, inasmuch as there is no *injunction* of *authority* upon private persons to approve any such conceits, 'tis no superstition in such persons to use those churches unto unlawful purposes. The question then is, whether the "civil use" of the "cross in the banner" may not be separated from the "superstitious abuse" of it? It seems that

* Crucifixes we neither worship nor want.

† Cross-worshippers.

it may; for—*first*, If *names* that have been abused for the honour of *idols*, may in a *civil way* be still used, then *things* that have been so abused, may be in like manner used for a civil distinction. But we find the names of Apollo and Phoebe, and the like, used in the “Apostolical salutations,” altho’ it had been a less difficulty for those persons to have changed the names at first sinfully impos’d on them, than for “the cross in the banner” to be now wholly laid aside. If any heathen king put an honour upon his idol Bel, by saying, “O Belteshazzar!” the Spirit of God may speak it without any honour to that idol at all. Again, it is one thing to describe a *cross*, as an *artificial* thing, by way of *civil signification*, and another thing to employ a *cross*, as a *sacramental* thing, by way of *sacred observation*; and in the *banner*, ’tis the *former*, not the *latter way*, that it is considered; when I am relating how a Papist *crosses* himself, I may lawfully express it by making an *aerial cross* like his; whereas it would not be lawful for me to make such a cross upon the *same ends* with him. And, what if the cross, as first used by Constantine, had in it somewhat unwarrantable? It follows not, that the *following use* of it is of the same *lump* with the *first*; for if it now be used upon another design, the *uncleanness* is taken away. Besides, Constantine brought the cross with as much unwarrantableness into his *coins*, as into his *colours*; but it is believed that most men, at this day, would count themselves very sorely *cross’d*, and their purses very *unhappy*, if there were none of those *crosses* in them. To proceed: Meats that were sacrificed unto idols might be eaten, when sold and bought in the market; now a *cross*, as an effect of *art*, is a creature of God’s, as well as any of the meats bred and cooked by men. And what if the *banner* be like the *temple* to the *idol*? One might have eaten the *idolothytes* in a chamber or corner of an idol temple, if there had been any such, where beholders would not have been scandalized. Such were the *colours of good and evil*, which were put upon the use of the *cross in the colours*, at the first settlement of the militia in these plantations. But there was nothing like a *war* appearing in the disputations of the good men, that thus *flourished* the matter on both sides. All the *velitations* were *peaceably furl’d up* in this result: that the *cross* was kept in the *banners of castles and vessels*, where it was necessary; and in the *banners of the trained bands* it was generally omitted, until it was very lately introduced.

§ 12. It will be now not *improper*—I am sure it will not be *unchristian*—in the same chapter which reports the disturbances of New-England, raised by Mr. Williams, to relate some further disturbances of the country, to the extinguishing whereof Mr. Williams very commendably contributed his assistances: For I freely acknowledge, with Tully, *Est iniqua in omni re accusanda, prætermisiss bovis, malorum enumeratio, vitiorumque selectio.**

Know, then, that in the year 1636 arrived at Boston one Samuel Gorton,

* An unfair summing up and setting forth of evils and vices, to the exclusion of what is good, is reprehensible under all circumstances.—CICERO, *de Legibus*, III. 10.

who by one of the best pens in those times is described as "a most prodigious Minter of exhorbiant novelties, and the very dregs of *familism*." This Gorton continued at Boston till some directions were sent hither to demand from him considerable sums of money, which he had borrowed at London; and then he removed out of the Massachuset-Colony. Coming to Plymouth, he began to spread his blasphemous and enormous opinions; but being upon some *civil controversie* with a neighbour brought before the court, he behaved himself so mutinously, seditiously and outrageously, that he was *fined* and sent out of that colony. From thence he went into Rhode-Island, where he affronted what little government they had with such intolerable insolences, that he was there *whipped* and sent out of *that* colony. The Knight Errant then made his progress over to Providence, with a misled *knot* of *squires*, where the humanity of Mr. Williams to them in that winter-season was requited, *snake-fashion*, with such cruel *stings* as made the inhabitants implore aid from the Massachuset-Bay. These wicked Gortonians began to seize the lands of certain Indians, which had submitted themselves unto the protection of the King of England, and sow such discords among the English, as threatened all manner of bloody confusion. Wherefore the authority of the Massachuset-Bay, being addressed by the distressed people, sent their agents to adjust the differences which had happened, and prevent the ruin of the King's interests, not merely in that "fag-end of the world," but in all these plantations. In the mean time, this crew of miscreants not only kept blowing up a flame of war between the English and the Indians, but also sent unto the English in the Bay one libel upon the back of another, stuff'd with scores of such envenomed *reproaches* against the rulers and churches, *denials* of all order, and *blasphemies* against every sacred thing, that the Massachuset-Colony could not in this extremity do God and the King better service, than by "going out of their line," (if it were a *going out* of it, for to send thus unto the help of our confederates, under whose *weaker jurisdiction* those wretches were so obstreperous, and upon whose *earnest application* it was undertaken) to lay hold on these malefactors as the "enemies of mankind." Accordingly, being by a band of men brought unto Boston, whither Mr. Williams and his fellow-planters had referred their cause, against a knot of *incendiaries* that had expressly declared, "All courts whatsoever to be idols, and the devices of Satan, and all pretended officers and lieutenants of Christ to be destroyers of the Holy One of Israel." The court proceeded unto an examination of their misdemeanours. About six of the chief ringleaders received sentence to be kept at work, in so many several towns, during the pleasure of the court; and they were also required, on a very severe penalty, to utter none of their profane *heresies*, except in conference with ministers, or such as might be allowed thereupon to confer with them; thus they were confined for one winter, and then banished. It were endless to reckon up the frenzies of this exhorbitant

and extravagant generation; but they held, "that Christ was but a shadow and figure of what is done in every Christian;" they held, "that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and was that image of God wherein Adam was created;" they held, "that our Lord's being born afterwards of the Virgin, and suffering, was but a manifestation of his suffering in Adam;" they said, "that man's losing of God's image was the death of Christ;" they said, "that faith and Christ is all one;" Sermons they called "lies, tales and falsehoods;" Churches, their name for them was, "devised platforms;" Baptism, they called, "vanity and abomination;" the Lord's Supper, they called, "An abomination and a spell;" and they called ministers, "magicians." Now, tho' the ministers, whom they so called, used all due pains to *charm* these *adders* with convincing disputations, when they were in the Bay, and indeed often drove them to a *bay* with argument, yet they would obstinately maintain their unmaintainable tenets. By the same token, that unto that nonsensical assertion of Gorton, "that the death of Christ was the death of God's image in the fall of Adam;" it being reply'd by Mr. Cotton, "that the death of Christ was the price of our redemption; whereas the fall of Adam was not the price of our redemption, but the cause of our condemnation;" the man by *silence* thereupon, *loudly proclaimed* himself confounded, and yet he would not revoke or disclaim his heretical nonsense. Gorton lived many years after this; degenerated into such a *beast* that *professedly*, as well as *practically* he declared, "that there is no happiness to be expected but in this life;" and he would advise his followers, "to make much of themselves, because they must have no more than what they should enjoy in the world." But it pleased God thus mercifully to deliver this his New-English people from the troubles with which these *pestilences* did endanger them.

§ 13. Reader, be content that the same chapter which has related the *controversies* that have sometimes disturbed the churches of New-England about matters, the *lawfulness* whereof has been *scrupled*, should leap over half an hundred years to grasp at another of those controversies, which, as late as the year 1688, was an occasion of some further disturbance; The *affinity*, rather than the *chronology* of the thing inviting us, in *this place* to lodge the history of that controversie.

When the charter of New-England were taken away, the governour, who with a treasonable and an arbitrary commission then tyrannized over the colonies, at length drove the New-Englanders to imitate the whole English nation, in an happy *revolution*, on the eighteenth of April, 1689. And in the *declaration*, which they published at and for this revolution, one article was this:

"To plunge the poor people every where into deeper incapacities, there was one very comprehensive abuse given to us: multitudes of pious and sober men thro' the land scrupled the mode of *swearing on the book*, desiring that they might swear with an *uplifted hand*, agreeable to the ancient custom of the colony; and tho' we think we can prove that the

common law amongst us (as well as in some other places under the English Crown) does not only indulge, but even command and enjoin the rite of *lifting the hand* in swearing, yet they that had this doubt were still put by from serving upon any juries, and many of them were most unaccountably *fined* and *imprisoned*. This one grievance is a Trojan horse, in the belly of which 'tis not easie to recount how many insufferable vexations have been contained."

The Christians of New-England were not the only persons that have scrupled the lawfulness of swearing, *Tactis Evangeliiis*,* on and by the gospels. Those famous divines, Rivet, Paræus and Vœtius, have all of them written against it; Dr. Goodwyn and Mr. Nye reckoned it "the worst of all the English ceremonies:" and that blessed martyr, Mr. William Thorp, did refuse to comply with that mode of swearing; declaring that Chrysostom long before him was against a *book-oath*, as well as he; and arguing, "If I touch the book, the meaning of that ceremony is nothing else but that I swear by it, when it is not lawful to swear by any creature." It is well known that in Scotland, and the reformed churches abroad, that *ceremony* is not used; and even in the English Courts of Admiralty, another form of swearing is frequently practised: yea, there was once an ordinance of Parliament in England, for the ease of those consciences which doubted such a form of swearing. The varieties among the primitive Christians, in the modes of swearing, are too *many*, and some of them too *faulty*, to be recited; but this I am sure of, Athanasius of old would use no rite in swearing, but that of *lifting up the hand unto Heaven*. However, it may be the Christians of New-England are the only ones in the world that ever suffered a formal *persecution*, by *finés* and *gaols*, for bearing their testimony unto "purity of worship," in that great point of *worship*, an *oath*: and perhaps these Christians might bear a part in *finishing the testimony* to be born unto the laws of our Lord Jesus Christ in the world, by patiently suffering this persecution, while the Quakers, who refused all swearing at all, did undergo no such hardships from the government. Now, the reasons that moved these *confessors* hereunto are easily understood. They were of this old Puritan principle; that all *religious worship* not commanded by God is *forbidden*; and that all *symbolical ceremonies* enjoined on men in religious worship, are made parts of it. More closely; they judged that our *swearing ON the gospel*, is a *swearing BY the gospel*, and therefore idolatrous. That this mode of swearing was *originally* a signification of *swearing BY the gospel*, is evident from all the interpretation, which not only the old canon-law, but also the old common-law, explain'd in old *precedents*, has given of it; and no particular magistrate has power to put any other *interpretation* upon the law, than what the *law* has given of it self; much less can a *private person* do so. Yea, the mode is *naturally* and *necessarily*, as well as *originally*, a *swearing BY the gospel*; for else it must signifie only the *presence* and *consent* of the person that swears. But first, our statute-law has positively superseded any such pretence

* With the wand of the gospels.

wherein the "oath of supremacy" concludes, "by the contents of this book:" and besides, there is no *proportion* of things to countenance that pretence: the touching of a *table*, would signifie this, as much as the touching of the *Bible*. The Bible is a *sacred thing*; to put it unto a meer *civil use*, is a *profane abuse* of it, in such a solemn and serious business, as the dispensing of right between man and man: why? it leaves out a respect unto the Bible, which is always due unto it. With a contingent and overly act, I may perhaps look on the Bible only as a *book*, made of *paper* and *cover*; but in a stated, solemn, serious *act*, such as a "process of law," the Bible may not be *singled out* for a less use than what the word of the Most High God is to be preferred for. Whereas, if we take the general acknowledgment of them that *swear ON the gospel*, they tell us, 'tis to procure *devotion*, and affect them with the consideration of the *rules* they are to use in swearing, and the *woes* they incurr if they use them not. Now, say we, our Lord hath directed us to do this, by *hearing* and *reading* his word; not by a bare *touching* of it: nor may a *transient motive* to piety be made a *stated medium*. Or else, they tell us, 'tis to *express* devotion; 'tis in *this way* that they make their *imprecation* and their *invocation*; 'tis their external declaration, "that they swear by the God who made this book, and expect the plagues written in this book, if they swear a falsehood." Now, this is a *way of worship* which the Lord never instituted. In fine, 'tis a *wrong religious application in a prayer*; an *oath* is a *prayer*, and a *creature* is in this mode of swearing applied unto, as well as Almighty God; yea, God is applied unto thro' a creature: and non-conformists reckon the second commandment violated by such applications. The *religious forms* of addressing to God, we say, are to be appointed by none but God himself: whereas the *elevation of the hand* has, even for *sacred* as well as for *civil* uses, and in an *oath* particularly, had such unexceptionable approbation, that the faithful of New-England chose it, and "chose rather to suffer affliction," than to use a *rite* in the worship of God, which they suspected sinful.

Reader, we will only take this occasion to recite a good passage of Dr. Owen's: "If, instead of driving all sorts of persons, the worst, the vilest of men, on slight, or light, or no occasions unto swearing, none might be in any case admitted thereunto, but such as evidence in their conversations such a regard unto the Divine rule and government of the world, as is required to give the least credibility to an oath, it would be much better with humane society." And now we'll pass on to other matters.

CHAPTER III.

HYDRA DECAPITATA;*

OR, THE FIRST SYNOD OF NEW-ENGLAND, QUELLING A STORM OF ANTINOMIAN OPINIONS,

AND MANY REMARKABLE EVENTS RELATING THEREUNTO.

Sic Deus inducta nostras Caligine Terras Occuluit.†

§ 1. THE church of God had not long been in this wilderness, before the dragon cast forth several *floods* to devour it; but not the least of those floods was one of Antinomian and familistical heresies, with which the countrey began betimes to be infested. That which was then the most considerable of our churches, had several considerable persons belonging thereunto, who broached certain *opinions*; first of an Antinomian, and then of a Familistical tendency; and the stir which they made about these opinions grew so general, that they quickly affected all the public affairs of the countrey; but that which made the whole business to be the more *perplexed* was, that as that horrid montanist, Wightman, professed that he had all his grounds from the great ARTHUR HILDERSHAM, so the name of the no less great JOHN COTTON, was abused by these busie *sectaries*, for the patronage of their whimsies. 'Tis believed that multitudes of persons, who took in with both parties, did never to their dying hour understand what their *difference* was: by the same token, in the heighth and heat of all the difference, when some ships were going from hence to England, Mr. Cotton, in the whole congregation, advised the passengers to tell our countrymen at home, "that all the strife here was about magnifying the grace of God; the one person seeking to advance the grace of God *within* us, as to sanctification; and another person seeking to advance the grace of God *towards* us, as to justification;" and Mr. Wilson stood up after him, declaring, on the other side, "that he knew none that did not labour to advance the grace of God in both." Nevertheless, there did arise in the land a *distinction* between such as were under a COVENANT OF WORKS, and such as were under a COVENANT OF GRACE; wherein the bigger part of the countrey, in the management of that enquiry, "By what evidence must a man proceed in taking to himself the comforts of his justification;" laid upon our *sanctification* the first and main stress of our comfortable *evidence*. But the opinionists were for another sort of evidence as their *chief*; namely, "The spirit of God by a powerful application of a promise," begetting in us, and revealing to us a powerful *assurance* of our being *justified*. Now, though the *truth* might easily have united *both* of these perswasions; yet they that were of the latter way, carried the matter on to a very *perillous door*, opened not only for new *enthusiastical revelations*,

* The hydra beheaded.

† Thus God shrouded our earth with overshadowing darkness.

but also for a neglect of such *qualifications* in all *godliness* and *honesty*, as must be found in all that would be *prospered*, and not *rejected* in their *confidences*. Yea, they employed their distinctions about a "covenant of works," and a "covenant of grace," at so extravagant a rate, as threatned a subversion to all the peaceable order in the colonies. They drove at this: that the most virtuous man upon earth might not be admitted into the churches, without professing that, renouncing of *sanctification*, as the *evidence* of his good state, he waited for *immediate revelations* to assure him of it; and such as were already in church-communion, unless they become fond of the *new-lights* in this thing pretended unto, were presently branded as favouring "a covenant of grace." The contention spread it self even into families, and all private and smaller societies, who were to be accounted under a "covenant of works," and so enemies unto the Lord Jesus Christ; and who were *not*! Which was determined among the busie sectaries, by a person's accommodating himself unto their *fine-spun* speculations. *Illic ipsum esse fuit promereri*.^{*} The disturbance proceeded from thence into all the general affairs of the publick; the expedition against the Pequot Indians was most shamefully discouraged, because the army was too much under a "covenant of works;" and the magistrates began to be contemned as being of a *legal spirit*, and having therewithal a tang of Antichrist in them; nor could the ordering of town-lots, or town-rates, or any meetings whatsoever, escape the confusions of this controversie. 'Tis incredible what alienations of mind, and what a very *Calenture* the devil raised in the countrey upon this odd occasion: but it may not be amiss to describe a little more particularly the *methods* whereof the devil therein served his interests. The sectaries acquainted themselves with as many as possibly they could, and carried on their acquaintance with all the courtesies and kindnesses that they could contrive to ingratiate themselves in the hearts of others, especially of *new comers* into the place. They herewithal appeared wondrous holy, humble, self-denying, and spiritual, and full of the most charming expressions imaginable, "free grace," "gospel truth," "glorious light," and "holding forth of Christ," was all their tone; and meeting with Christians that had any *doubts* in their minds about their own future happiness, they would insinuate into them that they had never taken a "right course for comfort," by going to *evidence* their good estate by their *sanctification*, but that there was a more evangelical way to peace, by which they themselves were got above all their fears forever. They began usually to seduce *women* into their notions, and by these women, like their first mother, they soon hook'd in the *husbands* also. Having wrought themselves any where into a good esteem, they set themselves with a manifold subtilty to undermine the esteem of the ministers, and intimate that their *teachers* themselves, never having been "taught of God," had mis-taught and mis-led the people;

* There, to be one of them, was to deserve well.

whence it came to pass, that even some who had followed these ministers three thousand miles, thro' ten thousand deaths, yet now took up such prejudices, not only against their *doctrines*, but against their *persons* also, that they did never care to hear them, or see them any more. They administered their poisons in smaller doses, and not without *preparatives*, wherein, if any made any boggle, they would presently retreat and say, "Nay, don't mistake me, for I mean the same that you do; we differ only in words." And they would be sure still to father their whimsies upon such persons as were held in most *veneration* throughout the country; but if they were brought face to face, they would still wind out with some cunning evasions. Thus they went on, until they had got some noted persons in *all orders* to patronise them; and then 'tis impossible to describe the censures, the contempts, the affronts cast upon the best men in the law, as men "ignorant of Christ;" and the terrible disorder and contention that ensued in all societies.

§ 2. The ministry of the country, awakened by these *noises* about the temple, had several meetings, that they might set matters to rights; all which were ineffectual, until the General Court called a *SYNOD* of all the churches in the country to meet at Cambridge, in the year 1637. In preparation whereunto there were three things attended: One was a solemn fast, kept in all the churches, for the good success of the approaching synod; another was a *collection* of all the erroneous and offensive opinions, which called for the disquisitions that might extinguish them; a third was a *conference* with Mr. Cotton about any positions or expressions of his that might have countenanced any of those opinions. But, that my reader also may be prepared for the actions of the synod, I would humbly ask him what he thinks of the relation given us of the first Nicene Synod by Eutychius, an author of the first ages, recommended by Selden and Pocock, as one of irreproachable fidelity? That author (whose history, in Arabic, never seen, I suppose, by Salmasius or Blondel, is by some thought in this matter much more probable than that of Eusebius and Socrates) does relate unto us, that upon the letters of Constantine summoning the synod, there were no less than two thousand and forty-eight bishops who came to town; but that the most by far of them were so grossly ignorant and erroneous, that upon the recommendation of Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, the emperor singled out but three hundred and eighteen, who were all of them "orthodox children of peace," and none of those contentious blades that put out *libels* of accusation one against another; and that by the emperor's happy chusing and heeding of these three hundred and eighteen, [Reader, compare Gen. xiv. 14,] the orthodox religion came to be established. Reader, the government of New-England was not now put upon the *singling out* of a few bishops from a multitude convened in a synod, for the securing of the *true faith*; but thou shalt see them "all of one heart in contending for the faith once delivered unto the saints."

§ 3. Tho' the *fast* prefatory to the synod were not *for strife*, yet there happened something on the *fast* which did but more increase and inflame the *strife*. A minister who then preached at Boston, where was then the chief audience of the country, in the sermon let fall many passages which amounted unto thus much, "that the magistrates and ministers of the country walked in such a way of salvation, and the evidence thereof, as was a 'covenant of works;'" which passages were aculeated by resembling such as were under that covenant unto Jews, and Herods, and Philistines, and Antichrists; and exhorting such as were under the "covenant of grace," to combat those as their greatest enemies, and quickening those who feared, lest a *combustion* should hence arise in the commonwealth, by telling them of Michael and the Dragon, and the "burning of the whore."

For these things, the court proceeding to animadvert upon this preacher as guilty of great *sedition* [having for *this* their interpretation of his misdemeanour, a warrant of both Cicero, according to whom, *seditio, est dissensio omnium inter se, cum eunt alii, in aliud*;* and Isidore, according to whom, *sediciosus est, qui dissensionem animorum facit et discordias gignit*.†] he was under such *enchantment* that he could be brought by no means to see his evil; but they were compelled by his obstinacy to order his "removal out of their jurisdiction." However, being a man that had the "root of the matter" in him, after six or seven years he *awoke* out of a *sleep*; which had been as long as what Cranzius tells us befel a scholar at Lubec, he addressed the government, with acknowledging:

"Upon the long and mature consideration of things, I perceive that the main difference between *yourselves*, and some of the reverend elders and *me*, in point of *justification*, and the *evidencing* thereof, is not of that nature as was then presented unto me in the *false glass* of Satan's temptations, and now my own distempered passions; which makes me unfeignedly sorry that I had such an hand in those sharp and vehement *contentions* raised thereabouts, to the great disturbance of the churches of Christ. It is the grief of my soul that I used such vehemence, censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any dishonour on your worships, the reverend elders, or any of the contrary judgment unto myself. I repent me that I did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgments, to the countenancing and encouraging of them in any of their errors or evil practices, tho' I intended no such thing; and that in the synod I used such *unsafe* and *obscure* expressions falling from me, as a man 'dazzled with the buffetings of Satan.' I confess that herein I have done sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon of your honoured selves; and if it shall appear to me by Scripture light, that in any carriage, word or writing, I have walked contrary to rule, I shall be ready, by the grace of God, to give satisfaction."

Upon this most ingenious acknowledgment, he was restored unto his former *liberty* and *interest* among the people of God; and lived almost forty years after, a valued servant of the church in his generation. But that I may in all things do the part of an *impartial historian*, I must add, that this good man, being moved by Jerome's maxim, *in suspitione hæreseos*

* Sedition is universal dissension, when one rushes to one thing and one to another.—*De Repub.*

† He is seditious, who kindles a dissension among different minds, and engenders discord.

nolo quenquam esse patientem,* and by Austin's *qui, fidens conscientie suae, negligit famam suam, crudelis est*;[†] published a vindication of himself against the wrongs that by Mr. Weld and by Mr. Rutherford had been done unto him. In this vindication, he not only produces a speech of Mr. Cotton, "I do conceive and profess, that our brother Wheelright's doctrine is according to God in the points controverted;" but also a declaration from the whole General Court of the colony, signed by the secretary, August 24, 1654, upon the petition of Mr. Wheelright's church at Hampton; in which declaration they profess, "that hearing that Mr. Wheelright is, by Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Weld, rendered in some books printed by them as heretical and criminous, they now signifie, that Mr. Wheelright hath for these many years approved himself a sound orthodox, and profitable minister of the gospel among these churches of Christ."

§ 4. The synod being assembled, with the Reverend Mr. Thomas Hooker and Mr. Peter Bulkly, chosen its moderators at Cambridge (then called by the name of New-Town) on August 30, 1637, there were produced about *eighty-two* erroneous opinions and expressions, which had been uttered in the country by several men at several times. The *authors* of those errors were neither mentioned nor enquired; but the *errors* themselves were considered, confuted and condemned from the plain word of God: for, indeed, the design of the synod was not, *jus dare*‡, but only *jus dicere*,§ and to exercise only a power *decisive* of *doctrines*, not *judicial*, on *persons*; leaving it unto particular churches to pass their censures on the persons who should hold the doctrines by the determination of the synod, found subversive to the "fundamentals of religion." And hence, when some of the more hypocritical *sectaries* began to grow at last pretty clamorous, in demanding the *names* of such as held the *dogmes* then opposed, (for the *true parents* of the brats began to discover themselves when the synod was going to employ the *sword* upon them!) some of the civil magistrates then present, as *members* of the assembly, were forced, as *justices of the peace*, to preserve the *peace* of the assembly, by commanding silence to those litigious talkers. What these errors were, 'tis needless now to repeat; they are dead and gone; and for me, beyond hope of resurrection; 'tis pity to rake them out of their graves; 'tis enough to say they were of an Antinomian and Familistical tendency. All that needs to be added is, that the synod's result upon these *heterodoxies*, was not formed into such arbitrary and hereticating *anathemas*, as were practiced in the councils of the ancients; but the *error* being first fairly recited, there was only a short reflection made upon it after this manner: "this is contrary to such and such a text of Scripture," [then and there subjoin'd] which in the quotation thereof being briefly applied unto the case, did unto *reasonable men* immediately smite the error under the fifth rib.

* I wish no man to be patient under an imputation of heresy.

† He who, trusting in an easy conscience, neglects his reputation, is cruel.

‡ To make laws.

§ To interpret laws.

The result of the synod was published, and tho' the hydra of error were now stirring in the country with such a virulent and malignant influence, yet that "sword of the Lord," the sacred Scripture, being thus wisely employed, soon dispatched "the apostate serpent."

§ 5. The synod then thought it *convenient*—nay, necessary—for them to come into a good understanding with Mr. Cotton, who was himself not the *least part* of the country; the rather, because the sectaries, through the country, had basely made use of his name to patronise their opinions; and, indeed, his *charity*, wherein he was known to be truly eminent, inclining him to suspect no more *evil* of *them*, than what they would profess or confess to him in their personal conversation with him, exposed him the more to their pretences of his patronage.

There were five questions offered unto that great man, unto which *questions* he gave *answers*; and unto those *answers* the synod gave *replies*; and unto those *replies* he gave *returns*; and unto those *returns* the synod gave *rejoinders*; till their *collisions* fetch'd I know not whether more *light* or *love* unto one another. Because 'twill not be easie to give a fair and full representation of what passed on both sides, without the trouble of transcribing whole sheets of paper, I shall not now trouble the world with the debated questions, much less with the debates upon the questions; the reader that is desirous to see them, shall find them in Mr. Cotton's treatise about "*The Way of Congregational Churches*:" only let it be remarked, that the nature and import of the questions, and the zeal with which they were handled, intimate something of the *holy temper* then prevailing among the body of this people. The questions were about the *order* of things, in our *union* with our Lord Jesus Christ; about the influence of our *faith*, in the application of his *righteousness*; about the use of our *sanctification*, in evidencing of our *justification*; and about the consideration of the Lord Jesus Christ by men, yet under a "covenant of works."

Briefly, they were the points whereon depend the grounds of our *assurance* for blessedness in another and a better world. Now, I cannot learn that Mr. Cotton ever made any notable variation of his opinions or expressions in these matters, from what we find published afterward in his treatise of the "*New Covenant*;" a treatise whereof I need say no more but the famous Mr. Caryl ushered it into the world with his recommendations. Nor indeed am I without a vehement suspicion that Mr. Cotton was really *one* with his antagonists, whatever seeming *difference* there was between them. And, if my reader will, as I do, believe Mr. Baxter, that neither Nestorius nor Cyril were heretical *de re*,* but that both of them were of *one mind*, the one speaking of the *abstract*, the other speaking of the *concrete*; and that yet interest, prejudice and faction put them upon such quarrelsome *heretications* one against another, as enkindled a lamentable flame in the world which is not even to this day extinguished; he will

* Respecting the matter.

easily believe that these good men might misunderstand one another. However, Mr. Cotton came to such an amiable and amicable correspondence with the rest of the ministers, that although in this "time of temptation," he had throughout these churches laboured under the hard character of being the chief *abettor* to the errors whereby the tranquillity of the churches had been disturbed, yet he now most effectually joined with the other ministers in witnessing against those errors; and having, like the moon in its eclipse, with an exemplary patience held on his course of serving the church of God, until the strength of the *enchantments* attending this "hour of temptation" was a little dissolved, he recovered all his former splendor among the other stars.

—*Velut inter Ignes Luna Minores.**

Yea, his latter days were indeed "like the clear shining of the sun after the rain." But, if my reader will not be satisfied without a more particular account of Mr. Cotton's conduct in the synod, I shall honestly tell him that, albeit, when the eighty-two errors were finally condemned in the synod, Mr. Cotton did (without setting his hand unto the condemnation) freely declare, "that he disrelished all those opinions and expressions, as being some of them heretical, some of them blasphemous, some of them erroneous, and all of them incongruous." Nevertheless, there was a *dark day* in the synod, wherein Mr. Cotton did, with the great Chamins, seem to assert, "that the habit of faith in us, is the effect of our justification;" and solemn speeches were made with tears, lamenting it that they should in this important matter dissent from a person so venerable and considerable in the countrey. Such arguments were brought, as being first *called*, and then *justified*; and *faith* being in our *union* with Christ, but our *union* being in order to our being *justified*, and our being under the *wrath* of God, while yet *unbelievers*: and Abraham's believing, and so being justified; and that otherwise, a man must seek to be *justified*, that so he may *believe*; not seek to *believe*, that so he may be *justified*; and that the *justification* handled in the epistle to the Romans is God's judicial act, and not our bare apprehension thereof; and that the *place* which the *false* teachers assigned unto *works* in *justification* was *before* it, and that *faith* took the place of those *works*. But after sorrowful discourses, *pro* and *con*,† upon these arguments, Mr. Cotton the next morning made an excellent speech unto the assembly, tending towards an accommodation of the controversie. This disposition in Mr. Cotton was very nettling to the sectaries, who still promised themselves great advantages from his remaining in any thing a *dissenter*; and they tried by all the obstreperous ways imaginable to hinder the reconciliation. But the synod greedily and joyfully laid hold on the reconciling offers of Mr. Cotton; and they at length agreed, "that we are not united and married unto the Lord Jesus Christ without faith, giving

* Like the fair moon among the lesser fires.

† For and against.

an actual consent of soul unto it: that God's effectual calling of the soul unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and the soul's apprehending by an act of faith the offered righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, is in order of nature before God's act of justification upon the soul: that in the testimony of the holy Spirit, which is the evidence of our good estate before God, the qualifications of inherent graces, and the fruits thereof, proving the sincerity of our faith, must ever be co-existent, concurrent, co-apparent, or else the conceived testimony of the Spirit is either a delusion or doubtful." An happy *conclusion of the whole matter*.

§ 6. Mankind has heard the doleful and woful complaints of the renowned Gregory Nazianzen, concerning the *councils* in his days: 'Tis known in what epistle of his he says, "If I must write the very truth, I am of the mind to fly from every such meeting; for I never saw a joyful and happy end of any council; nor any that procured not a greater augmentation than reformation of mischiefs;" and in what oration of his he says, "Our votes follow either our hatred or our friendship; we are not constant to our selves, but even like the waving Euripus; and for my part, I count it as unseemly for me to join with them in their councils, as it would be for me to leave my studies, and go to play with the boys in the street."

But had our Gregory seen the blessed effects of this *council*, he would not have expressed his complaints in terms thus *universal*. The ministers, returning from the synod unto their several churches, applied themselves with a vigorous unanimity in their ministry, to *root up* the errors which had been by the synod thunder-struck; and the good understanding produced among the members of the synod, extended its influence unto all the churches therein represented. But before the breaking up of the synod, there were two other things particularly spoken to. One thing was this: It had been a *custom* in many congregations that the ministers allowed their people the liberty still, after sermon, to propose what questions they thought fit for their further satisfaction about any points which had been delivered; which liberty was oftentimes made an occasion of much contention, vexation and folly in the assemblies: But this custom now underwent the condemnations of the synod. Another thing was this: The governour, knowing that the country had been exercised with some difficulties about "the way of raising a maintenance for the ministry," now desired that the synod would propound the most *evangelical way* for it, which the General Court might enact into a law; but they one and all said, "that they did not care to meddle with that matter, lest it should be reflected on them, that they were for their own ends there come together." At last, for the close of all, Mr. Davenport, at the request of the synod, preached on Phil. iii. 16: "Nevertheless whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing;" from whence, laying down the true original of differences among the people of God, he declared the result of the present synod, and exhorted all to endeavour

the peace of the churches in the prosecution of that result. And from this time accordingly there was *peace* with *truth* established.

§ 7. Among the more memorable *occurrences*, which were the *consequents* of this most useful synod, one was the *discipline* exercised in the church of Boston upon the principal of the sectaries; but I must herewithal put my reader upon the *wonder* of beholding, that as for the *sedition* disturbance raised in the country by the distinction between "people under the covenant of works," and "people under the covenant of grace," whereby people were sometimes hurried into *works* that shewed little of *grace* in them.

DUX FEMINA FACTA.*

The whole of Tertullian's complaint about the ancient Gnosticks was instanced, and indeed overdone in our opinionists, *Omnes tument, Omnes scientiam pollicentur, ipsæ Mulieres Hæreticæ quum sunt procaces!*† It is the mark of *seducers* that they lead captive silly women; but what will you say, when you hear of *subtil women* becoming the most remarkable of the *seducers*? 'Tis noted of *seducers* that, like their father the devil, the old, the first seducer, they usually have a special design upon the *weaker sex*, who are more easily *gained* themselves, and then are fit instruments for the *gaining* of their husbands unto such *errors* as will cause them to *lose* their souls at last. Simon Magus traded with his Helena, and Montanus with his Maximilla, for the more effectual propagation of their heresies, as Jerom long since observed, and as Epiphanius tells us. Arius promoted his blasphemies by first proselyting seven hundred *virgins* thereunto. Indeed, a *poysen* does never insinuate so quickly, nor operate so strongly, as when *women's milk* is the *vehicle* wherein 'tis given. Whereas the prime seducer of the whole faction which now began to threaten the country with something like a Munster tragedy, was a woman, a gentlewoman, of "an haughty carriage, busie spirit, competent wit, and a voluble tongue;" among whose relations at this day there are so many worthy and useful persons, that for their sakes I would gladly contrive some way to relate so important a story as that of her affairs, without mentioning of her name; and therefore I will cover it with a convenient *periphrasis*. Behold, reader,

Nulla fere causa est, in qua non femina lilem moverit.‡

§ 8. This our erroneous gentlewoman, at her coming out of Lincolnshire in England unto New-England, upon pretence of religion, was well respected among the professors of *this* religion; and this the more, because at the meetings of the women, which used to be called *gossippings*, it was her manner to carry on very pious discourses, and so put the neighbourhood upon examining their spiritual estates, by telling them how far a person might go in "trouble of mind;" and being restrained from very

* Women made leaders.

† All are puffed up, and all give promise of wisdom; even the women are become most wanton heretics.

‡ There are few controversies where a woman is not at the bottom of them.

many *evils*, and constrained unto very many *duties*, by none but a *legal work* upon their souls, without ever coming to a "saving union with the Lord Jesus Christ," that many of them were convinced of a very great defect in the settlement of their everlasting peace, and acquainted more with the "Spirit of the gospel," than ever they were before. This mighty *show* and *noise* of devotion, procured unto our dame, THE NON-SUCH, the reputation of Hutchenson a *non-such* among the people; until at [Anagr.] length, under the pretence of that warrant, "that the elder women are to teach the younger," she set up weekly meetings at her house, whereto threescore or fourscore people would resort, that they might hear the sermons of Mr. Cotton repeated, but in such a sort, that after the repetition, she would make her explicatory and applicatory declamations, wherein what she confirmed of the sermons must be *canonical*, but what she omitted all *Apocrypha*.

It was not long before 'twas found that most of the errors, then crawling like vipers about the countrey, were hatched at these meetings; where this notable woman, who called herself another *Priscilla*, to "instruct others more perfectly," did set herself "most perfectly to confound" all the interests of Christianity with damnable doctrines, which maintained "our personal union with the Spirit of God," and, "the insignificancy of sanctification to be any evidence of our good estate;" and, "the pertinency of commands to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, and give all diligence to make our calling and election sure, unto none but such as were in a covenant of works;" and, "the setting up of immediate revelation about future events, to be believed as equally infallible with the Scriptures:" and it was wonderful to see with what a speedy and spreading *fascination* these doctrines did *bewitch* the minds of people, which one would not have imagined capable of being so *besotted*.

She was all this while so cunning, that Mr. Cotton could get no better *evidences* of her broaching these opinions, than she had of her own justification; but still unto him, and such as came from him, she would express herself with a satisfying *orthodoxy*; however, whilst Mr. Cotton's candour was thus abused, he faithfully told her that he doubted that she would at last be found *not right*; and this for *three things* which he had observed in her: one was that her *faith* was not *produced*, and scarce ever *strengthened*, according to her own relation, by the public ministry of the word, but by her own private meditations and revelations; another was that she clearly discerned her *justification*, according to her own confession, but little or nothing at all her *sanctification*: A third was, that she was more sharply *ensorious* about the states and hearts of *other people*, than the "self-judging servants of God" used to be. And now attend the issue!

§ 9. At last full proof was obtained that this gentlewoman was not the *Priscilla* pretended, but rather deserving the name of the prophetess in the church of Thyatira; it was proved that more than a score of Anti-

nomian and familistical errors had been held forth by her, and the church was resolved that she should no more *seduce* the *servants* of the Lord. The *admonitions* of the church were by the elders, according to the rule of the gospel, given unto her; and after many endeavours of Mr. Cotton to convince her, she did seem to be convinced of her many erroneous ways, both in *judgment* and *practice*; therewithal presenting under her own hand, before the whole church of Boston—yea, before many churches then assembled at the lecture in Boston—a *recantation* of them. Nevertheless, under such an infatuation of *pride* she was, that whilst the church was debating about this recantation, she did with a strange confidence and impudence assert, “that she never was really of any opinion contrary to the declaration she had now made.” However, some of her expressions had been misconstrued: whereupon many witnesses arose, which demonstrated her guilty of gross *lying* in that assertion: and that caused Mr. Cotton to say, that her case was now altered: for being now convicted of lying, he thought she was to be *cast out* with them that “love and make a lie.” So, with the full consent of the church, the sentence of *excommunication* was passed upon her.

§ 10. But the *seditions* raised in the country by the means of this *Virago*, procured the animadversions of the *court*, as well as the *church* upon her; before which being brought, she made a canting harrangue about her “immediate revelations;” concluding her speech with these words:

“I will give you one place more which the Lord brought to me by *immediate revelations*: and that doth concern you all; it is in Dan. vi. ‘When the presidents and princes could find nothing against him, because he was faithful, they sought matter against him concerning the law of his God, to cast him into the lion’s den.’ So it was revealed unto me, that they should plot against me; but the Lord bid me not fear, for he that delivered Daniel and the three children, his hand was not shortned. And see this Scripture this day fulfilled in mine eyes; therefore take heed what you go about to do unto me; for you have no power over my body, neither can you do me any harm; for I am in the hands of the Eternal JEHOVAH my Saviour; I am at his appointment; the bounds of my habitation are east in heaven; I fear none but the great Jehovah, who hath foretold me of these things; and I do verily believe that he will deliver me, and this by miracle, out of your hands. Therefore take heed how you proceed against me; for I know that, for this you go about to do to me, God will ruin you, and your posterity, and this whole state.”

She also insisted much upon that Scripture, “Tho’ I make a full end of all nations, yet will I not make a full end of thee.” But the court put an end to her vapouring talk; and finding no hope of reclaiming her from her scandalous, dangerous and *enchanting* extravagancies, ordered her to depart out of the colony: so she went first into Rhode Island; but not liking to stay there, she removed her family unto a Dutch plantation called Hebgate; where, within a little while, the Indians treacherously and barbarously murdered them, to the number of sixteen persons, on the occasion of a quarrel they had with the Dutch thereabouts; and made an end of scarce any but her family among all the neighbour nations.

§ 11. While these things were managing, there happened some very surprizing *prodigies*, which were lookt upon as testimonies from Heaven, against the ways of those greater prodigies, the sectaries. The *erroneous gentlewoman* her self, convicted of holding about *thirty* monstrous opinions, growing big with child, and at length coming to her time of travail, was delivered of about *thirty* monstrous births at once; whereof some were bigger, some were lesser; of several figures; few of any perfect, none of any *humane* shape. This was a thing generally then asserted and believed; whereas, by some that were eye-witnesses, it is affirmed that these were no more *monstrous births*, than what it is frequent for women, labouring with *false conceptions*, to produce. Moreover, one very nearly related unto this gentlewoman, and infected with her heresies, was on October 17, 1637, delivered of as hideous a *monster* as perhaps the sun ever lookt upon. It had no head: the face was below upon the breast: the ears were like an ape's, and grew upon the shoulders; the eyes and mouth stood far out; the nose was hooking upwards; the breast and back were full of short prickles, like a thorn-back; the navel, belly, and the distinction of sex, which was female, were in the place of the hips; and those back-parts were on the same side with the face; the arms, hands, thighs and legs, were as other childrens; but instead of toes, it had on each foot three claws, with taleons like a fowl: upon the back above the belly it had a couple of great holes like mouths; and in each of them stood out a couple of pieces of flesh; it had no forehead, but above the eyes it had four horns; two of above an inch long, hard and sharp; and the other two somewhat less. The midwife was one strongly suspected of *witchcraft*; and a prime Familist: thro' whose witchcrafts probably it came to pass that most of the women present at the travel were suddenly taken with such a violent vomiting and purging, tho' they had neither eaten nor drunken any thing to occasion it, that they were forced immediately to go home: others had their children so taken with *convulsions*, which they never had before or after, that *they* also were sent for home immediately; whence none were left at the time of the monster's birth, but the midwife and *two* more, whereof one was fallen asleep: and about the time of the monster's death, which was two hours before his birth, such an odd *shake* was by invisible hands given to the bed as terrify'd the standers-by. It was buried without noise of its *monstrosity*; but it being whispered a few days after about the town, the magistrates ordered the opening of the grave, whereby there was discovered this

*Monstrum, horrendum, in forme, ingens.**

But of this monster, good reader, let us talk no further: for at this instant I find an odd passage in a letter of the famous Mr. Thomas Hooker about this matter; namely, this: "While I was thus musing, and

* A monster, hideous, shapeless, huge.—VIRGIL.

thus writing, my study where I was writing, and the chamber where my wife was sitting, shook, as we thought, with an earthquake, by the space of half a quarter of an hour. We both perceived it, and presently went down. My maid in the kitchen observed the same. My wife said, it was the devil that was displeased that we confer about this occasion."

§ 12. It was but a few years after these things—namely, in the year 1643—that the government of Barbadoes, being disturbed by such turbulent and tumultuous Familists as those which now pestered New-England, were forced by their outrages to sentence them with banishment. Nor must it be made a reproach, if New-England also ordered a sort of banishment for these intoxicated sectaries, who began to deny or degrade the magistracy of the country, and call the king of England, "the king of *Babylon*;" but you shall hear the effect of that procedure. Being advised of an island beyond Cape-Cod, and near the Narraganset-Bay, they fairly purchased it of the natives; thither they transplanted themselves with their families; in this transplantation, accompanied by many others of their own *uncertainty* in religion, who yet had not come under any *censures* of either the court or the church for their misdemeanours. Having peopled this island, now known by the name of Rhode-Island, they swarmed over unto the main, where they also purchased some tracts of land, now covered with the two towns of Providence and Warwick; for all of which they obtained at last a charter from King Charles II., with ample priviledges. I cannot learn that the first planters of this colony were agreed in any one principle so much as this, "that they were to give one another no disturbance in the exercise of religion;" and tho' they have sometimes had some difference among them, as to the exercise of that principle also, I believe there never was held such a variety of *religions* together on so small a spot of ground as have been in that colony. It has been a *colluvies* of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Anti-sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, every thing in the world but Roman Catholicks, and *real* Christians, tho' of the *latter*, I hope, there have been more than of the *former* among them; so that, *if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at the general muster of opinionists!* 'Tis a good piece of *antiquity* that Josephus has given us, when he tells us the consequences of Nehemiah's chasing away a son of Jojada, the son of Eliash the high-priest, for marrying the daughter of Sanballat the Heronite, the chief person among the Samaritans. The father-in-law of this Menasses (for it seems that was his name) built a temple on Gerizzim, in opposition to that at Jerusalem, and obtained a charter from the kings of Persia for the encouragement thereof, that so his daughter Nicasso (for so she was called) might not lose her husband, who was thus made a Metropolitan. After this time, all that were indicted for crimes at Jerusalem, would fly to Gerizzim, and Sichem was now the common receptacle and sanctuary of Jewish offenders: This—as R. Abrah. Zaccuth tells us—"this was the beginning of heresie!"

And now, with some allusion to that piece of antiquity, I may venture to say, that Rhode-Island has usually been the Gerizzim of New-England. The island is indeed, for the fertility of the soil, the temperateness of the air, the commodiousness of scituation, the best *garden* of all the colonies; and were it free from *serpents*, I would have called it, "the paradise of New-England;" but the number of sensible and ingenious gentlemen, whereof there are some upon the island, will find it hard enough to rescue it from an extream danger of that character, *Bona Terra, Mala Gens*.* The condition of the rising generation upon that island, is indeed exceeding lamentable! Lactantius complains of Arcesilaus, that having much considered the *contradictions* of the philosophers one unto another, at last he contemned them all, and instituted a *new* philosophy, of *not philosophising at all*. The former generation of Rhode-Islanders is now generally gone off the stage; and all the messengers which the churches of the Massachuset-colony, whereto any of them did belong, sent with admonitions after them, could reclaim very few of them; the *rising* generation, confounded by the *contradictions* in religion among their parents, and under many horrible temptations, and under some unhappy *tendencies* to be of *no religion at all*; and when the ministers of this province have several times, at their own united expences, employ'd certain ministers of the gospel, to make a *chargeless* tender of preaching the word among them, this *charitable offer of ministers* has been refused; tho' it seems they are now beginning to embrace it; the indefatigable, and evangelical, and very laudable industry of Mr. John Danforth, the minister of Dorchester, has, with the blessing of our Lord thereupon, overcome a number of them, not only to hear the gospel from a worthy young preacher, Mr. Nathaniel Clap, sent thither, but also to build a meeting-house for that purpose; yea, and the liberal merchants of Boston have, in this present year 1695, been exemplary, by their bearing the expences of ministers which we have sent forth to make tenders of the gospel unto other *Paganizing plantations* on the Main belonging to that colony; albeit some of those tenders also have been scandalously rejected by the inhabitants. If I should now launch forth into a narrative of the marvellous *lewd things* which have been done and said by the giddy sectaries of this island, I confess the *matter* would be agreeable enough to the nature and the design of a church history, and for a warning unto all to take heed how they forsake the word of God and his ordinances in the societies of the faithful, and follow the conduct of *new lights*, that are no more than so many *fool's-fires* in the issue; but the *merriment* arising from the ridiculous and extravagant occurrences therein, would not be agreeable to the *gravity* of such an history. Wherefore I forbear it; only wishing that the people of this island may effectually feel the favourable influences and protections of the crown of England, extended unto them, inasmuch as the ridiculously comical expressions of their late address to the Queen, January 30, 1689,

* A goodly land, a bad people.

are, "May it please your excellent majesty: we humbly petition your most excellent majesty's grace and favour towards us your most humble subjects and supplicants, that you would please, being *Pater Patriæ*,* to extend your *fatherly* care, in granting a confirmation to our charter." Whereupon they add, "Your transcendant love and favour extended towards us, hath so radicated it self in our hearts, néver to be forgotten, that it obliges us to offer up our selves, lives, and fortunes, to be at your majesty's service, beyond the power of any command."

CHAPTER IV.

IGNES FATUI;

OR, THE MOLESTATIONS GIVEN TO THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND

BY THAT ODD SECT OF PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

AND SOME UNCOMFORTABLE OCCURRENTS RELATING TO A SECT OF OTHER AND BETTER PEOPLE.

*Hæreses non dolemus venisse, quia novimus esse
Prædictas.*†—TERTUL.

§ 1. IF the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ must in *every age* be assaulted by HERETICKS, acting under the *energy* of that old *serpent*, who knowing that as the *first* creation, so the *new* creation begins with *light*, hath used thousands of *blinds* to keep a saving *light* from entring into the souls of men, that being a "people of wrong understanding, he that made them shall not have mercy on them;" it must be expected that the churches of New-England should undergo some assaults from the worst of HERETICKS that *this age* has produced. Now, I know not whether the sect which hath appeared in our days under the name of Quakers, be not upon many accounts the worst of hereticks; for in Quakerism, which has by some been called, the "sink of all heresies," we see the *vomit* cast out in the by-past ages, by whose *kennels* of seducers, lick'd up again for a *new digestion*, and once more exposed for the *poisoning* of mankind; though it pretends unto *light*, yet by the means of that very pretence it leaves the bewildred souls of men "in chains unto darkness," and gives them up to the conduct of an *Ignis Fatuus*: but this I know, they have been the most venomous of all to the churches of America. The beginning of this *upstart sect* has been declared, by one who was a *pillar* of it, in a pamphlet written in the year 1659, where this passage occurs: "It is now about seven years since the Lord raised us up:" And the north of Eng-

* Father of his country.

† We do not grieve that heresies have come, for we knew they were predicted.

land was reckon'd the place of its nativity. Nevertheless, I can tell the world that the first Quakers that ever were in the world, were certain fanaticks here in our town of Salem, who *held forth* almost all the fancies and whimsies which a few years after were broached by them that were so called in England, with whom yet none of ours had the least communication: except my reader will rather look for the first Quakers at the Delphian Oracle upon Parnassus, [originally perhaps פרענוחש, *Parai-nahas*, i. e., *Hiatus Divinationis**] where the usage was, for a certain woman sitting upon a *tripos* over a cave, to be possessed with a dæmon, in the Scripture called Ob, which entring into her, she was immediately taken with an extraordinary *trembling* of her whole body, and *foaming* horribly, there issued from her the *prophecies* which *enchanted* all the world into a veneration of them. Our Salem Quakers indeed of themselves died *childless*; but the numbers of those in England increasing, they did in the year 1657 find a way into New-England, where they first infested Plymouth colony, and were for a while most unhappily successful in seducing the people not only to attend unto the *mystical dispensations* of the *light within*, as having the whole of *religion* contained therein, but also to oppose the *good order*, both *civil* and *sacred*, erected in the colony. Those persons in the Massachusetts-colony, whose office it was to be *watchmen* of it, were much alarmed at the approach of so great a *plague*, and were at some loss how to prevent it, and avoid it. Although Quakerism has, by the *new-turn* that such ingenious men as Mr. PENN have given to it, become quite a *new thing*; yet the old Foxian Quakerism, which then visited New-England, was the grossest collection of *blasphemies* and *confusions* that ever was heard of. The CHRIST then *witnessed* by the Quakers was "a certain heavenly, divine body, constituted of invisible flesh, blood and bones, in which Christ came from Heaven; and he put that body into the other body of our nature, which he took of the Virgin, and that outermost body he left behind, when he ascended into heaven, nobody knows where; and this heavenly and spiritual body" (which the Quakers at length evaporate into a meet *mystical dispensation*, and at last it is nothing but that excusing and condemning *principle* in man which we call *the natural conscience*!) "is the Man Christ, a measure of which is in the Quakers; upon which accounts the Quakers made themselves to be Christ's as truly as ever was Jesus the Son of Mary." There is in every man a certain excusing and condemning *principle*, which indeed is nothing but some *remainder* of the divine image, left by the compassion of God upon the conscience of man after his fall; and this principle the Quakers called, "a measure of the Man Christ—the *light*, the *seed*, the *word*." The whole history of the gospel they therefore beheld as acted over again every day as *literally* as ever it was in Palestine; and what befalls this principle in us, they advanced as the truth of Christ "sacrificed for us, dying, risen, sitting at the

* A cave of divination.

right hand of God, and coming in clouds to judgment." They set themselves hereupon to extinguish our whole Christian religion, for these airy notions to succeed in the room thereof; they scoffed at "our imagined God beyond the stars;" and said, "your carnal Christ is utterly denied by the light;" the express words in the preachments of these "Quaking holders-forth" (as 'tis in print attested by some of themselves that had so much Christianity as to leave them upon the *scandal* of it) have been: "it is the work of the devil to cause people, that have profest the appearance of Christ in the heart, to respect the person without them." And, "it is a delusion to direct the minds of the people to respect Christ, as he is now in heaven above the clouds." They stiled those "blind beasts and liars, who should say that the Scriptures reveal God;" and affirmed it, "the greatest error in the world, and the ground of all errors, to say, the Scriptures are a rule for Christians." They said, "that the Scripture does not tell people of a Trinity, nor three persons in God, but that those three persons are brought in by the Pope." They held, "that justification by that righteousness, which Christ fulfilled in his own person without us, is a doctrine of devils." They held, "that they that believe in Christ are not miserable sinners, nor do those things they ought not to do." They said, "if the bodies of men rise again, then there is a pre-eminence in the bodies of men above the bodies of beasts, which is to give Solomon the lie." They said, "they are like to be deceived, who are expecting that Christ's second coming will be personal." They said, "those things called ordinances—as baptism, bread and wine—rose from the Pope's invention." They said, "as for that called *the Lord's day*, people do not understand what they say; every day is the Lord's day." And for *prayer* it self, they said, "all must cease from their own words, and from their own time, and learn to be silent, until the Spirit give them utterance." They said—But it would be endless to enumerate their heresies; what we have already enumerated is enough to astonish us; in all of which I solemnly protest unto the reader that I have not wronged them at all, but kept close to their *own printed words*. Reader, thou canst not behold these heresies without the exclamation ordinarily used by the blessed Polycarp, when he heard any such matters uttered: "Good God, unto what times hast thou reserved me" The zeal of the Massachuset-colony, to preserve themselves from the annoyances of such a blasphemous and confused generation of men, caused them to make *sharp laws* against them, in hopes that the *terror* thereby given to these evil doers would keep them from any invasion upon the colony. But "they must needs go whom the devil drives;" these *devil-driven* creatures did but the more furiously push themselves upon the government, for the *sharp* which had been turned upon them; whereupon the government unhappily proceeded unto the execution of the laws in *scourging*, and then *banishing*, and (upon their mad return) *executing* three or four of the chief offenders: but they considered these

wretches, *Non qua errone, sed qua Turbones*,* in thus proceeding against them. If the reader enquire with what *spirit* they died, I must sincerely say that, as far as I can learn, they show'd little enough of the spirit of martyrdom. They died not like the true martyrs of Jesus Christ, with the "glorious spirit of God resting" on them. A fierce, a raging, a sullen, and a revengeful spirit, and a degree of *madness* rather inspired them; nor is the fallacious history of Gerard Croese concerning these matters to be credited.

§ 2. A great clamour hath been raised against New-England for their "persecution of the Quakers;" and if any man will appear in the vindication of it, let him do as he please; for my part, I will not. I am verily perswaded these miserable Quakers would in a little while (as we have now seen) have come to nothing, if the civil magistrate had not inflicted any civil penalty upon them; nor do I look upon *hæreticide* as an *evangelical way* for the extinguishing of heresies; but rather say, with the judicious Hommius, *Magistratus, propter solum hæreseos crimen, non quemquam occidat, nisi forte horrendæ atque intolerandæ in deum blasphemie, vel manifestæ seditionis crimen accedat.*† 'Tis true, these Quakers did manifest an intolerable contempt of authority, and needlessly pull upon themselves a vengeance, from which the authority would gladly have released them, if they would have accepted of a release; but it is also true, that they were *madmen*—a sort of *lunaticks*, *demoniacks* and *energumens*: He was a wise and a good counsellor in Plymouth-Colony who propounded, "that a law might be made for the Quakers to have their heads shaved;" the punishment, I confess, was in some sort capital: but it would have been the best remedy for them; it would have both *sham'd* and *cur'd* them: Or perhaps the punishment which A. Gellius reports the Romans on certain special occasions used upon their soldiers, namely, "to let 'em bleed," had been very agreeable for these Quakers. A *Bethlehem* seems to have been fitter for them than a *gallows*. Nevertheless, I am not unwilling to transcribe one passage on this occasion, that so my reader, upon the whole, may proceed unto what censure he shall please to bestow upon the matter.

It shall be a few lines of "A Declaration of the General Court of the Massachusetts," held at Boston October 18, 1659, published for the satisfaction of the people, a great part of whom were much dissatisfied at what had been done:

"About three yeas since, diverse persons professing themselves Quakers, (of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands) both from Barbados and England, arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away by the first opportunity, without censure or punishment, although their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to authority, would have justified a severer animadversion.—A law was made and published, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any

* Not as errorists, but as destroyers.

† Let no magistrate take the life of an offender solely for the crime of heresy: but only, when to heresy is added some horrible and insufferable blasphemy against God, or open sedition against the state.

Quakers into this jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the house of correction, till they could be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a *back-door* they found entrance; and the penalty inflicted on them proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obtrusions, was increased—which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous and fanatick fury, necessitated us to endeavour our security; and upon serious consideration, a law was made that such persons should be *banished on pain of death*, according to the example of England, in their provision against Jesuites; which sentence being regularly pronounced, at the last Court of Assistants against these parties, and they either returning, or continuing presumptuously in this jurisdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced by the Court to *death*—which hath been executed upon two of them. M. D., upon the intercession of a son, had liberty to depart, and accepted of it.—The consideration of our *gradual proceedings*, will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of *severity*. Our own just and necessary defence calling upon us (other means failing) to offer the *point*, which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become *felones de se*,*—as well as the sparing of *one*, upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince we desire their *lives absent*, rather than their *deaths present*."

Thus the declaration. Reader, if this also will further alleviate the business, I must not conceal it; that it was very enraging unto the zeal of those godly men, who then govern'd us, to hear these wretches ordinarily saying among the people, "We deny thy Christ! We deny thy God, which thou callest Father, Son and Spirit! Thy Bible is the word of the devil!" And the spirit of that crew was yet more provoking, pernicious and perillous, as one of them has discovered it in a writing published, "Against all earthly powers, parliaments, laws, charters, magistrates and princes." George Fox, who, of a *shoemaker*, became the grand *apostle* of the Quakers, tho' he were unable to write common sense, yet wrote several pamphlets; in one of which (entitled "*Papers given forth*,") he bitterly inveigh'd against those who "doated on an earthly king;" and added, "Neither do you read that there were any kings since the Apostles' days, but among the apostate Christians and the false church." And one, who yet calls himself a Quaker, hath lately so far forsaken them, as to publish a discovery of the horrible doings that he hath found among his *friends*; and he particularly proves, that they do not own *any government for God's ordinance*, but that of those who witness to their *light within*; and that they call every *other government*—consisting of rulers, judges, justices, lawyers, and constables—a "tree that must be cut down," for the *light alone* to rule. I appeal to all the reasonable part of mankind, whether the infant colonies of New-England had not cause to guard themselves against these *dangerous villains*. It was also thought that the very Quakers themselves would say, that if they had got into a corner of the world, and with an immense toyl and charge made a wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the exercises of their worship, they would never bear to have New-Englanders come among them, and interrupt their public worship, and endeavour to seduce their children from it, yea, and repeat

* Guilty of suicide.

such endeavours after mild entreaties first, and then just banishments, to oblige their departure. What shall I say? There was the phrensie of the old *circumcellions* in those Quakers; and according to that passage of the Tragedian in his "*Hercules Furens*," *Solus te jam præstare potest furor, insontem*,* I must say upon the *mad* subjects of these tragedies: If they had not been *mad*, they had been *worthy to die*. But I will inform the world of a better vindication for my country than all this; namely, that they did by a solemn act afterwards renounce whatever laws are against a just "liberty of conscience." I would also entreat the world, that they would not be too ready to receive all stories told by the Quakers about their New-England *persecution*; because the Quakers have in print complained of a New-England persecution upon two women of their sect, who came stark naked as ever they were born into our publick assemblies, and they were (*baggages* that they were!) adjudged unto the whipping post for that piece of *devilism*. Their stories about the *sufferings* are as little to be credited, as their stories about their *miracles*; and particularly that of George Fox having the "gift of tongues;" because that proud fool, who could scarce write his name, hath set his name to a book of above thirty languages, [called "*The Battledoor*,"] when it was afterwards found that certain Jews were hired to do that work, and had fourscore pounds for their pains, and a dozen bottles of wine over and above.

§ 3. The more sensible sort of men, that go under the name of Quakers, finding the gross heresies of the old Foxian-Quakerism to be so indefensible and abominable in the resentments of reasonable people, have of later time set themselves to refine it with such concessions and confessions of *truth*, as that in their *system* it is quite another thing than what once it was. But the New-England Quakerism, in those nooks of the country where this "choak-weed of Christianity" yet remains, is, as far as I can understand, still that old Foxian-Quakerism, which does utterly renounce the *letter* of every thing, that the finer sort of *new* Quakers are compelled now to own something of; nevertheless these new Quakers cover their sentiments with such fallacious and ambiguous expressions, that all Fox's gross Quakerism can be at once either asserted or denied, under those "modes of speaking," which Penn, Barclay, Whitehead, and others use to serve their finer *hypothesis*; and in our combates with them, *Difficilius est invenire quam vincere*.† There was one Keith particularly, who differed almost as much from the generality of the New-English Quakers, as *we* that persecuted them; and yet he did such an *unaccountable thing*, as to appear like a *champion* for *them*, in opposition to the churches of New-England, until the ministers of Boston were put upon publishing of divers books to maintain the religion of our churches against his impetuous *batteries*. But it came to pass, that afterwards this very Keith appeared publicly in the confutation of those Quakers, that are by far the most numerous of any

* Madness alone can prove thee guiltless.—*Seneca, H. F.* 1097.

† It is harder to find their meaning than to confute their arguments.

so denominated, not only in New-England, but also in Pennsylvania. In the year 1694 he printed a quarto Treatise, in confutation of above thirty *gross errors*, commonly held among them; and his *testimonies*, at last, procured him and his few adherents a storm of persecution from the Friends at Pennsylvania, who had formerly made such tragical outcries against the persecution which New-England had heretofore used upon far greater provocation. By the same token that an Almanack for the year 1694, composed by one of them, has this article of chronology:

Since the English in New-England hanged their countrymen for religion, . . . Years 36.
 Since at Philadelphia some did little less, by taking away goods, and imprisoning
 some, and condemning others without trial, for religious dissent, ... " 3.

There are many grounds of hope, "that the days of prevailing Quakerism will be but threescore years and ten; and if by reason of men's weakness they be fourscore years, yet the strength of it will then be wasted, it will soon be cut off and fly away." And among those grounds, I cannot but reckon the *alterations* which the sect of Quakers do experience, not only in the points of their *faith*, but also in that odd symptom of *quaking*, which by its using to arrest the bodies of their converts, gave denomination to them; for as one of their own expresses it, "The mighty motions of the bodies of the Friends are now ceased, and Friends are still cool and quiet; the shaking and quaking of Friends' bodies were to purge out sin; but the stillness being come, the mind is brought into a capacity to discern the voice of the Lord." And indeed, as the *quaking* which distinguished these poor creatures, was a symptom of *diabolical possession*; so, ere I dismiss this matter, I must observe to my reader, that there could be nothing less than a diabolical possession, in many other things that attended and advanced Quakerism at its first appearance in the world, and that are in some sorts of Quakers unto this day to be exemplified. It was no rare thing for the old set of Quakers to proselyte people meerly by *stroaking* or by *breathing* on them; they had so sooner used some such action toward such as they had a design upon, but the *bewitched* people would behave themselves just as if a *philtre* had been given them, and would follow their converters in every thing, without being able to render any reason for it. And there is, even at this day, a crew of Quakers called "Case's crew," the disciples of one TOM CASE, who have been so troublesome and vexatious, even to the other Quakers themselves, that *they* have *denied* these; but of this prodigious Tom and his crew, there are things well known throughout this country that are indeed prodigiously diabolical. 'Tis well known, that some of those whom this villain had "led captive at his will," were so much under his influence, that if, upon their coming where he was, he fastned his *eye* upon 'em, they would presently tremble, and stagger, and fall, and foam like epileptical persons, and roul about upon the ground, until they had roul'd themselves unto his feet, where he

did what he pleased unto them. I am well acquainted with one very devout gentleman, recovered happily from the *captivity* wherein this fellow for many years had held the soul of him, who has assured me that he was himself thus epileptical as often as this Elymas would please with his *fascinating* eye to make him so, but never any such way affected before or after, or upon any other occasion. 'Tis well known that this villain, pretending to show a *miracle*, did but look upon a very mad bull, one perhaps as *mad* as himself, and one that would approach no man, except it were to mischief him, and this bull would come tamely, gently, strangely to him, and lick his hands like a spaniel. Nevertheless, when this cockcomb once attempted the miracle of a resurrection upon a *dead* Friend, the Friend, it seems, was not in a disposition to *rise* upon his calling of him.

I will give my reader the entertainment of two or three very well attested stories, and then ask his leave to have done with a generation which it can be no great satisfaction to meddle with.

About the beginning of November, 1681, a man, whose name was Denham, with two women, all belonging to Case's crew, went unto Southold upon Long-Island, where they met with one Samuel Banks, of Fairfield, the most blasphemous wretch in the world. These joining together with some others of their *Bran* at Southold, went into the company of one Thomas Harris, a young merchant of Boston, who had before this been a little inclining to the Quakers; and they fell to dancing and singing after their devilish manner about him. After some time, Thomas Harris fell to dancing and singing like them, and speaking of extraordinary *raptures*, and calling those *devils* that were not of this religion, and a perfect imitation of all their *devilism*. When he had shown these tokens of *conversion*, as they accounted it, they solemnly admitted him into their society, and one of them thereupon promised him, "henceforward thy tongue shall be as the pen of a ready writer, to declare the praises of our Lord." The young man, who before this was of a compos'd behaviour, now ran about with an odd note of "joy! joy! joy!" And called them *devils* that any way opposed him, and said, (more than he intended) "that his own father was a devil!" Quickly after this, going to lodge at a farm not far off, where dwelt a Quaker of the *same spirit*, he would go to bed before the rest of the family; but upon another young man's coming to him, he said he must get up, and return that night unto Southold, where he had left his company; and though the young man would have perswaded him to lye still until day, he would not be perswaded; up he got, and went his way. Within some while he was missing, and upon enquiry he could not be heard of; only his hat and gloves and neckcloth were found in the road from the farm to the town; two days after which, Banks looking into a Bible, suddenly shut it again, crying out, his friend Harris was dead. On the day following, Harris was found by the sea-side, about a quarter of a mile from the place where his appurtenances had been found before, hav-

ing three holes like stabs in his throat, and NO TONGUE in his head, nor the least sign thereof, but all clear to his neck-bone within, his mouth close shut, and one of his eyes hanging down upon his cheek out of his head, the other sunk so deep in his head, that, although it was whole there, it was hardly to be come at. This was the end of a TONGUE that was to be "as the pen of a ready writer!" The night after he was buried, Colonel Young, the high Sheriff, as himself assured me, was in the dead of the night awaked by the voice of this Harris, calling very loudly at his window, with a demand of him to see justice done him; the voice came three times that night with the like demand; and the night after it came into the Colonel's house, close to his bed-side, very loudly repeating of it. But the author of the murder could never be discovered! *

About a year or two before this tragical accident, there was another not quite so tragical. Some of Case's crew howled a young woman into their company, who immediately fell to *railing* on all the world, and then to *raving* at such a rate, that several persons watched her, though she was now grown so preternaturally strong, as to break away from them, let 'em do what they could. In the dead of the night, those that watched her heard a doleful noise, like the crying of a young child, in the yard or field near the house, which filled the auditors with fearful apprehensions; but the young women then violently broke from them, saying, "The Lord calls me, and I must go!" It was a considerable while before they could find her, and when they did find her, she was bereaved of her understanding, full of horrid and uncouth actions; and so she continued until justice Wood, by the use of means, recovered her, which none of her *quaking* friends were able to do; but this convinced the neighbours that the devil was among them!

I'll give but one instance more of their exorbitancies. It was much about this time, that one Jonathan Dunen, of Case's crew, drew away the wife of a man to Marshfield in Plymouth-colony, to follow him, and one Mary Ross falling into their company, presently was possessed with as frantick a dæmon as ever was heard of; she burnt her cloaths; she said that she was Christ; she gave names to the gang with her, as *apostles*, calling one Peter, another Thomas; she declared, that she would be *dead* for three days, and then *rise* again; and accordingly she seemed then to *die*. Dunen then gave out that they should see glorious things when she *rose* again: but what she then did, was thus: that upon her order Dunen sacrificed a dog. The men and the two women danced naked altogether; for which, when the constable carried 'em to the magistrates, Ross uttered stupendous blasphemies, but Dunen lay for dead an hour on the floor, saying, when he came to himself, that Ross bid him, and he could not resist.

*O Capita Anticyris vix Expurganda duabus.**

* O heads too crazy for a double course
Of bellebore to clear!

More passages, akin to these, may be read in Dr. More's addition to Mr. Glanvil's "*Saduccismus Triumphatus*."*

Reader, I can foretel what usage I shall find among the Quakers for this chapter of our church-history; for a worthy man that writes of them has observed, "For pride, and hypocrisie, and hellish reviling against the painful ministers of Christ, I know no people can match them." Yea, prepare, friend Mather, to be assaulted with such language as Fisher the Quaker, in his pamphlets, does bestow upon such men as Dr. Owen: "Thou fiery fighter and green-headed trumpeter; thou hedge-hog and grinning dog; thou bastard that tumbled out of the mouth of the Babilonish bawd; thou mole; thou tinker; thou lizzard; thou bell of no metal, but the tone of a kettle; thou wheelbarrow; thou whirlpool; thou whirlgig. O thou firebrand; thou adder and scorpion; thou louse; thou cow-dung; thou moon-calf; thou ragged tatterdemallion; thou Judas; thou livest in philosophy and logick which are of the devil." And then let Penn the Quaker add, "Thou gormandizing Priest, one of the abominable tribe; thou bane of reason, and beast of the earth; thou best to be spared of mankind; thou mountebank priest." These are the very words (I wrong them not!) which they vomit out against the best men in the English nation, that have been so hardy as to touch their "light within:" but let the *quills* of these *porcupines* fly as fast as they will, I shall not feel them! Yea, every *stone* that these Kildebrands throw at me, I will wear as a *pearl*; and as Dr. Holland, when he took his leave of his friends, would say, *Commendo vos omnes dilectioni dei, et odio papatus*,† thus, I will here take my leave, with saying, "I commend thee to the love of God, and the dislike of Quakerism."

In aliis Mansuetus ero; at in Blasphemiis contra Christum, non ita.‡

§ 4. Now, having done with the Quakers, let it not be misinterpreted, if into the *same chapter* we put the inconveniences which the churches of New-England have also suffered from the Anabaptists; albeit they have infinitely more of Christianity among them than the Quakers, and have indeed been useful defenders of Christianity against the assaults of the Quakers; yea, we are willing to acknowledge for our *brethren* as many of them as are willing to be so acknowledged.

It hath been a sore disadvantage unto the reputation of the Anabaptist way, that wherever any *reformation* has been carried on, a sort of people under *that name* have been most unhappy impediments unto the *progress* of it; and thrown it into those confusions that have extreemly *scandalized* it, if not utterly *extinguished* it. The histories of the prodigious heresies that have been held, and actions that have been done, by a set of men wearing the Anabaptist name, not only in the low countries in Germany,

* Sadducism confuted.

† I commend you all to the love of God and the hatred of the Papacy.

‡ In other matters I will be moderate; but in respect to blasphemies against Christ, not so.

Switzerland, Swedeland, and Poland, which Melancthon, Luther, Calvin, Bullinger, Zuinglius, Gualteb, Sleidan, Zanchy, who lived in the very time of those extravagances, have related, but in England and Ireland also, long since that time, have been improved, in *perpetuam Erroris Infumiam*.* All the world knows, that the most eminent *reformers*, writing against the Anabaptists, have not been able to forbear making their treatises, like what Jerome says of Tertullian's polemical treatises, *Quot Verba, tot Fulmina*;† and the noble martyr Philpot expressed the mind of them all, when he said, "the Anabaptists are an inordinate kind of men, stirred up by the devil to the destruction of the gospel, having neither Scripture, nor antiquity, nor any thing else for them, but lies and new imaginations, feigning the baptism of children to be the Pope's commandment." Nevertheless, it is well known, that of later times there have been a great many Anti-pedobaptists who have never deserved so hard a character among the churches of God; infant-baptism hath been scrupled by multitudes in our days, who have been in other points most worthy Christians, and as holy; watchful, fruitful, and heavenly people, as perhaps any in the world. Some few of these people have been among the planters of New-England from the beginning, and have been welcome to the communion of our churches, which they have enjoy'd, reserving their *particular opinion* unto themselves. But at length it came to pass that, while *some* of our churches used, it may be, a little too much of *cogeny* towards the brethren, which would weakly turn their backs when *infants* were brought forth to be baptized in the congregation, there were some of these brethren who, in a day of temptation, broke forth into *schismatical practices* that were justly offensive unto all the churches in this wilderness; which were on that occasion willing to justify what the renowned Parker said on the behalf of the old non-conformists, when the prelates charged them with being favourers of Anabaptism, *Disciplina Ecclesiastica tantopere distat ab anabaptistica confusione, quantopere Christus ab antichristo*‡—"we have as much favour for Anabaptism, as Christ for antichrist." And it may be there was herein too much occasion to think on the observation which I find made by Mr. Flavel: "The non-improvement of our baptismal covenant unto the great and solemn ends thereof, in our mortification, vivification, and regular communion with the church of Christ, into which society we were matriculated by it, is punished in those fiery heats, and fierce oppositions, [about infant baptism] unto which God seems to have penally delivered us." Our Anabaptists, when somewhat of *exasperation* was begun, formed a church at Boston, on May 28, 1665, besides one which they had before at Swanze, not only with a manifest violation of the *laws* in the Commonwealth, relating to the orderly manner of *gathering* a church, but also with a manifold provocation unto the rest of our churches, by admitting into their own

* To the perpetual disgrace of false doctrine.

† Every word is a thunderbolt.

‡ True church discipline is as unlike the anarchy of Anabaptism, as Christ to Antichrist.

society such as our churches had excommunicated for *moral scandals*; yea, and employing such persons to be administrators of the two sacraments among them. Unto these dissatisfactions of good men at their proceedings, there was added the consideration of their uncharitable disposition to *un-church* all the faithful upon earth besides themselves: 'tis a principle in the confession of their faith, "believers being baptized are visible saints, and the true matter of a visible church." Now, they declared our infant baptism to be a meer nullity, and they arrogate unto themselves the title of Baptists, as if none were baptized but themselves; with *them* therefore our churches were *no churches* of the Lord Jesus Christ, nor are there any "visible saints" among us. Accordingly, when a publick disputation was had with them, it was earnestly and charmingly put unto them in a great assembly, whether they did own the churches of New-England for *true* churches of our Lord Jesus Christ; but they would *not own* it; and when I my self have told some of them, that without putting themselves to so much of travel and expence, as their *separation* cost them, they might enjoy all ordinances in the *fellowship* of our churches, without being treated as offenders for it, if their *conscience tied them up* to withdraw when an infant was baptized; they have replied unto me, "that inasmuch as I was in their judgment an unbaptized man, they could not communicate with me at the table of the Lord." Nor did it at all take off the prejudice of many wise men against them, that they did seem to do what Jereboam was taxed for, in "making priests of the lowest of the people;" or, as the Belgic and others do read it, "of both ends of the people;" and as the learned Zepperus lamented the wrong done to religion in it, that they made *Ministros de extremitatibus Populi, Sartoribus, Sutoribus, Idiotis*,* taylors, and coblers, and other mechanicks, to be ministers, thus these people chose an honest *shoemaker* to be their pastor, and used other *mechanicks* in the constant preaching of the gospel: which caused some other people of a more *liberal education* to reflect, that if *Goodman* such an one, and *Gaffer* such an one, were fit for MINISTERS, we had befooled our selves in building of Colledges:

Frangere leves calamos, et scinde Thalia licellos Si dure sutori, calceus ista potest?†

Yea, some observed, and in print asserted, that this thing was the real bottom of their combining into a *distinct society* by themselves from divers parts of the colony: These men having privately exercised their gifts in meetings with applause, began to think themselves wronged that their light was put under a bushel: and finding no remedy in our churches, they threw on a cloak of Anabaptism, and so gained the thing that they aimed at in a disguise." However it were, the General Court were so afraid, lest matters might at last from small beginnings grow into a New "Munster

* Ministers out of the dregs of the rabble—taylors, cobblers, fools.

† What need of Muses, since this cobbler stole | Rich inspiration from a leathern sole?

tragedy," that they enacted some laws for the restraint of Anabaptistical exorbitances; which laws, though never executed unto the extremity of them, yet were soon laid by, as to any execution of them at all. There were in this unhappy *schism* several truly godly men, whom it was thought a very uncomfortable thing to prosecute with severe *imprisonments* on these controversies; and there came also a letter from London to the governour of the Massachuset-colony, (like that which our blessed martyrologist, John Fox, once wrote unto Queen Elizabeth, to prevent the persecution with which the Anabaptists were then threatned,) subscribed by no less persons than Dr. Goodwyn, Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl, and nine other very reverend ministers, wherein were these among other passages:

"We shall not here undertake (in the least) to make any apology for the persons, opinions and practices of those who are censured among you. You know our judgment and practice to be contrary unto theirs, even as yours; wherein (God assisting) we shall continue to the end. Neither shall we return any answer to the reason of the reverend elders, for the justification of your proceedings, as not being willing to engage in the management of any the least difference with persons whom we so much love and honour in the Lord.—But the sum of all which at present we shall offer to you is, that though the court might apprehend that they had grounds in general warranting their procedure (in such cases) in the way wherein they have proceeded, yet that they have any rule or command rendring their so proceeding indispensably necessary, under all circumstances of fines or places, we are altogether unsatisfied; and we need not represent unto you how the case stands with ourselves, and all your brethren and companions in the services of these latter days in these nations. We are sure you would be unwilling to put an advantage into the hands of some who seek pretences and occasions against our liberty, and to reinforce the former rigour. Now, we cannot deny but this hath already in some measure been done, in that it hath been vogue, that persons of our way, principles and spirit, cannot bear with dissenters from them. And as this greatly reflects on us, so some of us have observed how already it has turned unto your own disadvantage.—We leave it to your wisdom to determine whether, under all these circumstances, and sundry others of the like nature that might be added, it be not advisable at present to put an end unto the sufferings and confinements of the persons censured, and to restore them to their former liberty. You have the advantage of truth and order; you have the gifts and learning of an able ministry to manage and defend them; you have the care and vigilancy of a very worthy magistracy to countenance and protect them, and to preserve the peace; and (above all) you have a blessed Lord and Master, who hath the keys of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, living for ever to take care of his own concernments among his saints; and assuredly you need not be disquieted, though some few persons (through their own infirmity and weakness, or through their ignorance, darkness and prejudices) should to their disadvantage turn out of the way, in some lesser matters, into by-paths of their own.—We only make it our hearty request to you, that you would trust God with his truths and ways so far, as to suspend all rigorous proceedings in corporal restraints or punishments, on persons that dissent from you, and practise the principle of their dissent without danger, or disturbance to the civil peace of the place. Dated March 25, 1669."

I cannot say that this excellent letter had *immediately* all the effect which it should have had; however, at length it has had its effect; and as Origen pleads against Celsus, that there ever were *differences* among professors of Christianity from the beginning, and it was impossible but that there should be so; nevertheless, these differences hindered not their faith, and

love, and obedience: as Justin Martyr pleaded for forbearance, even in the churches, towards Christians that yet thought themselves under obligation to observe the *Mosaic ceremonies*—as Ignatius, before either of them, in his epistle to the Philadelphians, professes, “to persecute men on the account of religion, is to make ourselves conformable to the heathen, who know not God”—the Christians of New-England seem generally to be of such a tolerating disposition towards the Anabaptists; with the synod of Alexandria, condemning all *external force* in religion, of which the Arians were the first among pretended Christians, that were the inventors and promoters: nor hath Anabaptism had one jot the more of growth, I suppose, for it. But the alienation continued so long, that a synod of our churches, in the year 1679, having mentioned the miscarriages of these people among the *sins* to be reformed in the land, there was published the year following, “a narrative of some considerable passages” relating to their church, by their pastor, “with consent of the whole:” which narrative had so many gross mistakes in it, making

*Candida de nigris et de candentibus atra,**

that such an answer unto it, as is directed* for Cretians, was published under the title of “*Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam.*”† And that answer endeavours to demonstrate, that if persons of any perswasion whatsoever, even the very same with what is held by the churches of New-England, should have acted with as much *irregularity* as our Anabaptists, they would have deserved greater punishment than any that had been inflicted upon *these*.

§ 5. *Sed jam tempus equum spumantia solvere colla:‡* ’tis time to have done with these *contentious* matters; and thanks be to God we have done with them; and all the *foam* whereinto we were chafed by them, is now comfortably wiped off.

The great noise that hath been made in the world about the *persecution* made in New-England, I will now stop with only transcribing the words uttered in the sermon to the first “great and general assembly” of the province of the Massachuset-Bay, after the two colonies of Massachuset and Plymouth were by a royal charter united:

“Things will ‘go well,’ when magistrates are great promoters of the ‘thing that good is,’ and of ‘what the Lord requireth of them.’ I do not mean that it would be well for the civil magistrate, with a civil penalty, to compel men to this or that *way of worship*, which they are *conscientiously* indisposed unto. He is most properly the officer of humane society; and a Christian, by non-conformity to this or that imposed way of worship, does not break the terms on which he is to enjoy the benefits of humane society.

“A man has a *right* unto his life, his estate, his liberty, and his family, although he should not come up unto these and those blessed institutions of our Lord. When a man sins in his political capacity, let *political* societies animadvert upon him; but when he sins only in a religious capacity, societies more purely *religious* are the fittest then to deal with him. Indeed, in the Old Testament the magistrate was an ecclesiastical officer; and compliance with

* White, black, and black, white. † The Shoemaker should stick to his Last.

‡ ’Tis time to loose the foaming steeds.—VIRGIL.

the Mosaick rites was that which entitled men unto the benefits of Canaan, the typical and renowned land: But now these *figurative* things have more *spiritual* things to answer them. It may be feared that things will not 'go well,' when heresies are not exterminated; but, I pray, when (except once perhaps or so in the case of *Donatism*) did *fines* or *gaols* ever signify any thing for the cure of hereticks? The primitive church, for the first three hundred years of Christianity, cut off a thousand new Hydra's heads, without borrowing such penal laws as have since been used; it was by *sound preaching*, by *discipline*, by *catechising*, and by *disputation*, that they 'turned to flight the armies of the aliens.' Then 'twas that Christians did use to say, *Non gladiis, aut jaculis, aut militari manu, veritas prædicatur, sed suadendo et consulendo.** Afterwards, indeed, the *orthodox* engaged the emperors unto severities upon the *hereticks* of those days, but what got they by it? When a wicked Manichee, a sort of Quaker, was put to death, an excellent historian says, 'twas a most wretched example, and it made the heresie spread the more.' Such prosecutions do but give a *principle*, which would be but most fatal to the church of God; yea, they do but afford a root for *Cain's club* to grow upon. These *violences* may bring the erroneous to be *hypocrites*, but they will never make them to be believers; no, they naturally prejudice men's minds against the *cause*, which is therein pretended for, as being a weak, a wrong, an evil cause. Wherefore, that things may 'go well,' I would willingly put in a *barr* against the persecution of any that may conscientiously dissent from our way. Possibly the zeal in some famous and worthy disciples of our Lord among our selves has been reported and reckoned as having once had a little too much *fire* on this account; but the churches of God abroad counted that things did not 'go well' among us, until they judged us more fully come up unto the apostolical rule, 'to leave the otherwise minded unto God.' Nor would I desire myself to suffer persecution upon a clearer cause than that of testifying against our persecution of other Christians that are not of my own opinion. I am sure that things will not 'go well' as long as we incur the fulfillment of that awful word, 'If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.' Nevertheless, when things 'go well,' there are magistrates that will set themselves to advance all the *truths* and *ways* of God among their people: Magistrates are not only themselves to *profess* the truths, and *practise* the ways of God, but also to *protect* and *favour* all them that shall do the like. There is an aspect of *singular* kindness, defence and support, which magistrates are to bear unto them that *embrace*, and much more to them that *declare* the truths and ways of God. 'Things went well' when it could be said, as in 2 Chron. xxx. 22, 'Hezekiah spake comfortably unto all that taught the good knowledge of the Lord.' Moreover it belongs unto magistrates to punish all the vices which disturb the good order and repose of humane society; and hence also 'liberty of conscience' is not to be admitted as a cloak for 'liberty of prophaneness.' To live without any *worship* of God, or to *blaspheme* and *revile* his blessed name, is to be chastised as abominably criminal; for there can be no pretence of *conscience* thereunto. Things will 'go well' when we *go thus*, and when there is an accomplishment of that word in Rom. xiii. 3: "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but unto the evil."

These things (which were then utter'd with many others, from 2 Chron. xii. 12, "In Judah things went well:") having the thanks of them that represented the province then returned for them, I chose in these terms here to represent the *temper* in this matter, which I suppose the considerate part of the province are now come unto: and so long as they continue of it, I durst almost prophesie, that *sectaries* will never be able to make any great impressions upon them.

Well, the enemy of the New-English churches is hitherto disappointed: *hac non successit, alia aggrediatur via.**

* Not by the sword, or dart, or warlike might, is truth promulgated; but by persuasion and conviction.

† He has not been successful in this region; let him try another.

CHAPTER V.

WOLVES IN SHEEPS' CLOATHING:

OR, AN HISTORY OF SEVERAL IMPOSTORS, PRETENDING TO BE MINISTERS,

REMARKABLY DETECTED IN THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND,

WITH A FAITHFUL ADVICE TO ALL THE CHURCHES, EMITTED BY SOME OF THE PASTORS ON THAT OCCASION.

Mendacia ad modicum placent, sed diu non durant.—HIERON.*

SINCE *De Tristibus*† may be a proper title for the book I am now writing, it will not be an improper *chapter* in the book, if some things calling for the *sorrow* of all that count SIN a *sorrowful* thing, be now related. But can any things more do it, than horrible and villainous *impostures* detected among the churches in pretended preachers of the “glorious gospel of God?” Reader, consider the *advice* here fetch’d from and to the ministers of New-England; and then consider our *account* of the criminals that occasion’d it. In considering these things, thou wilt not only observe some of our *temptations*, but thou wilt also observe many notable and wonderful displays of the divine Providence.

A Faithful Advice from several Ministers of the Gospel in and near Boston,

UNTO THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND, RELATING TO THE DANGERS THAT MAY ARISE FROM IMPOSTORS,
PRETENDING TO BE MINISTERS.

It is not without some concern upon our minds, that in the late writings of our Presbyterian brethren in England, we find awful complaints about “bold intruders” into the work of the ministry, and the swarming of that *vermine*, with an hideous noise, not in *corners* and *chambers*, but in the very *pulpits*, likely to prove an Egyptian plague; upon which they add, “If these illiterate usurpers are not speedily and effectually discountenanced by ministers, and people too, they who are already the *blemish* of non-conformity, will quickly prove the total ruin of it.” But it satisfied us more than a little to hear of their care, that the confusions thus complained may be prevented by a *vote* of this importance, that they would employ none to *preach* in any of their pulpits, but such as either arrived unto them with credible testimonials, or submitted themselves unto a solemn trial of their qualifications for the evangelical ministry. Our Congregational brethren in England being alarmed with a clamour of the dangers hence arising to the interests of our holy religion, we do with a like satisfaction find they have lately published a declaration, wherein signifying, “That inasmuch as they count none meet to dispence the oracles of God unto others, who are not themselves qualified for communion in all ordinances, their joining themselves to a particular church of Christ would be a good expedient to prevent *ignorant and rash intruders into the ministry*; seeing then it would be the duty of particular churches and their officers to take special care that none of their communion who are not *qualified*, may enter on that work;” they thereupon add, “We express our dislike, and witness against all *ignorant and scandalous* persons entering on the *ministry*; and we do in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ pray and beseech all such as fear God, that they give not the least encouragement unto the preaching of men, either ignorant or erroneous in the great articles of faith, or scandalous in their lives and conversations, or otherwise *unmeet for this holy employment*, lest they bring the *guilt of these men’s sins on their own souls*.”

In conformity to this *watchfulness* of our United Brethren, we cannot but in the most public

* Falschoods charm for a little while, but they not long endure.

† Melancholy Incidents.

manner call upon our churches, that they beware of all undue *precipitancy*, in their admitting unqualified persons to be received and employed in the character of preachers unto them.

We have indeed often wished that the young men brought up in our own university, might appear with *testimonials* under the hands of the President and Fellows, that upon *trial* they are found *able* and *pious*, and likely to be *blessings* unto the churches, before the churches venture too far in setting of them up for preachers.

But inasmuch as there have sometimes arrived among us *deceitful strangers*, who have set up themselves for preachers, and many unwary people have discovered much sinful folly, in suffering themselves to be *strangely deceived* by those impostors, it obliges us unto a further point of pastoral vigilance over the churches, whereof we are made the *overseers*.

'Tis well known that worthy ministers of the gospel, retiring to New-England from other countries, have all along met with respects from our churches, *equal* (to say no more) unto what they have shown unto any of the pastors bred among themselves: Heaven is witness to the injustice of the slander by some uttered against us, "that we have ever been uncivil to strangers;" and the *strangers* themselves have been witnesses, that no where under heaven could they expect more *civility* than that wherewith we have ever treated them.

Nevertheless, we have, upon sufficient occasions, resolved, "That for the future, no stranger, coming as a preacher among us, without sufficient assurances of his being what he pretends to be, shall be employed in our pulpits without a solemn examination of his *capacities* for the tremendous work of preaching the 'glorious gospel of God.'" And we earnestly request the reverend ministers of the gospel, in the several associations and vicinities throughout the country, to join with us in such a necessary resolution.

We do also solemnly advise all our people to beware of running after *new* preachers, of whose endowments and principles they have not had a reasonable attestation, lest they unawares run themselves into shameful and woful reflections. The apostolical injunctions, "to prove all things," does not invite unstable people to *run after all preachers*, (as they too often pervert the sense of it,) but it only directs people to *examine*, by the word of God, the doctrine which they hear from those that in an orderly way are to be heard as their teachers.

The "preaching of the gospel," being that grand institution whereon depends the everlasting salvation of men, Satan seeks it as a mighty triumph, to pervert it unto their everlasting destruction. And a people that, "having itching ears, do after their own lusts heap up teachers to themselves," do miserably render themselves obnoxious unto the impressions of those *new* preachers that will seduce them unto "damnable heresies." Or suppose the *new* preachers do broach no *new errors*, yet, if they shall prove *cheats*, that have made the "preaching of the gospel" only a *cloak* for their *covetous* or *lascivious*, or other profane designs, they that shall have *too suddenly improved* those men, will be *partakers of their sins*. And the glorious ordinances of God will be likely to fall into loathsome *contempt* among the people, if contemptible fellows can easily prostitute them unto their pernicious purposes.

The *sermons* wherein the "everlasting gospel is preached," as well as the *prayers* made in our congregations, are to be considered as a principal part of the "worship of God" among the people of God: they are to glorifie God and our Lord Jesus Christ, with agreeable *confessions* of the *truths* he has revealed unto us; and as in the *peace-offering* of old, God hath *his* part in them, as well as the people *theirs*. Hence, whether the people that are the hearers be many or few, learned or weak, froward or meek, the preacher must prepare an *offering*, as far as he can, suitable for that God, who is a "great king, and whose name is dreadful." But if every piece of ignorance and arrogance be set up for a *preacher*, the name of the holy God will be prophaned with an *offering* that is made a *ridicule* in the *repetition*.

We are not unsensible that one thing which has much exposed some *injudicious* people among us, is an opinion that *illiterate men* may be serviceable and admirable preachers. Now, inasmuch as the Jesuites have given this among their instructions to their emissaries, "to teach that learning is needless in a minister, and, if they understand the gospel, it is sufficient," we are sorry that any of our people should be so *besotted*, not to say *bejesuited*. When the knowledge of the *tongues* and *arts* revived, *religion* had a revival with it: and though some *unlearned* men have been useful to the interests of religion, yet no man ever decried *learning*, but what was an enemy to religion, whether he knew it or no. When our Lord chose *fishermen* to be *ministers*, (which often is impertinently pleaded) he would not send them forth until they had been a considerable while under

his *tuition*, (a better than the best in any *colledge* under heaven!) and *then* also he miraculously furnished 'em with more *learning* than any of us by *seven years' hard study* can attain unto. If God should be provoked, by the *unthankfulness* of men, to send the plague of an *unlearned ministry* upon poor New-England, soon will the "wild beasts of the desert lye there, the houses will be full of doleful creature, and owls will dwell there." Ordinarily, that man who undertakes the ministry of the gospel without some *education* for it, is, we doubt, in as presumptuous an error as the unhappy Uzzah that perished in his error; though we also allow different *measures* and *places* for that education. And that man was never worthy to preach one sermon, who did not feel, and would not own, that all the *learning* that can be had, is little enough to accomplish an able minister of the New Testament.

Upon the whole, as Luther observed, that God punished the primitive churches with *false teachers*, for their starving and slighting of their faithful ministers, thus we fear the churches of New-England may suffer mischiefs in time to come, from false teachers; and we see cause to admire the compassion of Heaven unto this land, that such dangerous things have all this time done so little damage unto any of our churches. But as the church of Ephesus, having been warned by the apostle, "that grievous wolves would enter in among them," was afterwards commended by our Saviour for so taking the warning, "they tried them who said they were apostles when they were not so, and found them liars;" even so we would hope, that after this day no *untried* persons will be entertained for preachers in any of our colonies.

We lay this advice before our churches, purposing to do our part in attending to it.

INCREASE MATHER,
JAMES ALLEN,
SAMUEL WILLARD,
MOSES FISKE,
NEHEMIAH HOBART,

JOHN DANFORTH,
COTTON MATHER,
NEHEMIAH WALTER,
JONATHAN PIERPONT,
JOSEPH BELCHER.

Boston, December 28, 1699.

AN HISTORY OF SOME IMPOSTORS,

REMARKABLY AND SEASONABLY DETECTED IN THE CHURCHES OF NEW ENGLAND;

WRITTEN TO MAINTAIN THE ADVICE PUBLISHED BY SOME OF THE PASTORS IN THOSE CHURCHES
RELATING TO IMPOSTORS, AND PREVENT ALL FUTURE MISCHIEFS FROM THEM.

It was a notable discipline by which the reformed churches in France preserved themselves from the intolerable mischiefs arising by the allowance of "unworthy preachers:" their national synods, every time they sat, would publish a *roll* of those "unworthy preachers" that could be found creeping in among them, and with a description of their feature and stature, and other circumstances like what uses to be given in an "hue in cry," this *roll* would notifie the crimes laid unto their charge, and admonish all people to beware of entertaining them.

The churches of New-England have *heretofore* been in such *good order*, that no man could be ordained and received as a pastor in them, without the concurrence of the churches in the vicinity, and a very solemn and publick action. But a *good order* has never yet been provided among us, that no untried and unfit person shall set up for a preacher, and run about from town to town, getting into the too much *unguarded* pulpits, and threatening our holy religion with no little inconvenience. Now, to prevent and redress this inconvenience, it has been by some considerate persons desired, that something like the French roll may be exhibited unto the churches of New-England, which may exemplifie some few of the many *cheats* that have gone to impose upon them. It is unreason-

able to complain that the *crimes* of those cheats are thus *openly* exposed; for I beseech you, sirs, are they not as openly committed? Men are too insensible of the horrid *villany* and *blasphemy* in the crimes of those fellows, who set up for *teachers* to the people of God, when God knows they are wicked *vagrants* and *varlets*, designing to abuse the honest people, if they imagine it a *severe* thing to stigmatize them in the view of all the affronted churches. The faults of the *penitent*, indeed, should be *concealed*; but these pretended preachers of repentance are not known to *practice* the *repentance* which they *preach*. A pillory were a very gentle punishment for the wretches, who, wholly unqualified, *steal* into a pulpit, and *forge* a commission from the King of Heaven unto his churches. Our laws not providing such a punishment for them, they that would be faithful to the churches, will do well (for did not the apostle as much to Hymenæus and Alexander?) to set them up in an *history*, instead of a *pillory*, with a *writing* as it were in capitals, to signifie, THESE WERE IMPOSTORS THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN ESTEEMED MINISTERS.

The consequence and advantage of this action 'tis hoped will be, that both pastors and people will be more wary of being too sudden in asking to preach for them those to whom they are utter strangers; *that* needy and prophane strangers will no more venture to preach in a country, where their detected wickedness will be proclaimed for the *terror* of all that shall come after them: *that* all pious minds will give glory to the Lord Jesus Christ, who "walks in the midst of his churches," when they see what *quick work* he has ordinarily made in these churches, to discover those Atheistical preachers that have so horribly mocked him; and admire his gracious and watchful providence, in still delivering his churches from those "little Foxes" that would have spoiled them. And now we will address our selves to do that which, when 'tis done, what will they merit but the cardinal's blessing who will take no warning?

§ 1. The very *first* minister (one Lyford) that ever came into New-England, (which was in the year 1624,) at his first coming did caress the good people at Plymouth with such extream show of affection and humility, that the people were mightily taken with him; nevertheless, within a little while he used most malignant endeavours to make *factions* among them, and confound all their *civil* and *sacred* order. At last there fell into the hands of the Governour his *letters* home to England, fill'd with wicked and lying accusations against the people, of which things being shamefully convicted, he did publicly in the church confess with tears, "that he had slanderously abused the good people, and that God might justly lay innocent blood unto his charge; for he knew not what hurt might have come through his writings, and that pride, vain-glory, and self-love had been the causes of his miscarriages." These things he uttered so pathetically, that they again permitted him to preach among them; and yet, in two or three months, he so notoriously renewed his miscarriages, which he had

thus bewailed, that his own wife, thro' the affliction of her mind at his hypocrisy, could not forbear declaring her fears that God would bring some heavy judgment upon their family, not only for these, but some former impieties by him committed, especially in fearful breaches of the seventh commandment, which he had with an oath denied, though they were afterwards evinced. Being thereupon banished, he went unto Virginia, where he soon ended his days.

The disaster thus befalling of this country in the *first* minister that ever came into it, seems to have been an intimation from Heaven unto the country, to beware of all after-times how they suffered *cheats* in the evangelical ministry to be imposed upon them. Nevertheless, there have crept in several cheats among the churches, which have been speedily and notably detected. It will be neither needful nor useful, that they should be all enumerated: *some* of them shall.

§ 2. Many among us do still remember a fellow that made himself memorable by preaching zealously on that text, "Let him that stole, steal no more;" when he had at that very time a parcel of stolen money in his pocket. The sum, as I remember, was five pounds; but in the dozed conscience of the thief, it hardly made the weight of a *scruple*.

§ 3. I have been informed that a certain gentleman in the southern part of this land, having with much pains taught an Irish servant in his family to be *almost* able to read English, this fellow, after his time was out, set up for a preacher in a neighbouring plantation; but the gentleman his master happening some time after to meet our preaching *Teague*, severely chid him for his presumptuous arrogance; and among other expressions, bestowed this pretty *satyrical* scourge upon him: "If such fellows as thou art may set up for preachers, there will be one text impossible ever to be preached upon, or to be fulfilled or understood: the Almighty in one text threatens as a judgment, 'a famine of hearing the word of the Lord;' but if such varlets as thou art may be preachers, 'tis impossible that such a judgment should ever be executed!"

§ 4. Many of those persons who have gone to insinuate themselves into our churches, with *spirits* in them that were, for their covetous, or contentious, or ambitious, or otherwise evil inclinations, displeasing to the "God of the spirits of all flesh," have been immediately and remarkably confounded by their being left unto the criminal folly of preaching *stolen sermons*. The detected plagiaries have gone off, "as a thief is ashamed when he is found." One happy hindrance to the designs of the "fiery serpent" have been this *way* afforded among us.—Others *remember* instances; I shall not mention them.

§ 5. A young fellow, (one Dick Swayn,) that had been servant unto a captain of a ship in Boston, after a thousand rogueries, had his time given him by the widow of the captain, when she became so, because that she would not be troubled with so thievish, lying and wicked a villain. This

fellow was afterwards detected in villanies enough to fill a volume, which procured his going in miserable circumstances to Virginia; from whence he got through several stages at length unto the Island of Providence! There the monster set up for a preacher of the Gospel, and putting on a mighty show of religion, he was mightily followed and admired; and the people treated him with more than ordinary liberality. Perceiving that it was time to be going from thence, he forged letters of his father's death in England, by which a vast estate had fallen to him; under the umbrage of that forgery, he gets off immediately by a vessel that must first carry him to New-England. Having preached several sermons in the southern parts of New-England, he comes to Boston in the year 1698, where in private houses he would be ridiculously forward in thrusting himself upon prayer, which he would manage with a noise that might reach all the neighborhood. He began to court opportunities of preaching among the neighbours: but forgetting to change his name, the gentlewoman to whose deceased husband he had been a servant, accidentally coming into the house where he lodged, and hearing one of that name exceedingly cried up, as a worthy, able, eminent man, asked for a sight of him. When to her astonishment she found it was Dick—even that very scandalous Dick that had play'd so many abominable pranks in her own family some years ago—the gentlewoman could scarce believe her own eyes; and finding the vagrant not give her any intelligent account how he became a Christian, it was yet more unintelligible to her how he became a minister. He begged her pardon for all his *old* knaveries, but she being advised that he was now practising of *new* ones, took a course that the people should be deprived of so “charming” a preaching, as no doubt some of the giddy populace would have counted him. So, without any more disturbance, but only the cheating some credulous folks of considerable sums of money, he marched off.

§ 6. A fellow in this present year (1699) appeared in Boston, pretending to be a minister; concerning whom an honest and a discreet man in the country having a just fear, lest our charity should unjustly and unawares take too kind notice of him, wrote me the following account:

“This day a man whose name is Eleazer Kingsberry, — in discourse with him, told me he had preached the gospel four months; he shewed me a *certificate* to prove it, with about twelve names to it, all written by his own hand, (the instrument was drawn by another:) he also told me he preached the last Sabbath between Tanton and Freetown, before a considerable assembly; which was confirmed by a man of Tanton then present. Considering how God is likely to be dishonoured, and the gospel scandalized by him, I thought it my duty to undeceive you, by giving you the following relation: He was born and brought up in Wrentham, and bound prentice to a taylor, but so vicious a servant, that his master could do no good with him. He got free, and married a wife; but not long after *stole*, and left her; and adding to his felony several other vicious tricks, he went to the westward. From thence he wrote a letter to Wrentham, which consisted chiefly of *lies* and *curses*. When I now spake with him, I advised him to follow his calling, and provide for his wife, and not seek to dishonour God and deceive his people. He replied, as for his wife, she was a devilish jade, and

he would never take her more; but when he was settled, and had an house, he would take her as a servant; and if she would not obey him, he would kick her into the fire; but he would go on in preaching, — and he 'would wage twenty pieces to eight, he would get money and credit in a short time.'—I could fill a sheet of paper, but I hope I have said enough to prevent his having any encouragement from you; and what further ought to be done concerning him I leave to your consideration."

One of the ministers in Boston immediately sent after him a letter under a flying seal, solemnly charging him to leave off the presumptuous and blasphemous course that he had thus taken up, and return unto his family and employment; and giving him to understand, that the justices every where should be informed of him, as being a *vagabond*. Hereupon the vagabond, as I am told, changed his name into Berry, and ran away to a place called Cape May, where I am also told the people were so *bewitched* with him, that they were almost ready to tear in pieces any man that should speak diminutively of him.

§ 7. But tho' this bird flew away to the southward, unto Cape May, another, whose pretended name was May, came upon this coast about the same time. And on that occasion an excellent and ingenious person wrote unto me such passages as these:

"MAY uses to prove pleasant and healthy; but the mob are wont to dance at the entrance of it, let it prove how it will. Mr. Parker used to say, 'The people love to tap a new barrel.' I think I once told you of E. F. and M. J., but lest I have not, I'll give you a word of each.

"E. F. sometimes of Salem, coming to New-Haven on Saturday even, being clothed in black, was taken for a minister, and was able to ape one, and humoured the mistake like him that said, *Si vult populus decipi, decipiatur*.* Word being carried to Mr. J. T. that a minister was come to town, he immediately procured him to preach both parts of the day. The first was to acceptance; but in the last exercise he plentifully shewed himself to be a whimsical opinionists, and besides railed like Rabshakeh, and reviled the magistrates, ministers and churches at such a rate, that the people were ready to pull him out of the pulpit."

§ 8. The same worthy person goes on:

"M. J., a Welch tanner by trade, sometime servant unto Captain P. at Salem, left Salem, went to Saybrook, work'd at his trade, and stole Mr. W.'s leather breeches. Thence he went to Staten-Island by New-York, and set up for a preacher, being a ready *prater*. At the information of a pedling trader, he had an invitation by some few of Killingsworth to visit them, and preach in order to settlement. He came, but happening to speak irreverently of something in the Scripture before some of the people, it occasioned such division and tumult, that he was not suffered to preach before Mr. Buckingham's advice and consent was obtained: which, when sought, he advised them to enquire first whether this were not the fellow that stole the leather breeches. This proving even so, prevented him at Killingsworth. Thence he went to Brainford, the night before the fast, and making known his pretended function, it was counted a good providence; for they had no minister, and he was earnestly desired to preach, and as readily accepted it. But one Peter Stent, a brother that used to pray and read a good sermon among the people, when they had no minister, knew nothing of this, (for he lived at a farm,) but in the morning came provided to read one of Mr. A. Gray's sermons. But he found Morgan at it when he came; and when he named his text, it was the same *his* intended sermon was on; and out of the curiosity to see how

* If folks want to be cheated, let them be cheated.

men's wits jump't in prosecuting the same text, he turned to his book, and found Morgan the same with Mr. Gray, word for word. He followed him while he was weary, and at length run before to a place in the sermon that spoke of *Glasgow sinners*, and there lay wait for Morgan; but when he came there, he turned it, *New-England sinners*; and that was all the variation in the whole sermon. The people were mightily affected with the sermon, and were hot upon calling Morgan to the ministry. But Stent discovered the cheat. So they dismissed him, and the *tanner* departed, with liberty to go as far as a new pair of shoes would carry him."

§ 9. *Fascination* is a thing whereof mankind has more *experience* than *comprehension*; and fascination is never more notoriously sensible, than in men's running after *false teachers* of religion. When false teachers imposed on the Galatians, the apostle said, "O, foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you!" One cannot easily ascribe unto a truer cause, than a *Satanick energy*, the strange *biass* upon the minds of a multitude, forceably and furiously sometimes carrying them into follies, from whence the plainest reason in the world will not reclaim them. What but such an energy could be upon the minds of many people in Boston, after the arrival of one that went by the name of Samuel May, about the beginning of July, 1699. The wonderful success of Mahomet upon a world, where Christianity was to another degree lost than it is yet in Boston, was no longer a wonder unto us, when we saw the success of May in a place of so Christian a character as Boston. It was all over pure *enchantment*! He show'd unto one minister at his first arrival a *testimonial* of little, but some hopes of his being a man of "a sweet gospel spirit," signed with two names, whereof one was of a man that once had been a scandalous *fire-ship* among the churches in this country: which, when this blade understood, he would never after show his *testimonial* to any more of our ministers, tho' they earnestly and frequently ask'd him for it. So *silly* and *shallow* a person he was, that it was impossible for any but such to be many minutes in his company without being sensible of it. The first thing that made some to suspect him, was his using to lift up his *eyes* and *hands*, with strains of devotion used by none others in the assembly, after he had first look'd about to see who look'd upon him. Numberless marks of a *cheat* were daily more and more discover'd in him; nevertheless, he was able to imitate a plausible *utterance* and *action*, and seem'd so zealously set upon "inviting men to Christ," that after sermon was over he would make *another speech* to put 'em in mind on't. Abundance of the people became so fiercely set for him, that they poured out a thousand expressions of rage upon the faithful pastors of the town, that thought not such an *illiterate* creature (who by his own confession had never been one year under any education,) worthy to be set up in the publick pulpits. Though the bigger and wiser part of the town were not seized with this *bigotry*, yet a multitude became so furious, that, making it their business to solicit all sorts of persons to go a *Maying* with them, if any refused, they could hardly escape some reproach for it. The Jews were hardly more engaged for

their *Sabatai Sevi*.^{*} The disciples of this *money-catcher* became so *exceeding fierce*, many of them, that some sober men became afraid of "passing by that way" where one must encounter them. Though he were detected in several crimes, as pretending to *languages* which he knew nothing of, and this in the special service and presence of the Lord; and preaching *stolen* sermons, wherein he could not produce one material sentence of his own; and horrid *lying* in very repeated instances: yet his followers would go on, making *ridiculous apologies* for him, and *malicious invectives* against any that would not yet believe him an *eminent saint*. Yea, they began to throw *libels* into the houses of the ministers, the most insolent that ever I saw. The Anabaptists employed him at their meeting-house, which was now filled with great congregations; and it was an undeserved, an astonishing, a very memorable *mercy* of God unto the town, that this man was now kept from venting any heresies among a people that made themselves to become such a *tinder* for sparks that he might strike into them. And yet it was another mercy as great as this, that the young women in the town were not betray'd and debauch'd into fearful whoredoms: for at length witnesses—good, virtuous, credible witnesses—appear'd, that shew'd him to have been as dangerous a *devil* as the poor young women could have met withal, when by a certain reverence for him as a minister they were prepared for his vile solicitations. He perceived these things beginning to break out, and away he flew; none of the endeavours used by his admirers to make him stay could stop him. The pastors of the churches had before made this reflection, that after men of the most unspotted piety had spent whole prenticeships of years in the faithful, watchful, painful service of the churches, and have served them day and night with prayers, with tears, with fastings, with their most studied sermons and writings, and have never such a reputation with the churches in countries afar off; yet, if any "wolf in sheep's cloathing" do come with a few good words among them, the "simple souls" of many will not only follow the *wolf*, but on his account bark at the *shepherds*. This is a "vanity that I have seen under the sun." But the *people* had now this reflection to make, that since they had sinfully slighted their most serviceable pastors, who never craved the *riches* of this world, they should by the just judgment of God be left unto such an infatuation, as to enrich a *craving beggar* with many pounds of their substance; which *beggarly stranger* immediately apply'd himself (not to instil the fear of God, and love of Christ, into your children, O injured people, as your pastors do, with a most indefatigable application! but) to teach them that fornication and adultery is no sin, and to watch opportunities of making them like himself, the "children of the Devil." Repent, O infatuated people! repent of what you have done; and let the ensuing letter help you more thoroughly to consider the occasions for your doing so.

Religio contaminata ad omnium pertinet injuriam.[†]

^{*} Seventh-Day Sabbaths.

[†] A contaminated religion tends to universal disaster.

A LETTER, CONTAINING A REMARKABLE HISTORY OF AN IMPOSTOR.

BOSTON, 25 d. 10 m. 1699.

SIR: I am going to entertain you with a very surprising story, by the communication whereof the wisdom, and goodness, and justice of Heaven, will become observable to many Christian minds, and the *devices* of Hell, against the interests of Heaven, be a little more fully understood, for the future prevented.

The last summer, in the very ship that brought us letters from our friends in England, advising us of much inconvenience arising to the non-conformists, from ill fellows that pretended unto the "preaching of the glorious gospel," there arrived unto us a man that pretended the name of Samuel May, and the character of a preacher, having with him a woman whom he call'd his wife, but used her with an *unwisely crabbedness*, that gave scandal to the people aboard. Albeit this man gave me much cause to be suspicious, lest he might be one of those whom our letters complain'd of, yet my compassion towards a *needy stranger*, whom I saw in ragged, wretched, forlorn circumstances, caused, me among other ways of being helpful unto him, to seek that he might be twice employ'd in, and requited for preaching at our *private* meetings; hoping thereby to have a little *trial* of him. His *plausible delivery* presently enchanted abundance of honest people, who thought "all was gold that glittered;" but many days passed not before I found several things which made me say, "I doubt he was a wolf in sheep's clothing." They that now say, they follow'd this man because I commended him, wrong me very much; for though 'tis not my manner to *speak ill* of men, till I *know* what I speak, and that it is my duty to speak, yet I let fall words from the very first, that any intelligent hearer might see I had some *fear* about him. The cause of that fear was this: I found that, altho' 'tis no time of any *persecution* that should force any but ill men to *conceal* themselves, yet he came aboard the vessel under some concealment, not professing, nor supposed for to be a *minister*, but rather a *mendicant*, until they had sailed many leagues. I found that he could mention the name of no one minister in London with whom he durst say that he had any acquaintance; lest, as it should seem, he should happen to mention one with whom we should be better acquainted. I found that he was unaccountably *shy* of giving us any satisfactory account of his original, his education, his former circumstances; by no means could I get him to tell me in what employment he had spent the first six or seven and twenty years of his life. What appeared most *probable* (and since more probable) was, that he was a BARBER. A *blind charity* would still have perswaded me to keep alive some *hope*, that *folly*, rather than *design*, might lye at the bottom of his odd conduct; but I soon observed *something* that made me say to some of my intimate friends, "that I fear'd he would prove at last a smutty, filthy, wanton fellow." However, things not being yet come to that maturity, I contented myself with calling to mind the rule which the old Britain gave his countrymen, to discover whether "Austin the monk" were a "man of God" or no. Thought I, "If this be an *honest* man, he is an *humble* man: if he be a *faithful servant* of Christ, he'll plainly let his *fellow servants* know what he *is*, what he *intends*, what he *can* do, and humbly refer himself to them for *direction* and *assistance*." We found nothing of this: but though he was wholly *illiterate*, and not able even to write a little common English, (for instance, there were *eighteen* horrid *false spells*, and not *one point*, in one very short note that I received from him) yet this proud *Thraso* would in his preaching ostentate skill in Latin, and in Greek, yea, and in Hebrew; but God left him to such *folly* in his *pride*, that he frequently pronounced the *exotic words* in a manner so ridiculous, as to render it plain that he knew nothing of them: and in one of those two or three private *preachments*, by which 'twas hop'd we might have some taste of his faculties, he was under such an infatuation, that he would needs give some *Hebrew* to us; but what he gave us might be *Welch* or *Irish*, or the *vagabond's cant*, for ought I knew; one minister present knew it was not in six or seven languages, in all which himself had in various writings address'd the world, and others of his hearers, besides I, knew that there was no such *Hebrew* in the *Lexicon*. Who but one *hypocritically* disposed would have done so? If he were a *shaver*, 'twas plain however he was not the most *cunning* in the world: in the mean time, 'twas a strange *enchantment* upon the people, that they should after these things put themselves into *his* hands. But that his *humility* might be the more notorious, I was presently informed that the blade, with an *arrogance* equal to his *ignorance*, began to complain, that the ministers of the town did not immediately invite him into their pulpits; and upon his complaints, many sinful people (who have great cause to take no

little shame unto themselves for their causeless and shameless iniquity) began to defame the ministers with slanderous outcries, "that they were always uncivil to strangers;" and some could bestow this comparison upon them, "that here was come a better workman than themselves, whom therefore they would not suffer to stay in the town if they could help it." The pastors of the churches being desirous to answer the expectations of the people, as far as they could in conscience unto the people themselves, and with credit unto the evangelical ministry, they sent unto this man, in as loving and as tender terms as they could, a message to this purpose, "that they, being sincerely desirous to encourage him in doing all the good he should be found able to do, and he not having brought satisfactory testimonials into the country with him, they pray'd a visit from him, in which they would inform themselves of his abilities for the evangelical ministry, and with all possible easiness proceed in their examining and advising of him." To this message there was brought us from him an answer of this purport, "that he knew no authority the ministers had to enquire after him, and he was not bound to give them an account of himself," and more to that effect. The ministers had now done but the duty of *watchmen* that would be faithful to the churches and neighbours; but none of their *watchfulness* could hinder many of the people from the great fault of "running themselves into temptation" by giddily running after the instructions of a fellow that had "shunn'd the light, because his deeds were evil." The people (whose *charity* has been for the most part so *exemplary*, that methinks 'tis pity it should ever be *misplaced* and *perverted*) some of them not only made a large collection to pay the passage of this mischievous *beggar*, and put money into his pocket; but also fill'd the town with so much lying and outrage against their faithful ministers, for not counting such an *unlettered thing* a fit instructor for their flocks, that I could not but think an hundred times of the people "bewitched by Simon the sorcerer," and say, "that the greatest blemish that ever befel the town, was in the madness which they now discovered." Who would have believed it, that in a town so illuminated as Boston, there should be any people of such a principle, *that if the greatest villain in the world should arrive a total stranger among us, and for his true name give us perhaps only the first syllable of his name, and of a barber turn a preacher, the pastors here must immediately set him up in the publick pulpits, or else the people unjustly load them with all the caluminous indignities that can be thought of?* However, the ministers bore with patience all the contempt which their great Lord saw the people foolishly cast upon them; and no two of them, that ever I heard of, ever let fall one word publickly to *rebuke* their folly; But, sir, you shall see anon whether the Lord himself will not rebuke it, and make the people wish "they had hearkned unto the voice of their teachers."

We have in our vicinity a small congregation of Anabaptists, with whom I had always lived in a good correspondence. Forgive me the vanity if I say, without judging proper in this place to *prove* what I say, that never any minister, so distant from their perswasion, carried it with more civility and affection towards persons of their perswasion, than I made it my endeavour to do. Because I believed there were godly persons among them, I offered them, that if they should come (as they were likely) to have the divine institutions fail among themselves, I would freely accept them to communion with my own flock; and though they should be so scrupulous as to turn their backs as often as an infant was baptised, it should not be made an offence. This offer I made them, I hope not out of a sinful affectation to *enlarge* my flock; the most undeserved favour of Heaven has employ'd my poor services in such assemblies, that I have cause to study how I may serve them *better*, before I go to get them *larger*; but it was purely from a *spirit of charity*. Indeed, I had no answer but this, "We look upon you as an unbaptised man, and therefore we cannot hold communion with you." But tho' this *new comer* were in their opinion, "an unbaptised man," yet they now took this opportunity to invite him unto publick and constant preaching every Lord's-day, and a lecture besides in their meeting-house. Indeed, I must so far *vindicate* these brethren, as to tell you, that they do not seem to me so much in fault, as divers other people of my own profession who solicited them, and instigated them, to set up a preacher for them, which their own pastors had refused; and it was on some accounts a time of *temptation* with them. Nevertheless I cannot wholly *justify* this *faulty action*: and their setting up such a fellow, under all these ill circumstances, to be their *publick teacher*, look'd the worse, because they could not but see that it nourished in his numerous proselytes, not only the sleight of a *learned ministry*, but also a disposition which ordinarily inspired those that were proselyted by him to become *enemies* and *revilers* of the ministers of the town. One of those ministers, beholding the spirit which this thing

was done withal, freely told the Anabaptists, "that the Lord Jesus Christ, who saw what principles they acted upon, would certainly make this very man the occasion of the greatest confusion that ever befel them." And at the same time saw cause to foretel unto many others, "That the devices of Satan in this matter were for this man to engage many of our weaker people to be his hearers, by his not professing himself an Anabaptist, but when he had them fast, then about three or four months hence to profess himself an Anabaptist, and lead them, who could say whither, with him." Unto the man himself, also, that person having signified his dislike of what he had seen in him, concluded, "The ministers of this town, who have by your means been greatly and ungratefully reviled, will, I suppose, trouble themselves no farther about you, except some remarkable occasion oblige them to it: but they will carry their flocks to the Lord Jesus Christ, and they will carry their *names* to the Lord Jesus Christ, and they will carry *you* also unto the Lord Jesus Christ; but I believe the *consequence* of this will very speedily be unto you very uncomfortable." He and his creatures went on filling the town with slander, in instances which I desire to *forgive* and *forget*; only one of them I will mention, because they made more than ordinary noise about it. Having too just cause to fear that this insolent fellow would *steal* an admission to the Lord's Table in my own church, I went unto his house on purpose to forbid him from it; but they spread a story over the town that I came to *invite* him to it. Many days did not now pass before I did, by a singular accident, meet with a book of Dr. Samuel Bolton's, wherein there is a discourse about "*The Royalties of Faith*;" and this discourse, to my surprize, I found so very much the same with what I had my self heard this man deliver, that I thought the two boys in Plautus were not more alike—*Dixitque sibi sua concio, fur es.** I sent for many other of the hearers, who had better memories than my self, and offered them to give them a considerable price for every sentence they could call to mind in their Dr. Samuel May's discourse, that I could not show them in my Dr. Samuel Bolton's; which offer they some of them took, but could not find *one sentence* for their advantage: The exact agreement between *Samuel the Doctor* and *Sam. the Dunce* was a diverting surprize to all that saw it. Hereupon a minister of the town visited the man himself, and profered him a *piece of eight* for every material sentence that he could produce of his own discourse about "*The Royalties of Faith*," which could not be produced from the *author*, and in the *order*, and with his *flourishes* and *expressions*, that were most *peculiar*; and he set before him the *cheat* and the *crime* that there is in preaching *stolen* sermons. Indeed, because the man had no *academical* education (except one should suppose at Samourgan, a certain famous academy in Lithuania,) it was to no purpose to quote unto him the saying of Synesius, *Magis impium esse mortuorum lucubrationes, quam vestes furari.†* But I did in *plain English* tell him the dishonesty of the matter. He not only denied that ever he had us'd or seen any of Dr. Bolton's works, (though he was also detected of stealing three or four more sermons out of this very book!) but he also called the great and dreadful God to witness, "that the discourse he delivered was the pure effect of his own industry and invention;" adding, that he had no other way to give satisfaction, but by preaching on any text that minister should give him. The ministers told him that he was astonished at his horrid *wickedness* and *atheism*, and that if he were to be believed in this thing, all *humane proof* of any thing must come to an end. He proceeded, that he had outgone all the *cheats* that ever had appear'd among us, for being so hardened in *impiety* and *stupidity*, as to *deny* a fact wherein he was as plainly detected as ever any *thief* that was taken with the *stolen goods* about him. And he concluded, "Miserable man, do you ask me for a *text* to preach upon? I have a text more than one for you to think upon. Go preach, if you dare to do it, upon that text, Psal. ci. 7, 'He that telleth lies, shall not tarry in my sight.' Preach, if you dare to do it, upon that text, Psal. l. 16, 'Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes?' Preach, if you dare to do it, upon that text, Rev. xxi. 8, 'All liars shall have their part in the lake.' And if you dare carry on your impiety so far, preach upon that text, Rev. ii. 23, 'All the churches shall know, that I search the reins and the hearts.' But let me faithfully and solemnly, and as a minister of God, and as one speaking to you in the name of God, and in the fear of God, admonish you to repent of your wickedness. I doubt you will not *repent*, and therefore I tell you, *I am verily perswaded the Lord Jesus Christ, who knows your secret wickedness, will bring it out. I verily believe, that in your detection, the glorious Lord Jesus CHRIST WILL MAKE ALL THE CHURCHES TO KNOW, THAT HE*

* His own harangue said to him, you are a thief.

† It is more wicked to rob the dead of their ideas, than of their grave-clothes.

SEARCHES THE REINS AND THE HEARTS of the children of men. Remember I told you so, and that many months will not pass before this come to pass: It may be I may live to see it." He trembled and quivered when the minister spoke these things unto him; yet he repented not, but in a few hours he set the people a railing at that minister in many corners of the town, for "abusing a precious, godly, worthy man." Some advised the *arresting* of that minister in *great actions* for *defaming* of this *excellent* person; and others had the fear of God so little in exercise with them, as to cry out, "that if this man had been guilty of all that was charg'd on him, yet for that minister to speak such things to him, was as great an offence as his."

I had reason to desire that the *truth* might now appear a little more irrefragably, and therefore I went unto the officers of the Anabaptist church, declaring, "that I apprehended myself able to convict the man whom they employ'd as a publick teacher among them of being a cheat, and of having horribly ly'd against his conscience in several repeated and notorious instances; and that I desired on my own behalf, and on the behalf of the other ministers in the town, that they would appoint a place the next week, where I might prove my charge to his face, and they should be judges of it." I could not have imagined it, but the church being informed of my demand, immediately renewed (as I am told) their *call* unto him, to continue his preaching among them; and by their *minister* and *another* there was an answer of this importance brought unto me, "that inasmuch as this man was not a member of their church, they did not apprehend themselves concerned to take any notice of what I had offered." Whereto my reply was, "Well, I have done my duty, and I hope you have considered whether it will be for Christ's honour, or for your own, to employ a man as a publick preacher, against whom such a charge is urg'd, and may be proved, if you will but hear it." And, thought I, how much will Christians act beside themselves when "led into temptation." From this time, even from September (I think) to December, I concern'd myself no further; being satisfied that it would not be long before the Lord Jesus Christ, who saw how impiously this man *mocked* him, would "search him out," and cloath with perpetual confusion those that would persist in assisting such a *mock*er of Heaven. One would have thought that considerate people, after this warning, would have been as much afraid of seeing such *spectre* in a pulpit, as if he had been the *holder-forth*, which they say sometimes appears in the *copper mines* of Sweden. But many people, instead of taking the warning, went on still, under the influences of this *ignis fatuus*, to treat me (and much better men) with numberless and furious abuses for giving it; and with a *practical commentary* upon the distempers mentioned in the first epistle to the Corinthians. I praise the Lord for his making me unwilling to *remember* them, and I pray *him* to cast them out of his *remembrance*. At last the malice went so far, that they began to throw into my house insolent, bitter, bloody libels, wherein, albeit the nameless writers confess "a great esteem for me, for my moderate spirit towards them that differ from me," yet they now in most venomous terms of rage flew upon me for my "reviling an eminent worthy stranger," (as they express it,) and "persecuting" one who had the "root of the matter in him," and one who had now the liberty of a more "unstained pulpit" than any of those which had been deny'd him. All these, and many more such things, wherein I *heard the defaming of many*, I bore, I hope I may say, *silently and patiently*, and it was a great fault in me, if not *prayerfully*: And if I did not set myself to consider, "what holy lessons were to be learnt out of such temptations"—in which *lessons* I should have been sufficiently *requited good*, for the *cursing* of all the *Shimei's* in the town. But, thought I, what *spirit* possesses these touchy folks that they can't let me be quiet? I do nothing to disquiet them: Or does that *spirit* see that his *time* is but *short*, e'er the displeasure of Heaven put this Boutefeu and his disciples to the blush which had been foretold unto them. Truly, sir, I had no remedy, but humbly to carry my complaints unto the Lord, who knew my faithfulness.

This *evil worker* now apply'd himself unto the Anabaptists with private intimations, that for four or five years he had been convinced in his conscience that *their way* was the *right way*, and that he was now in some trouble of conscience for his having delay'd so long to declare himself, but it should not now be long before he did. When things were now become just ripe for the *devices* of Satan to take effect, behold how the wonderful providence of Heaven defeated them! "The Lord sent an evil spirit" between this man and the Anabaptists that had adhered unto him. Even *they* began to find their "eminent worthy stranger" guilty of such *lying*, and such *lewdness*, and such damnable *covetousness*, (especially when, upon their not carrying money to him on a Lord's day wherein he preached not, he flew out, as I am told, like a *dragon*, spitting this among other

fire at them: "I see, no longer PIPE, no longer dance!") that they came to fear he was a *cheat*, and wished they had never seen him. While things were thus operating, the guilty fellow having bubbled the silly neighbours of incredible scores of pounds, and thinking that the answers of my letters to Europe about him were not far off, all on the sudden he will be gone; and none of the charming offers that were made him if he would continue, could procure his continuance any longer in the country. He that had often told us, his coming from England was with a purpose to see his uncle in Virginia, whom it may be no man else ever saw, now, without one look towards Virginia, ships himself to return for England. But God will no longer be *mocked*!

A virtuous and laudable young gentleman in the neighbourhood lets fall a word unto one of his friends, "that he was informed this man had used some uncivil carriage towards a woman that belonged unto one of the churches in the town." Some of the hearers go and complain that this gentleman said, "the man had got such a woman with child," whereupon some of the man's friends began to be obstreperous. The ingenuous young gentleman was too well beloved by all that knew his constant piety, to be suspected of speaking a *falsehood*; and the trouble on the minds of his friends for him immediately made several discreet and honest *women* to speak out more plainly, how able they were to assert the truth of what he had really spoken. Horrid things began to be muttered about this wretch for divers weeks before; and no doubt the apprehension of their taking air hastened his flight; but a modest woman, especially if she don't know of any one else to sustain with her the weight of the testimony, appears with no small reluctancy to testify an affront offered unto her. It had been remarked by some, that this villain, though in *public prayer* he were extraordinary devout, yet he had a strange indisposition to *private prayer*. And there was enough to render *prayer* uneasy to his guilty soul; for while he was "feasting" with the abused neighbours, "he had eyes full of adultery that could not cease from sin." The burning jealousy of the Lord Jesus Christ will now bring out the villainy of this man, and MAKE ALL THE CHURCHES TO KNOW THAT HE SEARCHES THE REINS AND THE HEARTS. The hypocrite had made such a show of zeal in his performances on the *stage*, that every one said, "this man must be either a great saint, or a great rogue;" and as to one of these, I question whether a *greater* ever came into this land.

Sir, I durst not blot my paper with all the abominable things that are testified upon *oath* against this "eminent worthy stranger." But the sum of the testimonies deposed upon *oath* before the magistrate, December 7, 1699, by several women of unblemished reputation, is, "That he would often watch opportunities of getting them alone, and then would often affront them with lewd, vile and lascivious carriages, which rendered it a dangerous thing to be alone with him, and abundantly assured them, that he was a 'great rogue,' and that if they had been for his turn, he would have stuck at no villainy towards them. That he would also talk at a vile rate; and among other things, he would plead, 'that there was no sin in adultery.'"

The testimonies after this increased on our hands, which assured us, that on a Saturday, with his Bible in his hands, he could solicit young women to wantonness; yea, and endeavour to intoxicate them, that he might pursue his vile purposes upon them. Yea, that when he had heard of a young woman affected with his ministry, he would find her out, and spend several hours together in rude actions and speeches to her, and urging her to lye with him, which he said was *no sin*, for David and Solomon did as much; and adding, "they need not fear being with child by him, for none ever were so!" More of this prodigious *devilism* was testified against this "eminent worthy stranger;" and other horrid stuff begins to come to light, and I suppose would soon be *found*, if *sought for*; but I abhor to rake any further into such a *dunghil*.

They that fill'd the town with other impiety, by setting up this *filthy dreamer*, have now a time to admire the favour of Heaven, (more than their own *prudence*) that there was not set up a congregation of Nicolaitans in the town, and that the young people have not been debauched into fearful whoredoms, and led away to the "unclean spirit," like the Transylvanian children, which danced after the *PIED PIPER* into the cave of Hamelen.

But I have observed that whereas grievous "times of temptation" are ever now and then sent upon our churches, if the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ can, for a while, bear to be *buffeted* by the foolish rage of those *times*, and apply themselves to humble *prayer* and *faith* before the great Lord, who holds the *tempter* in a chain; and if, instead of answering to *reviling* with *reviling*, they are only quickened unto more of *holiness* and *usefulness*; the *times* do not prove "DAYS of

temptation," but meer "hours of temptation;" and *nubecula cito transitura*,* presently at an end. And so it was in the "storm of temptation," which by Satan was now raised in our neighborhood.

It has in some former years commonly happened unto me, that when I visited in the way of my *pastoral duty*, persons "possessed with evil spirits," the persons, though they knew every one else in the room, yet, through the unaccountable operation of the *evil spirits* upon their eyes, I must appear so dirty, so ugly, so *disguised* unto them, that they could have no knowledge of me. I have a thousand times thought that the Lord ordered this for some intimation unto me, that when "times of temptation" come, wherein evil spirits have as much operation on the *minds* of many people as they have upon the *eyes* of *energumens*, a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, that will be faithful unto his interests, must look to be all over *disguised* by misrepresentations unto the *minds* of them that are under the power of *temptation*. A minister shall strictly impose that "law of kindness" upon his lips, to speak not one intemperate or injurious *word* on the greatest provocation, and yet be represented as a man full of *bitterness*. He shall be always *devising things* to relieve the miserable, and spend more than many others do imagine possible to be spent in *pious uses*, and scorn to take many *little gains*, that might lawfully be taken, and yet they shall cry out of him for *uncharitableness* and *incivility*. He shall never once in his life ask a *salary* from his flock, nor agree with them about a *salary*, nor have his dependance on the *Lord's-day collections* for a *salary*, nor be in any likelihood of seeing the *Lord's-day collections* to fail, and yet they shall flout at him, as one "afraid of losing his contribution." A minister shall be of such a temper that, perceiving a considerable and valuable part of his flock to put themselves unto a deal of trouble to attend upon his ministry (by passing a large ferry every Lord's-day,) he shall one year after another call upon those beloved Christians to leave his ministry, and set up a *new church* by themselves, and set a worthy pastor over them, to support whom he shall offer to contribute not a little, and part with some of his own *salary*, and yet this minister shall be represented as "afraid of nothing more than losing his hearers." He shall—But I don't love to mention these things; the Lord of heaven teach us by these things to "long for heaven," and even while we are on *earth* to *live in heaven*.

You will doubtless make some advantage to your holy thoughts from this remarkable story; and my other neighbours will make, I hope, at least this advantage from it, that if another *Barber*, instead of the other courses that bring so many to Tyburn, come over from London hither, to recruit his *broken fortunes* by the *blasphemies* of *stolen sermons*, plausibly and fervently delivered; the people have now learnt a little more wit, than to pamper such a fellow with their plentiful cookery, and equip him with score of pounds in his pocket, and send him to London again to laugh at the folly of them that will permit themselves to be so abused.

'Tis time for me now to subscribe my self, (inasmuch as I am not writing a libel,)

Sir, Your sincere Servant,

COTTON MATHER.

POSTSCRIPT.—The country has been so filled with *lies*, on the occasion of the things which have been *truly* represented in this my letter, that I suppose I shall publish the letter unto the country. And if any blame the publication, I think they will forget *what is required in the ninth commandment*; and I fear they will but expose themselves unto the censures of wise and good men, as the friends of this impostor, not out of *charity*, (as divers worthy Christians before they knew him *were*,) but from a principle of *impiety* and *malignity*. Among the ancient Israelites, when a *false prophet*, or an *unclean priest*, was found, every man had a *commission*, in the presence of *ten men*, to execute the *law* upon him, (as Grotius tells us,) *Non Expectato Judice*.† But when one of those wretches received his punishment, it was the custom, "that a letter concerning it should be dispatched unto all the cities of Israel." As for this *unclean prophet*, the letter it self that is now dispatched unto all the "*churches*," is the chief *punishment* hitherto inflicted on him.

* Flying clouds.

† Without waiting for a formal trial.

CHAPTER VI.

ARMA VIROSQUE CANO;*

OR, THE TROUBLES WHICH THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND HAVE UNDERGONE

IN THE WARS WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY HAVE HAD WITH THE INDIAN SALVAGES.

§ 1. Two colonies of churches being *brought forth*, and a third *conceived* within the bounds of New-England, by the year 1636, it was time for the *devil* to take the *alarm*, and make some attempt in opposition to the *possession* which the Lord Jesus Christ was going to have of these "utmost parts of the earth." These parts were then covered with nations of barbarous Indians and infidels, in whom the "prince of the power of the air" did "work in a spirit;" nor could it be expected that nations of wretches, whose whole *religion* was the most explicit sort of *devil-worship*, should not be acted by the devil to engage in some early and bloody action, for the extinction of a plantation so contrary to his interests, as that of New-England was. Of these nations there was none more fierce, more warlike, more potent, or of a greater terror unto their neighbours, than that of the PEQUOTS; but their being so much a *terror* to their neighbours, and especially to the Narragansets on the east-side of them, and the Monhegins on the west, upon whom they had committed many barbarous outrages, produced such a "division in the kingdom of Satan" against itself, as was very serviceable to that of our Lord. In the year 1634 these terrible salvages killed one Captain Stone, and Captain Norton, with six men more, in a bark sailing up Connecticut river, and then sunk her. In the year 1635, a bark, sailing from the Massachuset-bay to Virginia, being by a tempest cast away at Long-Island, the same terrible salvages killed several of the shipwrack'd Englishmen. In the year 1636, at Block-Island, coming aboard a vessel to trade, they murdered the master. And another coming that way, found that they had made themselves masters of a bark, which occasioned the sending of an hundred and twenty soldiers thither, under Captain Endicot, Captain Underhil, and Captain Turner, by the governour and council at Boston, upon whom, at their landing, the Indians violently shot, and so ran away where no English could come at them. Travelling further up to the Pequot country, the Pequots refused, upon a conference, to surrender the murderers harboured among them, which were then demanded; whereupon a skirmish ensued, in which, after the death of one of their men, the Indians fled, but the English destroyed their *corn* and their *Hutts*, and so returned.

Moreover, a fort, with a garrison of twenty men, being by some agents that were sent over by the lord Say and the lord Brook, formed at the river's mouth, (a place called Say-Brook,) the Pequots after this lay sculk-

* I sing of wars and heroes,

ing about that fort almost continually; by which means divers of the English lost their lives, and some that were seized by the Indians going up the river, were most horribly tortured by them, and roasted alive; and afterwards the *Tawnies* would with derision in the English hearing imitate the doleful *ejaculations* and *invocations* of the poor creatures that had perished under their cruel tortures, and add infinite *blasphemies* thereunto. Unto all which there was annexed the slaughter of nine men, with the taking of two maids, by this horrid enemy lying in ambush for them as they went into the fields at Weathersfield. So that the infant colonies of New-England, finding themselves necessitated unto the *crushing of serpents*, while they were but yet in the *cradle*, unanimously resolved, that with the assistance of Heaven they would root this "nest of serpents" out of the world.

Reader, it is remarked concerning one Anah, in very early times, (Gen. xxxvi. 24,) that he "found mules in the wilderness." But these *mules* were, if I been't mistakin, as very *men* as the Pequots, whom the first planters of New-England "found in the wilderness." We are convinced by such incomparable writers as Bochart, that the mountainous parts of Seir, where our Anah dwelt, was a country no ways famous for mules; but we may then incline rather to the opinion of Sanbert, who maintains that the *ימים* here by us translated *mules*, are the same that elsewhere are called *אמים* of which variety in writing the same name the Scriptures have many instances. Now, these Emim were the well-known *giants* which, inhabiting the Horræan regions in the neighbourhood, struck *terror* (as their name signifies) unto all the neighbours, till the posterity of Esau vanquished them; a matter which many passages in the Bible intimate. Our Anah is here distinguished from another so called, by a notable exploit which he performed for the service of his country. He *found*, that is, he surprized and assaulted the Emim, those terrible giants with which the neighbourhood was infested. By this heroick act he signalized himself, while the prince his father employed him in managing and ordering his estate "in the wilderness," which, according to the use of those times, lay more in cattel than in any other substance. But this digression serves only to excite my reader's expectation of Pequot *giants* to be "found in our wilderness."

§ 2. When these Ammonites perceived that they had made themselves to *stink* before the New-English Israel, they tried by all the enchanting insinuations that they could think upon, to reconcile themselves unto the other nations of Indians, with whom they had been heretofore at variance: demonstrating to them how easie 'twould be for them, if they were *united*, quickly to extirpate the English, who, if they were *divided*, would from thence take their advantage to devour them one after another. But although no Machiavel or Achitophel could have insinuated this matter

* *Emim*, Mules:—also the name of a tribe.

with more of plausibility, yet the prospect of a *sweet revenge*, which the other nations of the Indians did now hope to have by the help of the English upon these their old enemies, prevailed with them to renounce all proposals of accommodation; "which thing was of the Lord!" Wherefore, in the beginning of May, 1637, Connecticut-colony set out against these Pequots ninety men, under the command of that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Mason, whose worth advanced him afterwards to be the deputy governor of the colony; and these were accompanied with one Uncas, an Indian sachem, newly revolted from the Pequots. Captain Underhil also being with the garrison at Say-Brook, obtained leave to assist the service now in hand with nineteen men and himself, who was not the *twentieth*, but as good as *twenty* more. Massachusetts-colony were willing to do their part in this expedition, with an *army* (reader, considering the small number of inhabitants then in these territories, let it pass for an ARMY!) consisting of an hundred and sixty men, under the chief command of Israel Stoughton, Esq., a gentleman of great merits; but the matter calling for a *real* expedition, one Captain Patrick, with forty men, was dispatched away before. Plymouth-colony cheerfully offered fifty men as their *quota*, to the service now *undertaken*; but it being *accomplished*, as well as undertaken, before their complement of men could arrive, the *will* was taken for the *deed*. The Connecticut forces being shipp'd in Connecticut-river, they chose Narraganset-river to land at, rather than Pequot-river, where the enemy kept a continual guard; and from thence they marched with a design to surprize them, while the Narraganset-Indians, whereof about five hundred now joined them, as they approached near to the enemies' head quarters, discovered so much fear, that they either quite ran away or fell into the rear. Captain Mason was by this time informed that the Pequots had retired themselves into two impregnable forts, whereof one was the rendezvouz of Sassacus, the chief tyrant, and that fierce tyger, at the very mention of whose name the Narragansets trembled, saying, "he was all one a God—no body could kill him." The council of war determined it necessary to *fall first* upon the fort which they could *find first*; and on their silent march in the moonshiny night, an Indian-spy that had been sent upon discovery, brought them word that the Pequots were in a profound sleep: for having seen the English vessels not come to any port in the next river, they presumed the English people to be afraid of them, and had newly tired themselves with dancing and singing until midnight upon that presumption. Our guide was one Wequash, an Indian revolted from the Pequots, among whom he had been a captain; and now Captain Mason, with Captain Underhil, coming up to the next fort about break of day, the Indian auxiliaries were so dis-pirited, as to retire where they might lye *post principia*,* hardly so much as the spectators of the ensuing action. The two captains, with their two companies, took, Mason the east-

* Behind the front.

side, and Underhil the west-side of the fort, for them to make their assaults upon; and as they approached within a rod of the fort, a dog barking awaked another Cerberus, an Indian that stood centinel, who immediately cried out, "Wannux, Wannux!" *i. e.* "English, English!" However, the courageous captains presently found a way to enter the fort, and thereupon followed a bloody encounter, wherein several of the English were wounded, and many of the Indians killed: but the wigwams or houses which filled the fort, consisting chiefly of combustible mats, we set fire to them, and presently retiring out of the fort, on every side surrounded it. The fire, by the advantage of the wind, carried all before it; and such horrible confusion overwhelmed the salvages, that many of them were broiled unto death in the revenging flames; many of them climbing to the tops of the *pallizadoz*, were a fair mark for the mortiferous bullets there; and many of them that had the resolution to issue forth, were slain by the English that stood ready to bid 'em welcome; nor were there more than *two* English men that lost their lives in the *heat* of this action. It was on Friday, May 20, 1637, that this memorable action was performed; and it was rendered the more memorable by *this*, that the very night before what was now done, an hundred and fifty Indians were come from the other fort unto this, with a purpose to go out with all speed unto the destruction of some English town; whereas they were now suddenly destroy'd themselves; and in a little more than *one hour*, five or six hundred of these barbarians were dismissed from a world that was *burdened* with them; not more than seven or eight persons escaping of all that multitude. But ere we pass any further, we will take this place to commemorate famous Wequash, the Indian whom we newly mentioned as the *guide* of the English to this Indian fort. Know, reader, that after this battel Wequash had his mind wonderfully struck with great apprehensions about the glory of "the Englishman's God;" and he went about the colony of Connecticut with bitter lamentations, "that he did not know Jesus Christ," until the good people there instructed him. When he had understood and embraced the Christian religion, he made a most exemplary profession of it; he reformed all his former ways of sin and lust, and with prodigious patience bore a thousand injuries from the other Indians for his holy profession, while he went up and down preaching of Christ among them. At last the Indians murdered him, and poisoned him for his religion; and I find no less a person than Mr. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, in print reporting his death with such terms as these: "Wequash, the famous Indian at the river's mouth, is dead, and certainly in heaven: gloriously did the grace of Christ shine forth in his conversation a year and a half before his death; he knew Christ; he loved Christ; he preached Christ up and down; and then suffered martyrdom for Christ; and when he died, he gave his soul to Christ, and his only child to the English, in this hope, that the child should know more of Christ than its poor father did."

§ 3. Samson was not in much greater distress by thirst, after his exploit upon the Philistines, than our friends the day after this exploit upon the Pequots; being distressed with the wants of a thousand necessities, in the country of an enraged and numerous enemy in the other fort, from whence they expected that the mighty Sassacus, with all his might, would pour forth upon them. Nevertheless, by the good providence of God, their pinnaces, with all other necessary provision for 'em, arrived in the Pequot harbour at the very nick of time, when they were most wishing for them; whither, while our forces were marching, the enemy came up, three hundred of them, from the other fort, like "bears bereaved of their whelps." They now continued a bloody fight for six miles together; in which the Indians, meeting with much loss, notwithstanding their making a *fort* of every *swamp* in the way, were so discouraged, that for the present they gave over; but when they came to see the ashes of their *friends* mingled with the ashes at the *fort*, and the bodies of so many of their countrymen terribly *barbikew'd*, where the English had been doing a good morning's work, they howl'd, they roar'd, they stamp'd, they tore their hair; and though they did not *swear*, (for they knew not *how*!) yet they *curs'd*, and were the pictures of so many devils in desperation. Captain Patrick, and quickly after him Captain Stoughton, were now come into those parts of the country, to prosecute the work which had been so notably begun by the *Connecticotians*: and there was yet work for them to do; we have sometimes read of "a gleanings as good as a vintage." For the whole body of the surviving Pequots repairing to the fort where Sassacus resided, upbraided him as the author of all their disasters, and were as full of munity against him, as the Ninevites were against Sennacherib after his disastrous expedition against Jerusalem; upon which they presently dispersed themselves into several dangerous, rambling and raging parcels, and became like so many "unkennell'd wolves" about the country. However, Heaven so smil'd upon the English *hunting* after them, that here and there whole companies of them were by the informations of other Indians, trepanned into the hunters' hands; particularly at one time some hundreds of them were seized by Captain Stoughton with little opposition, who, sending away the females and children as captives, put the men on board a vessel of one Skipper Gallop, which proved a Charon's ferry-boat unto them, for it was found the quickest way to feed the *fishes* with 'em. Our forces pursued the rest of the Pequots which way soever they could hear of them, and frequently had the satisfaction of cutting them off by *companies*: but, among others, they met with one crew which afforded them *two* sachems, both of which they beheaded, and unto a third they gave his life, on condition that he would effectually enquire after Sassacus, the grand one of them all. This wretch, overlooking all national or natural obligations, proved faithful to his employers; and in a few days returning with advice of the place where Sassacus was lodg'd, Sassacus,

from his withdraw, suspected the matter, and so fled away with twenty or thirty of his men to that people which are known by the name of Maqua's, a fierce generation of *man-eaters*, for whom the name of *cannibal* or *han-nibal*, (of a signification originally much more *gracious*!) has been carried with them out of Africa into America; but these Maqua's being by the Narragansets, as was thought, hired thereunto, with a most Indian *hospitality* cut 'em all to pieces. By such methods as these there was a quick period given unto the Pequot war; and the few Pequots that survived, finding themselves a prey to all the *other* Indians, who now prided themselves in presenting the English with as many Pequot *heads* as they could, whether by *violence* or by *stratagem*, seize upon, submitted themselves unto the English *mercy*. But the rest of the Indians, who saw a little handful of Englishmen *massacre* and *captivate* seven hundred of their adversaries, and kill no less than thirteen of their sachems or little kings in one short expedition, such a "terror from God" fell upon them, that after this the "land rested from war for near forty years together," even until the time when the sins of the land called for a *new scourge*; and the Indians, by being taught the use of guns, which hitherto they had not learnt, were more capable to be made the instruments of inflicting it. The English interest in America must at last with bleeding lamentations cry out,

*Heu! Patior Telis, Vulnera facta. meis.**

For after this, the *Auri sacra Fames*, that "cursed hunger of lucre," in the diverse nations of Europeans here, in diverse colonies bordering upon one another, soon furnished the salvages with *tools* to destroy those that furnish'd them:

—Tools, pregnant with infernal flame,
Which into hollow engines, long and round,
Thick ramm'd at the other bore, with touch of fire
Dilated and infuriate, doth send forth

From far with thund'ring noise among their foes
Such implements of mischief, as to dash
To pieces and o'erwhelm whatever stands
Adverse.—

§ 4. Indeed, there were some approaches towards a war between the English and several nations of the Indians divers times after this; but they were happily prevented with an *Obsta Principiis*.† In the year 1638, sundry vagabond English murdered an Indian in the woods, upon which the Narragansets, whereof he was one, were going to rise: but when they saw the justice of the country in executing three English for the murder of one Indian, it so astonished them that they laid aside their inclination to insurrection. In the year 1643, Miantonimo, the king of the Narragansets, having *foully* hired an Indian to assassinate Uncas, the king of the Moheags, (but fail'd in the attempt) a disturbance was thereby occasion'd; which proceeded so far, that Miantonimo went forth to a battel against Uncas, wherein Uncas, though he had but half the number of men, took Miantonimo prisoner, and very *fairly cut off his head*. In the next year, an Indian murdering an Englishman in the woods near Con-

* 'Tis my own shaft that rankles in my wound.

† Check at the first outset.

necticut, and the sagamore whereto he belonged refusing to surrender the murderer, things went on so far that the *heady* Indians began to do *hostile actions*, until, upon second and wiser thoughts, the salvages did make a surrender of the murderer, and then those clouds blew over also.

About the same year, the Narragansets were so set upon destroying the Mohegins, that the New-Englanders reckon'd themselves bound in justice and honour to defend Uncas, who had ever been true to the English interests; and upon this account there was an army raised from all the colonies, which being on their march towards the enemies' country, the principal sachims of the Narragansets, by an early application to Boston for peace, put an happy stop to their marching any further.

The Narragansets obliged themselves to pay the charges which in this manner they had put the English unto, and send the sons of their sachims for hostages until the said payment should be made; but the Indians observing but a *Greek faith* in the slow fulfilments of their promises, one Captain Atherton had the courage, with a very few English, to visit and enter the very wigwam of the old sachim Ninigret, and catching the sachim there by his hair, with a pistol at his breast, in plain English protested, "that if he did not immediately take effectual order to answer the English demands, he was a dead man." An horrid consternation seized all the Indians upon the sight of so extravagant an action; and though multitudes of them stood ready to let fly upon Captain Atherton, yet their hearts failed them: *They submitted, and there was an end.* A plot of one Sequasson, an Indian prince, near New-Haven, to assassinate the chief magistrates of the neighbour colony, and some other villainous and injurious actions of the Indians towards divers other English people, caused more disturbance in the year 1646, but at last this also came to nothing. In the year 1647, not only the Narragansets, but the Moheags also, by new insolencies, obliged the English to demand satisfaction from them, which being obtained, they proceeded unto no further action; and in the year following, the Narragansets, hiring the Maqua's to assist them in the prosecution of their old pique against Uncas, were again upon the very point of committing outrages upon the English too; but a merciful Providence of heaven over-ruled it, as it in like manner did the effects of a general uproar likely to ensue upon certain murders perpetrated by outrageous Indians upon certain persons of New-Haven, and of Long-Island, in the year ensuing. About the year 1653, there was a great *commotion* and *agony* raised in the spirits of people throughout the country, upon the apprehension of an horrid conspiracy among the Indians throughout the country to cut off all the English; and there appeared strong evidences to confirm that apprehension; but these troubles likewise vanished. In the year 1662, Alexander, the son and heir of old Massasoit, not being such a friend to the English as his father had been before him, solicited the Narragansets to join with him in a rebellion; upon the good proof

whereof, the government of Plymouth sent that valiant and excellent commander, Major General Winslow, to fetch him down before them. The Major General used such expedition and resolution in this affair, that, assisted with no more than ten men, he seized upon Alexander at an hunting-house, notwithstanding his numerous attendants about him; and when the raging sachim saw a pistol at his breast, with a threatning of death to him if he did not quietly yield himself up to go down unto Plymouth with him, he yielded, though, it may be, not very *quietly* thereunto. Alexander was thereupon treated with no other than that *humanity* and *civility* which was always *essential* to the Major General; nevertheless, the *inward fury* of his own guilty and haughty mind threw him into such a *fever* as cost him his life. His brother Philip succeeded him in the sagamore-ship, who, after he had solemnly renewed his "covenant of peace" with the English, most perfidiously broke it by making an attempt of war upon them in the year 1671, wherein being seasonably and effectually defeated, he humbly confessed his breach of covenant, and subscribed articles of submission, whereof one was, "That in case any future difference did arise between him and the English, he would repair to the government there to rectifie matters, before he engaged in any hostile attempts." Indeed, when the Duke of Archette, at his being made Governour of Antwerpe Castle, took an oath to keep it faithfully for King Philip of Spain, the officer that gave him his oath used these odd words: "If you perform what you promise, God help you; if you do it not, the devil take you, body and soul!" And all the standers-by cried, *Amen*. But when the Indian King Philip took an oath to be faithful unto the government of New-England, no body used *these words* unto him; nevertheless, you shall anon see whether *these words* were not expressive enough of what became of him!

§ 5. In the year 1674, one John Sausaman, an Indian that had been sent forth from the English to preach the gospel unto his countrey-men, addressed the Governour of Plymouth with informations that Philip, with several nations of the Indians besides his own, were plotting the destruction of the English throughout the country. This John Sausaman was the son of Christian Indians; but he, *apostatizing* from the profession of Christianity, lived like an heathen in the quality of a Secretary to King Philip; for he could *write*, though the King his master could not so much as *read*. But after this, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ recovered him from his apostasie, and he gave such notable evidences and expressions of his *repentance*, that he was not only admitted unto the communion of the Lord's Table in one of the Indian churches, but he was also employed every Lord's day as an *instructor* among them. Nevertheless, because there was but this one testimony of an Indian, and therefore of a *suspected* original, there was little notice taken of it, until the *artificial arguments* of some too probable and unhappy *circumstances* confirmed it. But before

the truth of the matter could be inquired into, poor John was barbarously murdered by certain Indians, who, that the murder might not be discovered, cut an hole through the ice of the pond, where they met with him, and put in the dead body, leaving his hat and his gun upon the ice, that so others might suppose him to have there drowned himself. It being rumour'd that Sausaman was missing, the neighbours did seek, and find, and bury his dead body; but upon the jealousies on the spirits of men that he might have met with some *foul play* for his discovering of the Indian *plot*, a jury was empanell'd, unto whom it appeared that his neck was broken, which is one Indian way of murdering, and that his head was extreamly swoln, and that he had several other wounds upon him, and that when he was taken out of the pond, *no water* issued out of him. It was remarkable, that one Tobias, a counsellor of King Philip's, whom they suspected as the author of this murder, approaching to the dead body, it would still *fall a bleeding afresh*, as if it had newly been slain; yea, that upon the repetition of the experiment, it still happened so, albeit he had been deceased and interred for a considerable while before. Afterwards an Indian, called Patuckson, gave in his testimony that he saw this Tobias, with certain other Indians, killing of John Sausaman; and it was further testified, that John Sausaman, before he died, had expressed his fears that those very Indians would be his death. Hereupon Tobias, with two other Indians, being apprehended, they were, after a fair trial for their lives, by a jury consisting half of English and half of Indians, convicted, and so condemned; and though they were all successively turned off the ladder at the gallows, utterly denying the fact, yet the last of them happening to break or slip the rope, did, before his going off the ladder again, confess that the other Indians did really murder John Sausaman, and that he was himself, though no *actor* in it, yet a *looker on*. Things began by this time to have an ominous aspect. Yea, and now we speak of things *ominous*, we may add, some time before this, in a clear, still, sunshiny morning, there were divers persons in Maldon who heard in the air, on the south-east of them, a *great gun* go off, and presently thereupon the report of *small guns* like musket shot, very thick discharging, as if there had been a battel. This was at a time when there was nothing visible done in any part of the colony to occasion such noises; but that which most of all astonished them was the flying of *bullets*, which came singing over their heads, and seemed very near to them; after which, the sound of *drums* passing along westward was very audible; and on the same day, in Plymouth colony in several places, invisible troops of horses were heard riding to and fro. Now, reader, prepare for the event of these prodigies, but count me not struck with a Livian superstition in reporting *prodigies*, for which I have such incontestible assurance.

§ 6. Philip, conscious to his own guilt, pusht on the execution of his plot as fast as he could; he armed his men, and sent away their women,

and entertained many strange Indians that flock'd in unto him from several parts of the country, and began to be tumultuous. The English, whose innocency and integrity had made them too *secure*, nevertheless, on these alarms, made several friendly applications unto Philip, with their advice that he would no more allow of any thing that should look like tumult among his people; but they were entertained with a surly, haughty, and provoking insolence. The Indians proceeded in the month of June unto the rifling of several houses in the plantations near Mount-Hope, which was the seat where Philip was kennell'd with the rest of these horrid salvages; and hereupon the Governour of Plymouth sent forth a small army for the defence of the exposed plantations. On June 24, a day of solemn humiliation was kept through the colony for the success of the expedition; and, reader, behold what a solemn humiliation the displeasure of Heaven then dispenced unto them; for at the conclusion of the day, as the inhabitants of Swanzy were coming from their prayers, the lurking Indians discharged a volley of shot upon them, whereby one man was killed, and another wounded, and the two men that were sent for a chirurgeon to relieve the wounded were also killed: which slaughter was accompanied with the murder of six men more in another part of the town. So that now the war was begun by a fierce nation of Indians upon an honest, harmless, Christian generation of English, who might very truly have said unto the aggressors, as it was of old said unto the Ammonites, "I have not sinned against thee, but thou dost me wrong to war against me; the Lord the Judge be judge this day between us!" Plymouth-colony being thus involved in a war, immediately sent unto the other United Colonies for their aid, who, according to the articles of the Union whereinto they were confederated, immediately approved themselves true *brethren* to the colony in adversity. On June 26, a company of troopers, under the command of Captain Thomas Prentice, and footmen under the command of Captain Daniel Henchman, marched out of Boston towards Mount-Hope; and tho' some of a melancholy complexion had their "dark thoughts," that a total and central eclipse of the moon in Capricorn, which gave them some *dark hours* the first night of their march, might be ominous of ensuing disasters, yet the soldiers were generally of the mind with Marcus Crassus, the great Roman general, "that there was more cause to be afraid of *Sagittarius** than of *Capricornus*." A company of brisk volunteers, under the command of Captain Samuel Mosely, quickly overtook them, and so joined with Plymouth forces, under the command of Captain Cudworth at Swansey, June 28. Twelve of our men, unwilling to lose a minute of time, went that very evening to discover the enemy, who from the bushes fired upon them, killed one, and wounded another, but were soon by our handful of men put unto a *shameful flight*. Our army the next morning made a resolute charge upon the enemy, who presently fled from their quarters, and left

* The Archer—sign of the Zodiac.

their whole territory open to us; entring whereof we found the mangled bodies of some of our countrymen, whose heads they had also stuck upon poles; and we found Bibles torn to pieces in defiance of our holy religion; but we found in the wigwams of the enemy all the marks of an hasty departure; nor was Philip any more seen in his country, till he returned thither the next year to receive the recompence of his perfidy.

§ 7. The English little *army* scoured the woods, and with some loss to ourselves, we now and then had opportunity to inflict a greater loss upon the enemy. But we took this opportunity to march over into the Narraganset-country, that with a sword in our hands we might renew and confirm our peace with a most considerable nation of the Indians there, of whose conjunction with Philip and his Wampanoogs (for so were Philip's nation called) we had more than ordinary cause to be afraid. The effect of which was, that the sachims of the Narragansets did, on July 15, sign and seal articles of peace with us, wherein they engaged that they would not only forbear all acts of hostility against the English, but also use their utmost ability, by all acts of hostility, to destroy Philip and his adherents, calling the God of heaven to witness for the true performance of these articles. In the mean time, Captain Cudworth, with his Plymouth-forces, went upon the like account unto another small nation of the Indians, at a place called Pocasset, with a design to hasten further afield for the help of the two little villages of Middlebury and Dartmouth, now suffering under the depredations of a suckling adversary. Captain Fuller and Captain Church, with two small detachments, had spent some time in the woods of Pocasset, before a great company of Indians compelled Captain Fuller, with his men, to seek some shelter from a shower of bullets, in an house near the water side, where they defended themselves till a sloop from Rhode-Island fetched them off; but Captain Church was got into a pease-field, where he, with his *fifteen* men, found himself suddenly surrounded with an hundred and almost five times *fifteen* terrible Indians; nevertheless, this gentleman, like another *Shamgar*, had courage enough in himself alone to have served an army; he assured his men, with a strange confidence, that not a bullet should hurt them; which one, that was more faint-hearted than the rest, not believing, this valiant commander set him to gather a few rocks together for a little barricado to them; in the doing whereof, as he was carrying a stone in his arms to the bank intended, a bullet, which else would have killed him, struck upon that very stone, and miss'd him, which experiment presently restored *manhood* unto him; so they fought it out bravely that whole afternoon, without the least hurt unto any *one* of their number, but with death given to as many as *their number* of their enemies. And at last, when their guns by often firing were become unserviceable, a sloop of Rhode-Island fetched them off also. This action was but a whet unto the courage of Captain Church, who, hastning over the main, borrowed three files of men from the Mas-

sachuset-forces, and returned unto Pocasset, where he had another skirmish, in which he slew fourteen or fifteen of the enemies, and struck such a terror into the rest, that if they could have got away, those quarters would for a while have heard no more of them.

§ 8. The little forces of the two colonies coming together again after the treaty of Narraganset, they marched from Taunton, July 18, eighteen miles to a mighty swamp where the Indians were lodged; and the Indians, covering themselves with green boughs, (a subtilty of the same *nature*, though not of the same *colour*, that they affirm to be used by the Cuttle fish,) took the advantage from the thick underwoods to kill several of the English. But the English pursuing of them, they presently deserted an hundred of their wigwams, which they had there erected, and retired further into the prodigious thicket, where we presumed that we had 'em in a pound; and so scarce two hundred men being left there to keep an eye upon them, the rest (except such as returned unto Boston) were dispatched unto the relief of Mendham, where, about July 14, the Nipmuck Indians, another nation of them that were well-willers to Philip's design, began to *Philippize* in barbarous murders. Our forces kept a strict eye upon the motions of the *enswamped* enemy; but finding, if once we squeezed our selves into those inaccessible woods, we meerly sacrificed one another to our own mistakes by firing into every bush that we saw to stir, as expecting "a thief in every bush," we were willing rather to *starve* the beast in his den, than go in to *fight* him there. Heaven saw more *blood* must be drawn from the colonies, before *health* could be restored to them: Philip would have surrendered himself, if we had gone in to take him; whereas, now becoming desperate, he with his best fighting men taking the advantage of a low tide in the middle of the night, wafted themselves over on small rafts of timber, into the woods that led unto the Nipmuck-country, while our forces that lay encamped on the other side perceived it not. An hundred of the miserable salvages that were left behind made a surrender of themselves to our mercy; but Philip's escape now soon after day-light being discovered, the English, assisted with a party of Monhegin-Indians, pursued them as fast as they could, and in the pursuit slew about thirty of them ere the night obliged them to give over. However, Philip now escaping to the westward, he enflamed the several nations of the Indians in the West wherever he came, to take part with him, until the flame of war was raging all over the whole Massachusetts-colony. The first scene of the bloody tragedy was in the Nipmuck-country, whither Captain Hutchinson, accompanied with Captain Wheeler, went, August 2, upon a treaty of peace with the Indians there, who had agreed with him a place of meeting for the consummation of the treaty and the renovation of the covenant, wherein they had the month before promised, under their hands, that they would not assist Philip in his hostilities. The Indians not coming to the place assigned, Captain Hutchin-

son rode a little further, and so *far*, that the perfidious villains, from an *ambuscado*, mortally wounded him, and shot eight more dead upon the spot; but the rest fled back by a by-path to Quaboag, a small village, where all the inhabitants were just got into one house, resolving there to live and die together. The Indians, with Philip's army newly arrived unto them, rush'd in like a storm of lightning upon this distressed village; and having burnt all the rest, they furiously beset that one house, where a little handful of men bravely defended the little *cottage*, which was all their *castle*, against an huge army of cruel tawnies, who kept perpetually pouring in their shot upon them for two days together, and thrusting poles with brands and rags dipp'd in burning brimstone, and many other tricks, to set the cottage on fire. At last, after *six* ineffectual attempts to burn this poor hovel, (so in "six troubles they were delivered;" yea, in *seven* the evil touched them not!) they filled a cart with flax, hemp, and other combustible matter, and kindling of it, they pushed it on with very long poles that were spliced one unto another; by which means this *Petite flock* must have unavoidably become a prey to these horrid *wolves*, if a mighty storm of rain had not suddenly extinguished it. But "blessed be the Lord," might the seventy men, women and children in that house anon sing!) "who hath not given us a prey to their teeth; our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers!" Our memorable Major Willard, on August 4, in the morning, setting forth with a party of men to visit and cure a *nation of suspected* Indians in the neighbourhood, received, by a strange accident, some seasonable advice of the dolful condition wherein our brethren at Quaboag, thirty miles distant from him, were *ensnared*; and thereupon turning his course thither, it came to pass that although the Indians had placed sufficient *ambushments* to cut off all succours that should come that way, yet there was an *unaccountable besotment* so fallen upon them, that this valiant commander, with forty-eight men, arrived at night unto the help of these besieged people, and bravely raised the *siege* by driving the "beasts of prey" back to their *dens*, after he had first sacrificed many scores of them unto the *divine vengeance*. Thus remarkably was this poor people delivered; but the enemy steering further westward, Captain Lathrop, Captain Beers, and others, were sent with more forces to track 'em; and, if it were possible, to prevent their poisoning and seducing the Indians upon Connecticut-river, whose fidelity was now extreemly doubted of.

§ 9. The towns belonging unto the Massachuset-colony upon Connecticut-river, assisted now by forces also from Connecticut, under the command of Major Robert Treat, sent soldiers on August 25 to demand from their Indians a proof of that faithfulness which they had hitherto professed, but Philip had bewitched them; they were fled from their forts, having first killed an old sachim of their own that was not willing to go with them; they fired upon our men from a swamp when we were looking after them;

and a dispute continued for some hours, wherein we lost *nine men* belonging to *nine towns*. Thus the desolations of war were carried into these parts of the country, while small crews of salvages here and there, in other parts of the country, were distressing people wonderfully. On September 1, the Indians laid most of the houses belonging to the hopeful plantation of Deerfield in ashes, while the garrison was not strong enough to salley forth upon 'em; and on the day following they slew eight men abroad in the woods at Squakheag, without making any attempts upon the garrison. Captain Beers, with about thirty-six men, were sent up to fetch off the people in these little *garrisons*, but they found "a serpent by the way, an adder in the path:" hundreds of Indians from a thick swamp fired upon them, whereupon followed a desperate fight, wherein the captain and a score of his men sold their lives at as good a price as they could, but the rest fled into Hadley, leaving Major Treat a few days after to finish what they had undertaken.

The towns thereabout now being tollerably garrison'd, Captain Lathrop, with about eighty men, carried carts to fetch off the corn that lay thresh'd in Deerfield; but they fell themselves into a terrible *tribulation*; for on September 18, a vast body of seven or eight hundred Indians on the road entertained them with an assault, wherein the courageous captain, having taken up a wrong notion, that the best course was to fight with Indians in their own way of skulking behind the trees, and thence aiming at single persons, thereby exposed himself to ruin. If they had fought more in a body, they might have carried all before them; for it has been observed that Indians never durst look Englishmen in the face; whereas now above threescore of our men, and most of them *hopeful young men*, were killed. Mr. Mosely, hearing the *reports* which the *guns* gave of this battel, came up with an handful of men, though too late for the rescue of Captain Lathrop; and several times he marched through and through that prodigious clan of *dragoons*, and raked them for five or six hours together, with the loss of no more than two men of his own; albeit the Indians afterwards confessed that they lost ninety-six of themselves, and had more than forty wounded. New-England had never yet seen so black a *day*! The inhabitants of Springfield, notwithstanding the firmest assurances which the nations of Indians near to them had given them of their friendship and faithfulness, were awakned by these things to enquire how far they might rest assured thereof, when all o' th' sudden the *hostages* which these Indians had given were fled; and some English going to visit them at their fort, were treacherously saluted with a volley of shot, which miserably wounded them; whereupon the town was in all the ungarrison'd parts of it fired by these perfidious caitiffs. Thirty-two houses, and amongst the rest, the minister's with his well-furnished library, were consumed before the arrival of Major Treat, Major Pinchon, and Captain Appleton, put a stop to the fury and progress of an insulting enemy: nor had the inhabitants them-

selves escaped a *massacre*, if an Indian, privy to the plot, had not just in the *nick of time* discovered it unto them. After this, the English forces were ordered, by a merciful providence of Heaven, to rendezvous about Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, until it might be consider'd what there was further to be done. And now behold, reader, a comfortable matter in the midst of so many tragedies! The General Court, then sitting at Boston, appointed a committee, who, with the assistance of the ministers in the neighbourhood, might suggest what were the "provoking evils" that had just brought the judgments of God in a bloody war upon the land and what *laws* might be enacted for the reformation of those "provoking evils!"—the return of which committee to the General Court was kindly received on October 19, and care taken further to prosecute the intentions of it. Now as our martyrologist, Mr. Fox, observes, that at the very *day* and *hour* when the act of *reformation*, in the reign of king Edward VI., was put in execution at London, God gave the nation a signal victory at Muscledborough: thus it was remark'd by some devout men, that on the very day when the vote was passed at Boston for the *reformation* of mis-carriages in the land, our forces had a notable success an hundred miles off against the common enemy. Seven or eight hundred Indians broke in upon Hatfield at all quarters, but our forces being beyond their expectation lodged in the neighbourhood, the Indians were so terribly defeated, that after the killing of but *one* Englishman in the fight, they confessed the "town too hot" for them, and fled so fast, that many of them lost their lives in the river. This resolute repulse gave such a check to the enemy, that the western plantations for a long while heard little or nothing further from them; some straggling parties, indeed, were here and there mischievous; but as winter drew on, they generally retired unto the Narraganset-country, where the reader must now expect a considerable action! 'Tis true, the European campaigns, for the *numbers* of men appearing in them, compared with the little numbers that appear in these American actions, may tempt the reader to make a very diminutive business of our whole Indian-war: but we who felt ourselves assaulted by unknown numbers of *devils in flesh* on every side of us, and knew that our minute numbers employ'd in the service against them, were proportionably more to *us* than mighty *legions* are to nations that have existed as many centuries as our colonies have years in the world, can scarce forbear taking the colours in the Sixth Book of Milton to describe our story: and speaking of our Indians in as high terms as Virgil of his *pismires*: *It nigrum campis agmen!** At least, we think our story as considerable as that silly business of the invading and conquering Florida by the Spaniards under Fernando de Soto; and yet that story the world has thought worthy to be read in divers languages.

§ 10. The commissioners of the United Colonies having manifest and

* Forth o'er the field the tawny squadrons march.

manifold proofs that the great nation of Narraganset-Indians, with whom the rest were now harbour'd had not only broken their articles of peace with the English in divers instances, but were also plotting to begin a war against us in the spring, when they should have the leaves of the trees to befriend them, took up a general resolution, in the depth of winter, to make a vigorous *expedition* against them. Accordingly an army, consisting of a thousand at first, and afterwards of fifteen hundred men, under the conduct of the truly honourable Josiah Winslow, Esq., marched into the Narraganset-country, where they no sooner arrived on December 12, but about forty Indians fell into their hands; among whom one was a fellow named Peter, who having received some disgust from his countrymen, proved so faithful and useful a guide unto our forces, that they afterwards found that they could not well have liv'd without him. Several mischiefs were done by the Indians whilst our army were here waiting for their brethren from Connecticut, especially their surprisal of a remote garrison belonging to one Bull, where about fourteen persons were *baited to death* by the terrible *dogs*. But the Connecticut-forces being also arrived on December 18, they presently marched away by break of day, the next morning, through cold and snow, and very amazing difficulties, enough to have *dun'd* any ordinary fortitude, for eighteen miles together. The Indians had a fort raised upon an island of about five or six acres, in the midst of an horrid swamp, which fort, besides its palisadoes, had a kind of wall or hedge about a rod thick encompassing of it. The entrance of this fort was upon a long tree over the water, where but one man could pass at a time, and this was way-laid after such a manner, that if our men had attempted that passage, they must have perished. Only by the help of Peter they discovered a "vulnerable heel," as I may call it, yet left in the fort at one corner, where there was a gap supplied only with long trees about four or five foot from the ground, over which men might force their way; though against this they had built a block-house, from whence a bloody storm of bullets, (and enough to make every man like the poor man in the *twelve signs of the Almanack*), was to be expected by them that should make their approaches there. Our men came up to the swamp about one o'clock, and immediately and courageously pressing through the swamp, from whence the Indians began to fire upon 'em, they advanced unto that part of the fort which was most accessible: now having of nothing, but, *mors cita, aut victoria laeta*,* in their eye. Brave Captain Mosely and Captain Davenport led the van; Captain Gardiner and Captain Johnson were in the center; Major Appleton and Captain Oliver brought up the rear of the Massachusetts-forces, General Winslow with Plymouth-forces, under Major Bradford and Captain Goram, marched in the center; and Connecticut-forces, under Major Treat and Captain Siely, Captain Gallop, Captain Mason, Captain Watts, and Captain Marshal, made the *rear* of the whole body.

* A speedy death or joyous victory.—HORACE, *Sat.* l. 1.

Nothing in the world could be more magnanimous than the spirit which now carried on both leaders and soldiers in the enterprise now before them: they leaped over the "trees of death," into the spot of ground where death in all its terrors was to be encountered; the fall of the valiant leaders, no less than six of them—namely, Davenport, Gardiner, Johnson, Gallop, Siely and Marshal—(tho' it rendred the place worthy of the name which the Romans put upon the abhorr'd place where their beloved commander Drusus died, namely, *Scelerata Castra**) did but add fire to the rage of the soldiers; they beat the enemy from one shelter to another, till they had utterly driven them out of all their *sconces*; at last they set fire to the fort, from whence the surviving Indians fled into a vast cedar-swamp at some distance off. I wish I could particularly give an "immortal memory" to all the brave men that signalized themselves in this action. But among them all, *O quam te memorem*† thou excellent SAMUEL NOWEL, never to be forgotten! This now *reverend*, and afterwards *worshipful* person, a chaplain to the army, was author to a good sermon preached unto the Artillery Company of the Massachusets, which he entitled "*Abraham in Arms*;" and at this fight there was no person more like a true son of "Abraham in arms," or that with more courage and hazardly fought in the midst of a shower of bullets from the surrounding salvages. But

*Longa referre mora est, quæ consilioque manuque
Utiliter fecit spaciosi tempore belli.‡*

No less than *seven hundred fighting Indians* were destroyed, as it was afterwards confessed, in this desperate action; besides three hundred which afterwards died of their wounds, and old men, women, children, *sans* number; but of the English about eighty-five were slain, and an hundred and fifty wounded. And now, *sic magnis componere parva!*§ Reader,

And now their mightiest quell'd, the battel swerved,
With many an inrode gor'd; deformed rout
Enter'd, and foul disorder; all the ground
With shiver'd armour strown, and on a heap,

Salvage and Sagamore lay overturn'd,
And fiery, foaming blacks: what stood, recoil'd,
O'er wearied, and with panick fear surpris'd.

Had the assault been deferred one day longer, there fell such a storm of snow, that for divers weeks it must have been *impracticable*; and at the end of those weeks there came so violent and unusual a *thaw*, that by making the way to the fort unpassable, it would have render'd it still more impracticable. *Just now* was the time for this work; and the work being so far accomplished, our forces, retreating after day-light was almost spent, found it necessary to go back with many wounded, and more *weary* men, unto their head quarters, near eighteen miles off, in a dismal night, through hardships, that an whole age would hardly parallel; which, if the *remaining enemies* had known, they might easily have cut off all our *enfeebled* and *bewildered* army. However, such a blow was now given to

* The accursed Camp. † How shall I speak thy praise!

‡ Time would not let me all his deeds recite—
His skill in council—prowess in the fight.

§ Thus to compare small things with great.

the enemy as never could be recovered! And our forces having in some following weeks made now and then some happy *gleanings* of their late victory, until the enemy was gone, they knew not whither, they returned unto their several homes until the next occasion.

§ 11. Deserted Mendham was this winter laid in ashes. And the French from Canada sending recruits unto the Indians for that purpose, the Indians thus recruited on February 10 fell upon the town of Lancaster, where they burned many houses, and murdered and captived more than forty persons. The worthy minister of the town, Mr. Rolandson, had been at Boston to intercede for some speedy succours; and though by this journey from home he was himself preserved, yet at his return he found his house on fire, his goods and books all burned, and, which was worse, his wife, and children, and neighbours, in the hands of the worst barbarians in the world. This good man, like David at Ziklag, yet *believed*, for the recovery of his relations out of those horrible hands, which about four or five months after was accomplished with wonderful dispensations of divine Providence, whereof the gentlewoman her self has given us a *printed narrative*. Captain Wadsworth, with forty resolute men, compelled the Indians to quit the place; but they soon did further mischiefs at Malborough, Sudbury, Chelmsford; and February 21, two or three hundred of them came wheeling down to Medfield, where they burnt near half the town, and killed near a score of the inhabitants; and February 25 Weymouth also suffered from these *burners* no little damage. An army under the command of that expert leader, Major Thomas Savage, about this time did make after the Indians as far as Northampton; and there was again a singular providence of God in ordering this matter: for had it not been for these recruits, those western plantations had probably been cut off by a vast body of Indians, which on March 14 in three places broke in upon the thin Palasadoes wherewith Northampton was fortified, and killed five persons, and burned five houses, but met with a brave repulse. On March 10 they did mischievous things at Groton and Sudbury: and on March 13 they burnt almost all Groton to the ground, and then called unto the English in the garrison, "What will you do for an house to pray in, now we have burnt your meeting-house!" But the enemy finding these parts of the country too many for them, they again translated the *scene* of their *tragedies* into Plymouth-colony; where, after they had on March 12 barbarously cut off two families under one roof in Plymouth, and on March 17 laid all Warwick, but one house, in ashes; Captain Pierce being fitted with fifty Englishmen, and with twenty Christian-Indians, did courageously pursue them. This meritorious captain was unhappily *trepann'd* into an *ambushment* of the enemy, who, on March 26, 1676, by meer multitude overpowered him; so that after he had first made a slaughter of an hundred and forty of *them*, he with forty-nine Englishmen (an *hard battel* truly!) and eight Christian-Indians, expired on the "bed of honour." This was

a very disastrous day! For on this day also the town of Malborough was all in flames by another assault from this treacherous adversary; and on this day several people at Springfield became a sacrifice unto their fury; wherefore methinks, reader, we want some *diverting story* to entertain us in the midst of so many horrible accidents. I will therefore mention a pleasant *stratagem* used by one of our Christian-Indians, in the fight when Captain Pierce lost his life. The Indian, who, I durst say, never had read *Polyenus*, being pursued by an enemy, betook himself unto a great rock, where sheltering himself, he perceived that his enemy lay on the other side ready with his gun to discharge upon him whenever he should stir one step from the place where he stood. He therefore took a stick which he had at hand, and hanging his hat upon it, he gently and slowly lifted it up, until he thought his *watchful friend* on the other side might be sensible of it: and accordingly the other taking this *hat* for the *head* of his adversary, let fly immediately, and shot through the hat: whereupon he briskly lift up his *head*, and presently letting fly, not upon the *hat*, but upon the *head* of the adversary, laid him dead upon the spot. In this fight another Indian luckily saved not only himself, but an Englishman too, by pretending to run after the Englishman with his hatchet, as if intending to kill him therewithal; and another Indian as luckily saved himself by besmearing his tawny face with wet gunpowder, which made him look so like some of the adverse party, who had black'd their faces, that they distinguished him not. Many such passages and policies are told of our *Christian-Indians*, who in truth showed their *Christianity* by their being wonderfully serviceable unto us in the war which now perplexed us. But, reader, be content that this paragraph relate a few more of the *pernicious things* done by the barbarians, about this time, in several parts of the country; and for thy comfort we will give in the next a relation of an unexpected *alteration* and *revolution*. Know, then, that on March 28 the Indians burnt about forty houses at Rehoboth; and on March 29 about thirty houses at Providence: for the English, retiring into garrisons, could not but leave their houses open to the impressions of the adversary. In the beginning of April they were mischievous at Chelmsford and Andover; and that they might by their cruelty discover whose children they were, they cut out the tongues of the dumb *creatures*, leaving them alive in misery; and putting others of those *poor creatures* alive into hovels, they would set them on fire. And although on March 27 about forty inhabitants of Sudbury made a salley forth in the night upon a body of three hundred Indians, killing thirty of them, without losing one of their own; yet on April 18 the Indians made a fierce assault upon Sudbury, wherein they burnt several houses, and killed a dozen persons that were coming from Concord for the assistance of their neighbours. But the worst part of the story is, that Captain Wadsworth, one worthy to live in our history, under the name of a *good man*, coming up after a long,

hard, unwearied march, with seventy men unto the relief of distressed Sudbury, found himself in the woods on the sudden surrounded with about five hundred of the enemy; whereupon our men fought like *men*, and more than so; but were so overwhelmed, that he, with another *good man*, one Captain Brattlebank, and more than fifty more, sold their *lives* for the *deaths* of about an hundred and twenty Indians. The Indians took five or six of the English prisoners; and that the reader may understand *crimine ab uno*,* what it is to be taken by such *devils incarnate*, I shall here inform him: they stripp'd these unhappy prisoners, and caused them to run the gauntlet, and whipped them after a cruel and bloody manner; they then threw hot ashes upon them, and cutting off collops of their flesh, they put fire into their wounds, and so with exquisite, leisurely, horrible torments, *roasted* them out of the world.

§ 12. But a Polybius will tell me, *Non decet Historice Scriptorem, duntaxat Res Crudules Legentibus Exponere*:† and I promised my reader “a turn of our affairs.” The prayers of many thousands of pious people, poured out with the greatest solemnity, did all this while *Cælum Tundere*,‡ and now they must, *Misericordiam extorquere*.§ The maxim uttered by the renowned king of Sweden, “the greater the army of prayers is, the more certain and glorious will be the victory!” must now be fulfilled; and the *supplications* for our distressed case, made by not only the churches of New-England, which were in the distress, but also by the churches of London, of Suffolk, of Dorset, of Devon, of Somerset, of Lancashire, of Dublin, (for which we now publicly return our thanks,) must now be answered. The *time limited* by Heaven for the success of the Indian *treacheries* was now almost expired: the blasphemy, and insolence, and prodigious barbarity of the salvages, was come to a sufficient *height*, for the “Lord God of Zabaoth” to interpose his own *revenges*: and the impossibility which there appeared for our people to attend their husbandry in the fields, or to find out their enemy in the woods, did, as the spring advanced, throw us into an extremity of *despair*, to wade through another summer like the last. But now was the time for deliverance! There was an *evil spirit of dissention* strangely sent among the Indians, which disposed them to separate from one another: the demons, who visibly exhibited themselves among them at their *powawing*, or conjuring, signified still unto them that they could now “do no more for them;” the Maqua's, a powerful nation in the west, made a descent upon them, ranging and raging through the desert with irresistible fury; fevers and fluxes became epidemical among them; and their being driven from their planting and fishing places, drove them into so much of a famine, as brought mortal sickness upon them: finally, a “visible smile of Heaven” was upon almost all the enterprizes of the English against them: and an unaccount-

* From one outrage. † It does not become the writer of history to horrify the reader with details of cruelty.

‡ Storm Heaven.

§ Wrest from it compassion.

able terror at the same time so dispirited them, that they were like men under a *fascination*. It was the *promise* of God unto his ancient people, "The Lord thy God will send the hornet among thine enemies, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed:" and I never saw a more sensible confirmation of that *promise*, or explication of that *hornet*, than in what now befel the enemies of New-England. They were just like beasts that are stung with a *garabee*, or hornet; they ran they knew not *whither*, they knew not *wherefore*; they were under such a *consternation*, that the English did even what they would upon them. I shall never forget the expressions which a desperate fighting sort of fellow, one of their generals, used unto the English after they had captivated him; "You could never have subdued us, but [said he, striking on his breast] the Englishman's God make us afraid here!" First, from Connecticut-colony, which the kind providence of our Lord Jesus Christ kept almost untouched in this bloody war, there went forth in the month of April, under the command of Captain Denison, sixty-six volunteers, with above an hundred friend-Indians, who took and slew seventy-six of the enemy, among whom were some of their chiefest princes, and made great havock on their stores, without losing any of their own: and a little before this, a party of Connecticut soldiers, with the like Indian assistance, took and slew forty-four of the enemy, without any loss on our side, but among the prisoners was QUANONCHET, the mighty sachem of Narraganset, whom the English wisely delivered unto their tawny auxiliaries for them to cut off his head, that so the alienation between them and the wretches in hostility against us might become incurable. There were still here and there little mischiefs done by the enemy; Plymouth, Taunton, Chelmsford, Concord, Haverhil, Bradford, Woburn, and other places, did sustain sundry damages: but the main character of the occurrents now happening on our part, was *victory over them*. Remarkable was the fate of Bridgewater, a most *praying*, and most *pious* town, seated in the very midst of the dangers of the war; that although they were often assaulted by formidable numbers of the enemies, yet in all their sharp assaults they *never lost one* of their inhabitants, young or old. They were solicited strongly to desert their *dwellings*, but they resolved that they would keep their *stations*: and now, on May 8, the Indians began to fire the town, but the inhabitants with notable courage issued forth from their garrisons to fight the enemy, and *God from heaven* at the same time fought for them, with a storm of lightning, thunder and rain, whereby a considerable part of their houses were preserved. Thou, church of Bridgewater,

*O minium Dilecta Deo, cui militat Æther,
Et Conjurati veniunt ad Classica Venti!**

One that was no Christian so sang the favours of Heaven to the Emperor

* The elements fought with thee; nay, and all | The trooping winds obeyed thy battle-call.

Theodosius; and so might the Pagan foe now sing of thy salvations! On May 6 our forces, assisted with some Christian Indians, did good execution upon the enemy near Medfield, and on May 11 did the like at Plymouth. And on May 18 two captive lads escaping from the hands of the enemy, informed the towns about Northampton, that a considerable body of the Indians were securely clanning together a few miles further up the river; whereupon about an hundred and fourscore active men went out immediately, and so surprized them, that they killed, as was judged, about an hundred on the spot, and they drove as many more into that "ancient river" that swept 'em away. But the English in the retreat were unhappily circumvented by a parcel of the enemy, who slew Captain Turner, and upwards of thirty more, although not without the loss of three hundred of their own, as was afterwards by some of themselves acknowledged. And on May 30 the enemy lost five and twenty in one onset which they made upon Hatfield, five being slain on our part in the action; as the week before this twelve of them were slain about Rehoboth, with the loss of but one of ours. New forces, both in Massachuset-colony and in Connecticut-colony, were now sent forth to distress the enemy in their places of planting and fishing. The Massachuset forces quickly took and kill'd near forty Indians, and the Connecticut forces took and kill'd an hundred; which exploits were performed without losing a man of our own. On June 12 seven hundred Indians made an assault upon Hadley; but they were driven off with *much* loss to them, and very *small* to our selves; and at the very time when the Indians were thus distressing of Hadley, the Maqua's fell upon their head-quarters, and slaughtered their women and children, and carried away much plunder with them. Thus the conquest of the Indians went on at such a rate, that whereas, June 29, 1675, was the *first fast* publickly observed in this colony on the occasion of the Indian troubles, now, June 29, 1676, was appointed a day of *thanksgiving* through the colony for the comfortable *steps* and *hopes* that we saw towards the end of those troubles.

§ 13. Reader, after this day of thanksgiving I shall have little to report unto thee but what is a *cause of thankfulness*! The Maqua's now fall upon Philip, and kill him fifty men at a time; upon as odd an occasion too as has been ordinarily heard of. He, as it is affirmed, being entertained among the Maqua's the last winter, used many means to seduce 'em, and perswade 'em unto a war against the English; and one of those means it seems was this: *he* kill'd some scattering Maqua's in the woods, and then told the rest that the English did it; but one of them whom he thought *killed* was only *wounded*, who, getting home unto his countrymen, gave 'em to understand who was the true murderer! and so the Maqua's, whom he would have brought upon the English, he only brought upon himself: *Nec enim Lex Justior ulla.** Philip now returns to Mount-Hope, and

* Nor was retribution ever more just.

finds it *Mount-Misery, Mount-Confusion!* A prince in Germany, long since, hearing that a neighbouring prince intended war upon him, immediately set himself upon the *reforming* of the people under his government; but his adversary, within a while after, enquired what *preparation* his neighbour was making to oppose him? and being informed that his chief *preparation* was *reformation*, he replied, "Nay, then, let the devil fight him for all me; if he be at that, he'll be too hard for me to meddle with him." The churches of New-England now more than ever began to be at *that*; and now see the effects of it! The churches in Plymouth-colony agreed upon a day solemnly to renew their COVENANT with God and one another; on the very *next day*, Major Bradford, with his Plymouth forces, was not only by a strange providence delivered from the stratagems of the ambushing adversary, but also took and slew many of them, without the loss of one Englishman: and the squaw-sachim of Saconet, with ninety of her subjects, hearing of *his approach*, submitted themselves unto *his mercy*: Major Bradford was the Œdipus, by whom that Sphinx was conquered! On July 2 our brethren of Connecticut in the Narraganset country took and kill'd an hundred and forescore of the Indians, without losing a man of their own; and in their march home they destroyed three-score more. Quickly after this, two hundred Indians in Plymouth-colony were compelled by the necessities upon them to surrender themselves; and upon advice from *them* of another party abroad, eight Englishmen, accompanied with fourteen of *them*, seized upon twenty more, without any hurt unto themselves. In the wood near Dedham there was more execution done upon them: and a negro that had been taken captive by them, informed us that near two hundred of them had formed a design of an attack upon Taunton, which *information* proved the *preservation* of the town: for auxiliaries being seasonably sent thither, the enemy met with a vigorous repulse, without the loss of one Englishman in the engagement. The Massachuset forces returned unto Boston July 22, having taken and killed an hundred and fifty Indians, with the loss of but *one* Englishman: but the principal actions, whereof Plymouth was now the stage, must be done by the hand of that worthy man, Captain CHURCH; whose very *name*, now, might suggest unto the miserable salvages *what* they must be undone by fighting against; and whose *lot* it was to be employ'd by the providence of Heaven at the time and place of the *catastrophe*, now waiting for a generation ripe for desolation. This gentleman made havoc among the salvages, like another Scanderbeg; he went out with a small party of about eighteen English, and twenty-two friend Indians, and in one week he had four several engagements with the enemy, wherein he took and slew seventy-nine of them, without losing one of his own; and by a particular *policy* he still made his captives to find out their fellows for him, and "set a thief to catch a thief," which facilitated his enterprizes wonderfully. Nevertheless, this hindred not others from doing their part

in exterminating the rabid animals, which, by a most unaccountable *syderation* from Heaven, had now neither *strength* nor *sense* left 'em to do any thing for their own defence. On July 25 thirty-six Englishmen from Dedham and Medfield, with ninety Christian-Indians, pursued, overtook, and captivated fifty of the enemy, without losing of a man; and among these was *Pomham*, a great sachim of the Narragansets, who, after he was wounded so that he could not stand, but was left a considerable while for dead, yet when an Englishman came near him, the *dying beast*, with a *belluine rage*, got such hold on his head, that he had killed him if there had not come help to rescue him. On July 27, Sagamore John submitted himself to the English mercy, with an hundred and fourscore Nipmuck Indians; and that he might ingratiate himself with the English, he brought in Matoonas with his son, who had begun the war in the Massachusetts-colony a little above a year ago; whereupon we ordered this very Sagamore to *shoot* him to death. On July 31 an handful of soldiers issuing out of Bridgewater, unexpectedly stumbled upon a company of the enemy, who, being well armed, snapp'd their guns at the English; but, which was a marvellous accident, not one of them took fire; whereat a *panic-terror* fell upon them, so that we took fifteen, we slew ten, the rest fled; of whom Philip himself was one, who left the chief of his treasure behind him. Not one of the English was hurt at this time! This was the success of a people that had just before solemnly renewed the consent of their souls to the "covenant of grace," and applied it unto the holy purposes of reformation among them. On August 1, Captain Church again, with about thirty English and twenty friend-Indians, took twenty-three of the enemy; and the next morning he came upon Philip's head-quarters, where they took and slew about an hundred and thirty of the enemy, with the loss of but *one* of their own: Philip himself, now also hardly escaping, but leaving his *peag*, and *wife*, and *son* behind him, which was no small torment unto him. On August 6, an Indian-deserter informing the inhabitants of Taunton where they might surprise more of the enemy, twenty men of *ours* immediately brought in thirty-six of *them*. The Squaw-sachim of Pocasset flying from this "broil upon the coast," now in that very place where she had furnished Philip with canoos for his men a year ago, she herself could not find a canoe, but venturing over the river upon a raft, which broke under her, she was drowned; and some of the English, not knowing who she was, when they found her, stuck her head upon a pole in Taunton, which, when the Indians that knew her saw, they fell into such hideous howlings and lamentations as can scarce be imitated.

But now, reader, prepare to make a just reflection upon that antient and famous passage of sacred Scripture, "Wo to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled! and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee! when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal

treacherously with thee!" One thing which emboldned King Philip in all his outrages, was an assurance which his *magicians* (consulting their *oracles*) gave him, that no "Englishman should ever kill him;" and, indeed, if any Englishman might have had the honour of *killing* him, he must have had a good measure of *grace* to have repressed the "vanity of mind" whereto he would have had some temptations. But this will not extend the life of that bloody and crafty wretch above "half his days!" A man belonging to Philip himself, being disgusted at him for killing an Indian who had propounded an expedient of peace with the English, ran away from him to Rhode-Island, where Captain Church was then recruiting of his weary forces; and upon the intelligence hereof, Captain Church, with a few hands of both English and Indians, immediately set forth upon a new expedition. That very night Philip (like the man in the army of Midian) had been dreaming that he was "faln into the hands of the English;" and now, just as he was telling his dream, with advice unto his friends to fly for their lives, lest the knave who had newly gone from them should shew the English how to come at them, Captain Church, with his company, fell in upon them; Philip attempted a flight out of the swamp, at which instant both an Englishman and an Indian endeavouring to fire at him, the Englishman's piece would not go off, but the Indian's presently shot him through his venomous and murderous heart; and in that very place where he first contrived and commenced his mischief, this Agag was now cut into quarters, which were then hanged up, while his head was carried in triumph to Plymouth, where it arrived on the very day that the church there was keeping a solemn thanksgiving to God. God sent 'em in the head of a *leviathan* for a *thanksgiving-feast*.

εὖτως πᾶς ἀπολοῖτο οἷς τοιαυτὰς ρεῖσι.*

*Sic pereat quisquis cæptarit talia posthac.**

At the time when King Philip, the *beginner* of the *war*, was thus come to the *conclusion* of his *life*, several of his men accompanied him into the other world; and, among the rest, that very Indian who fired the *first gun* at the English in this horrible war. But our Lebbæus, Captain Church, irresistibly still pursued his victories at such a rate, that in a few weeks there were, by his means, at least seven hundred of the enemy subjugated; and some of his achievements were truly so magnanimous and extraordinary, that my reader will suspect me to be transcribing the silly old romances, where the knights do conquer so many giants, if I should proceed unto the particular commemoration of them. Albeit I must also say, there were many other commanders whom, if we should measure by *conduct*, rather than by *success*, the fame of Captain Church ought by no means to bring an *eclipse* upon theirs; and though it be an *envious phrase* at sea, that the vessel which by any advantage *outsails* another, does *wrong her*;

* So let all perish who attempt such deeds.

I pray let not that phrase get *ashore*, to make it interpreted as a *wrong* to any other valiant and prudent commander, that any *one* has had *particular successes* attending of him. In our wars there were captains engaged, upon whose graves there may be engraved the character given by Sir Samuel Morland of Captain Jahir, who lost his life in the wars of the poor Waldenses:

“They were persons worthy to be renowned unto all posterity for their zeal for the service of God, and the preservation of his poor afflicted church; persons whom all the terrors of death could never affright, bold as lions in all their enterprises, but meek as lambs in the midst of all their victories: always lifting up their hands towards Heaven from whence deliverance came; and reciting sweet passages of Scripture, wherein they were versed unto admiration, to the great encouragement of all their followers.”

§ 14. While those parts of New-England, which had the *glory* of Evangelical churches in them, for a *defence* to be *created* upon, were thus tempestuated by a terrible war, there were other parts lying in the north-east of New-England, of a less Evangelical temper, which felt a furious *euroclydon* also beating upon them. The designs of lumber and fishing, but especially of the beaver-trade with the Indians, which last was very scandalously managed, had produced many fine settlements in the province of Main, and the county of Cornwall, and the brave regions lying beyond Piscataqua; but a great part of the English there grew too like the Indians, among whom they lived in their *unchristian* way of living; and instead of erecting churches among themselves, they neither *Christianized* the pagans, nor, by avoiding of the *vices* which they rather taught the Pagans, did they take a due course to preserve themselves from losing of Christianity in Paganism. Within twenty days after that Philip had begun the war at Mount Hope, in the year 1675, the Indians, two hundred and fifty miles distant from him to the northward, began the same game upon the remotest of these plantations. Misunderstandings happened between the English and the Indians upon very odd occasions; and many rude, wild, *ungovernable* English, did, unto the extream dissatisfaction of the wiser sort, rashly add unto the occasions which the Indians also took to grow *ungovernable*. Their little *swaggering* at one another, advanced into *scuffling*, and *scuffling* into *fighting*, so that at length there was *open war* between them; and there were many little encounters in the first three or four months, wherein the English lost fifty, and the Indians about ninety of their people; but at last it came to very “cruel depredations.” I am not willing to tire my reader with another long walk into the woods after these ravening salvages, or to enumerate the many successive destructions with which the Indians at length broke up all the English settlements to the northward of Wells; and if I should particularly relate how barbarously they murdered my dear friend, that exemplary *good* man Captain Thomas Lake, with many more at Arowsick-Island, in Kennebeck-river, on August 14th, 1676, I should but unto myself, *Infandum renovare dolorem*.* Inasmuch as I am writing

* Renew the grief no words can e'er express.

a *Church-History*, I may be excused, though I do not concern myself any further with provinces, where they made it so little of their own concern to gather any churches; it shall suffice for me to write thus much, that one of the first notable outrages done by the Indians, was at the house of one Wakely at Casco, whom with his wife, and son, and daughter-in-law, (with child) and a couple of grand-children, they barbarously butchered, and carried away three children into captivity. Now this honest old man was one who would often say, with tears, "that he believed God was displeased at him, inasmuch as, albeit he came into New-England for the sake of the gospel, yet he had left another place in the country, where he had enjoyed the gospel in the communion of a gathered church, and now had lived many years in a plantation where there was no church at all, nor the ordinances and institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ." The Massachusetts colony sent our forces under the command of Captain Hawthorn, and Captain Syll, and others, for the subduing of these Indians, and the success of attempts against them was very various. But the *Stunningest wound* of all given to them, was, when by a contrivance of the English, near four hundred of them were, on September 6, 1676, surprised at the house of Major Waldern, in Quechecho; whereof one half which were found *accessories* to the late rebellion, were sold for slaves; the rest were dismissed unto their own places; and at last, when both sides were weary, about the latter end of that year, a sort of peace was clapp'd up for the whole; so the "land had rest from war."

§ 15. I make no question that the story of Og, the king of the woody Bashan, encountered and conquered by Joshua, the Lord General of Israel, with his armies passing into Canaan, was the very thing which the Gentiles, in after ages, did celebrate under the notion of the serpent Python, (which is the same with Typhon) destroyed by Apollo. Og signifies a *burner*, as well as the name of Typhon, whom the poets make a Theomachous giant; and the Hebrews, for good causes, affording the name of Pethen, or a *serpent* unto such an enemy, we need not wonder that he is also named Python. The land where the gods gave battel to Typhon, was, according to Homer, *ἐν Ἀρεμοῖς*.^{*} And as we know Syria was the land of Aram, so Strabo will tell us, that the Arimi are the Syrians; which, with the river Orontes, called Ophites, as well as Typhon in Cœlo-Syria, designates the very country of Og unto us. The seat of the transaction related by Homer to have been in *ὠδίῃ*, which learned men have so long sought in vain, that at last they said it was in *Cimmeria*, that is to say, "no man knows where;" it is doubtless by a long mistake of the Scribes, put for *Ιουδία* or the land of *Judea*; but when he adds, that it was *χωρῶν ἐν δῖπυοσιν*, "in a region abounding with oaks," the region of Bashan is unquestionably pointed at.

What Homer sings about the *Τυφωσὸς εὐναί*, *Typhonis Cubilia*,[†] was not

* In the wilderness.

† The beds of Typhon.

understood by Virgil, when he made a *sepulchre* thereof, in his translating the matter into his ninth *Æneid*, because he had not read the account which the Scripture gives about Og's "bedstead of Iron." 'Tis as clear that Apollo, who was anciently called Pæan, or an *healer*, is the same with Joshua, whose name is of a like signification; and Apollo was called Anceus, likewise; but in commemoration of Joshua's exploits against the Anakim; the Phænicai, being also but Bene-Anak, or the sons of Anak in the first original. They by whom Typhon was combated, came out of Egypt, and so did the armies of Joshua; an *hero*, of whose mother, because we read nothing, she must be called Λητώ, or Letona, a *Latendo*.* Cadmus, the Gibeonite, carrying a colony into Græcia, did use there to remember the victories of Joshua, in such hymns as they had learned from their new masters in Canaan; and of those hymns, it is probable, the hundred and thirty-fifth Psalm in our Psalter might be one; yea, the Græcian, ἐλελεν ἰς ἰς,† used in their *Pæanisms*, might be but rude remembrances of the *Hallelujahs* anciently used in these hymns of Israel.

Reader, 'twas not unto a Delphos, but unto a Shiloh, that the planters of New-England have been making their progress, and King Philip is not the only Python that has been giving them obstruction in their passage and progress thereunto. But if *Infelix Exitus Persecutorum*‡ is any note of the *true church*, I am sure New-England has a true church to people it; for all the *serpents*, yea, or giants, that formerly molested that religious plantation, found themselves engaged in a fatal enterprize. We have by a true and plain history secured the story of our successes against all the Ogs in this *woody* country from falling under the disguises of mythology; but it administers to us the reflection which has been often made, that as of old the ruins that still overtook the persecutors of the poor Picardines caused men to say, "If a man be weary of his life, let him become an enemy to the Picardines!" The like ruins have overwhelmed them that have persecuted the poor New-Englanders. And we will not conceal the *name* of the God our Saviour, as an heathen country sometimes would, *Ne ab hostibus evocatus, alio Commigraret*:§ No, 'tis our Lord Jesus Christ, worshipped according to the rules of his blessed gospel, who is the great Phoebus, that "SUN of righteousness," who hath so saved his churches from the designs of the "generations of the dragon." 'Tis to our Lord Jesus Christ that we offer up our hallelujahs!—But it must, after all, be confessed, that we have had one enemy more pernicious to us than all the rest, and that is "our own backsliding heart," which has plunged the whole country into so wonderful a *degeneracy*, that I have sometimes been discouraged from writing the church-history of the country, lest

—————*Mulier Formosa, superne,
Desinat in Piscem.*||———

* Latona, from "latere," to conceal. † A shout of triumph. ‡ Fearful is the end of persecutors.

§ Lest he should be over-persuaded, by the adulations and offerings of the foe, to desert to them.

| Incongruous art should make the statue show | Venus above—a reptile's form below.

And since this degeneracy has obtained so much among us, the wrath of Heaven has raised up against us a succession of other *adversaries* and *calamities*, which have cast the land into great confusions; to rescue us from which the jealous kindness of Heaven has not made such *quick descents* as in *former times*. Alas! that my reader must now tell me,

Cæpisti melius quam desinis, ultima Primis
*Distant.**————

For which cause I now conclude our church-history, leaving to the churches of New-England, for their admonition, an observation which the renowned Commenius has made upon the famous churches of Bohemia, "that they were nearer to the sanctuary than other churches, by reason of a more pure discipline professed and embraced among them; and therefore, when they came to be depraved with apostasies, the Lord poured out his righteous displeasure upon them, and quickly made them sad examples to the other churches of the Reformation."

God knows what will be the END.

APPENDIX.

Decennium Luctuosum:†

AN HISTORY OF REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES IN THE LONG WAR,

WHICH NEW-ENGLAND HATH HAD WITH THE INDIAN SALVAGES,

FROM THE YEAR 1688 TO THE YEAR 1698, FAITHFULLY COMPOSED AND IMPROVED.

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE DEDICATION PREFACED UNTO THE FIRST EDITION.

TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW-ENGLAND.—*Sirs*: You are welcome unto the *history* of a tedious war, and unto a *period* of that war so far in prospect, as to render its history seasonable.

Every *reasonable* man will readily allow that it is a *duty* to God, and a *service* to the world, for to preserve the *memory* of such matters as have been the more *memorable occurrences* in the war that has for ten years together been multiplying *changes* and *sorrows* upon us. And the author, in whose historical writings the most *inquisitive envy* has never to this hour detected so much as one voluntary and material mistake, or one farthing paid unto the readers in the coin of *Candia*, has now chosen to preserve the memory of these matters while they are *fresh* and *new*, and one hath not *fifty years*, which is the channel of the *river of oblivion*, to pass over unto them. This expedition is used in the publication of our *Decennium Luctuosum*, in hope that, if any mistake worth noting do appear in these writings, it may *like*, and perhaps *with*, "a second edition," be "corrected and amended."

He expects no *thanks* for his essays to *do good*, in this way or any other, unto any part of his country, to whom he would gladly devote all his talents, if he were a thousand times better talented than he is; and though the most ungrateful treats imaginable (which are too well known by the

* Thy *last* scarce keeps the promise of thy *first*;
 Thy latter end is certainly thy worst.

† A Melancholy Decade.

name of "country-pay") should be given him, he would still be of that opinion, *Recte fecisse Merces est*: "if a man may *do good*, it is enough."

All the *favour* he desires of you is, that you would *not enquire after him*; or ask, "who he is?" but that he is at best but an *obscure* person, he may continue in yet more *obscurity*: which will be a greater pleasure to him than to be placed among the *great men* of Achaia. For, indeed, he hath often thought on a passage written by holy Mr. Row to his excellent son: "I pray that God would make use of my self and you, in such a way as that God only may be seen, and we not be taken notice of at all; that he may have the glory and we may not be seen."

Could he have invited his EXCELLENCY unto such a glorious table as that in a certain cabinet at Florence, which is furnished with birds and flow'rs, all consisting of neatly polished jewels inlaid into it—a work fifteen years in making, and worth an hundred thousand crowns; or could he have written a book worthy to be laid up in the cabinet of Darius, the author might have been under a temptation to have had his *name* engraved upon his work. But a little boil'd Indian corn in a tray is as much as our best history of an Indian war, compos'd perhaps in fewer *days* than there were *years* in the war, may presume to be compar'd unto. And since our history will not afford such a diversion unto his *excellency*, under the indispositions of his health, as those of Livy and Curtius did unto the princes that recovered their lost health by reading them; nor can any passage here be so happy, as *that* which cured Laurentius Medices of a malady by having it read unto him: it will require no more than a *nameless writer* to assure that great person on this occasion, that all the good people of New-England make their fervent vows unto the Almighty, *for his excellencies prosperity, and the welfare of his excellent lady, and of his noble and hopeful offspring*.

And the *naming* of the author is as little necessary to qualifie him, that he may pay publick acknowledgments unto the honourable the Lieutenant Governour; not only for his cares about the publick, while it was *tempestuated* with the Indian war, which now makes an history; but chiefly for his more than ordinary tenderness of that society, which has been the very *decus ac Tutamen** of New-England. The *nameless writer* of this history may report, that with a greater expense than that of the *first founder*, this honourable person proves that he *loves our nation*, by building us another *edifice* for the supply of all our *synagouges*, and STOUGHTON-HALL outshines HARVARD-COLLEGE: and he speaks *kinder language*, as well as *better Latin*, than that eminent statesman in Flanders, whose answer to a petition for the privileges of an University there to be restored, was, *Non curamus vestros privilegios*.† This report may he give, without being obliged for to confess any other *name* than this, which he readily confesses: "One that was once a Member of Harvard-Colledge."

I pray, sirs, ask no further; let this writing be like that on the wall to Belshazzar, where the hand only was to be seen, and not whose it was. The history is compiled with *incontestable veracity*; and since there is no *ingenuity* in it, but less than what many pens in the land might command, he knows not why his writing *anonimously* may not shelter him from the inconveniences of having any notice one way or other taken of him. Though, among his other small furniture, he hath not left himself unfurnished with skill in the Spanish language, yet he never could bring himself to the belief of the Spanish proverb, *Quien no parece perece*; i. e. "He that appears not, perishes;" he that shows not himself to the world, is undone. At Milan there is an academy of sensible persons, called, the *Nascosti*; or, "hidden men;" at Venice there is one of such persons called, the *Incogniti*;‡ and at Parma there is one of them, called, the *Innominati*.§ If there were nothing else disagreeable in them, the author of this history would be glad of an admission into such an academy.

The history is indeed of no very *fine thread*; and the readers, who every where "fish for nothing but carps," and who love, like Augustus, to "tax all the world" may find fault enough with it. Nevertheless, while the *fault* of an *untruth* can't be found in it, the author pretends that the famous history of the Trojan war it self comes behind our little history of the Indian war; for the best antiquaries have now confuted HOMER; the walls of Troy were, it seems, all made of *Poet's paper*; and the siege of the town, with the tragedies of the wooden horse, were all but a piece of poetry.

And if a war between *us* and an handful of Indians do appear no more than a *Batrachomyomachie*|| to the world *abroad*, yet unto us *at home* it hath been considerable enough to make an history.

* Glory and protection.

† We do not care for your privileges.

‡ Unknown.

§ Nameless.

| Battle of Frogs and Mice—a poem attributed to Homer.

Nor is the author afraid of promising, that of all the *thirty articles* which may make up this history, there shall not be *one* without *something* in it that may by our selves be justly thought *considerable*.

Should any *Petit Monsieur* complain, (as the captain that found not himself in the *tapestry hangings*, which exhibited the story of the Spanish invasion in 1588) that he don't find himself mentioned in this history, the author has this apology: he has done as *well*, and as *much* as he could, that whatever was worthy of a mention, might have it; and if this collection of matters be not compleat, yet he supposes it may be more compleat than any one else hath made; and now he hath done, he hath not pull'd up the ladder after him; *others* may go on as they please with a compleater composure.

* If the author had taken delight in this history, and at all times to celebrate the *merits* of such as have deserv'd well of his country, (which he has here done, it may be, for some that never could afford him a good word!)—especially, if he do erect *statues* for *dead worthies*, when there is no room left for flattery, (for who will bestow *paint* upon a *dead face*!)—and if he do all this with all possible concern to avoid casting *aspersions* upon others; why should any betray such *ill nature* as to be angry at it? “My good country, forgive him this injury!”

*Huic uni forsan poteram succumbere culpa.**

But whatever this history be, it aims at the *doing* of *good*, as well as the *telling* of *truth*; and if its aim shall be attained, *that* will be a sufficient *reward* for all the trouble of writing it. When he desires any more, he'll give you his *name*. In the mean time, as a far greater man once was called *Ludovicus nihili*, which you may make Lewis of Nothingham; so the author will count himself not a little favoured, if he may pass for one of no more account than a *no-body*; which would certainly make a very *blameless* person of him.

However, that the history may not altogether want a *subscription*, the author, finding it a custom among the Christian writers of the Orient, when they have written a treatise, to subscribe it after this manner: *Scriptum per servum vilem pauperem, omnibus justitiis privatum, peccatorem magis quam omnis caro*:† or, *Scriptit hoc pauper N. N.*;‡ or, *Est scriptura servi pauperis and qui benevolentia dei indiget, et miserationibus*;§ he will accordingly subscribe himself, “THE CHIEF OF SINNERS.” Nevertheless, he will humbly lay claim to the words used by the *nameless author* of a treatise entituled, “*The Faithful Steward*.” “Tho’ I am worse than they speak of me who cast disgrace upon me, and I can espy *ten* faults in my self where they can discern *one*; yet I can, thro’ grace, appeal to thee, O Lord, with some comfort, that I am *displeased* with *my self* for my sins, and I would fain *please thee* in all things, at all times, in all places, and in every condition.

DECENNIIUM LUCTUOSUM;

OR, THE REMARKABLES OF A LONG WAR WITH INDIAN SALVAGES.

Nobis in arcto, et inglorius Labor.||—TACIT.

INTRODUCTION.

TWENTY-THREE years have rouled away since the nations of Indians within the confines of New-England generally began a fierce war upon the English inhabitants of that country. The flame of war then raged thro’ a great part of the country, whereby many whole towns were laid in ashes, and many lives were sacrificed. But in little more than one year’s time, the *united* colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, with their united endeavours bravely conquered the salvages. The evident hand of Heaven appearing on the side of a people, whose *hope* and *help* was alone in the Almighty “Lord of Hosts,” extinguished whole *nations* of the salvages at such a rate, that there can hardly any of them now be found under any distinction upon the face of the earth. Only the fate of our northern and eastern

* Perchance I might forgive this single fault.

† Written by a poor mean slave, devoid of all righteousness, and a greater sinner than all flesh beside.

‡ Written by poor N. N. § Written by a poor slave, who needs the loving-kindness and pity of God.

|| Our toil is in a contracted field, and inglorious.

regions in that war was very different from that of the rest. The desolations of the war had overwhelmed all the settlements to the north-east of Wells. And when the time arrived that all hands were weary of the war, a sort of a *peace* was patched up, which left a body of Indians, not only with horrible murders unrevenged, but also in the possession of no little part of the country, with circumstances which the English might not think very honorable. Upon this peace, the English returned unto their plantations; their number increased; they stocked their farms, and sowed their fields; they found the *air* as *healthful*, as the *earth* was *fruitful*; their *lumber* and their *fishery* became a considerable merchandise; continual accessions were made unto them, until ten or a dozen towns in the province of Main, and the county of Cornwall, were suddenly started up into something of observation.

But in the year 1688, the Indians which dwelt after the Indian manner among them, commenced another war upon these plantations, which hath broke *them* up, and strangely held *us* in play for ten years together. In these ten years there hath been a variety of "remarkable occurrences;" and because I have supposed that a *relation* of those occurrences may be acceptable and profitable to some of my countrymen, I shall now, "with all faithfulness," endeavour it—"with all faithfulness," I say; because, though there should happen any *circumstantial mistake* in our story, (for 'tis a rare thing for any two men concerned in the same action, to give the story of it without some *circumstantial difference*), yet even this also I shall be willing to *retract* and *correct*, if there be found any just occasion! But for any one *material error* in the whole composure, I challenge the most *sagacious malice* upon earth to detect it, while matters are yet so fresh as to allow the detection of it. I disdain to make the apology once made by the Roman historian, *Nemo Historicus non aliquid mentitus, et habiturus sum mendaciorum comites, quos Historiæ et eloquentiæ miramur authores*.* No; I will write with an irreproachable and incontestable *veracity*; and I will write not one thing but what I am furnished with so good authority for, that any reasonable man, who will please to examine it, shall say, "I do well to insert it as I do." And I will hope that my reader hath not been studying of Godefridus de Valle's book, "*De Arte Nihil Credendi*;" about "The Art of Believing Nothing." Wherefore having at the very beginning thus given such a knock upon thy head, *O Malice*, that thou canst never with reason *hiss* at our history, we will proceed unto the several articles of it.

ARTICLE I.

THE OCCASION AND BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

IF Diodorus Siculus had never given it as a great rule of history, *historiæ primum studium, primariaque consideratio esse videtur, insoliti gravisque casus principio causas investigare*,† yet my reader would have expected that I should *begin* the history of our war with an history of the occurrences and occasions which did *begin* the war. Now, reader, I am at the very first fallen upon a *difficult point*; and I am in danger of pulling a war upon myself, by endeavouring of thy satisfaction. In truth, I had rather be called a *coward*, than undertake myself to determine the *truth* in this matter; but having *armed* myself with some good authority for it, I will transcribe two or three reports of the matter now in my hands, and leave it unto thy own determination.

* There is no historian who has not told some falsehoods, and I shall have as my companions in mendacity those whom all admire as models of historic truth and eloquence.

† It seems to be the first object and primary consideration with historians, to investigate the original causes of every great and unusual calamity.

One account I have now lying by me, written by a gentleman of Dover, in these terms:

"The eastern Indians, and especially those of Saco and Ammonoscoggin, pretend many reasons for the late quarrel against the English, which began this long and bloody war.

1. "Because the English refused to pay that yearly tribute of corn, agreed upon in the 'articles of peace,' formerly concluded with them by the English commissioners.

2. "Because they were invaded in their fishery, in Saco-river, by certain gentlemen, who stopp'd the fish from coming up the river with their *nets* and *sains*. This they were greatly affronted at, saying, 'they thought (though the English had got away their lands as they had, yet) the fishery of the rivers had been a privilege reserved entire unto themselves.'

3. "Because they were abused by the English, in suffering, if not turning their cattel over to a certain island to destroy their corn.

4. "But the fourth and *main* provocation was; the granting or patenting of their lands to some English; at which they were greatly enraged, threatening the surveyor to knock him on the head if he came to lay out any lands there.

5. "To these may be added the common abuses in *trading*, viz; drunkenness, cheating, &c., which such as trade much with them are seldom innocent of."

Doubtless these Indian allegations may be answered with many English vindications. But I shall at present intermeddle no further than to offer another account, which also I have in my hands, written by a gentleman of Casco. It runs in such terms as these:

"Many were the outrages and insultings of the Indians upon the English, while Sir E. A. was governour. At North-Yarmouth, and other places at the eastward, the Indians killed sundry cattel, came into houses, and threatned to knock the people on the head; and at several times gave out reports that they would make a war upon the English, and that they were animated to do so by the French. The Indians behaving themselves so insultingly, gave just occasion of great suspicion. In order for the finding out the *truth*, and to endeavour the preventing of a war, Captain Blackman, a justice of peace, with some of the neighborhood of Saco river, seized several Indians that had been bloody murderous *rogues* in the first Indian war, being the chief ring-leaders, and most capable to do mischief. The said Captain Blackman seized to the number of between sixteen and twenty, in order for their examination, and to bring in the rest to a treaty. The said Blackman soon sent the said Indians with a good guard to Falmouth in Casco-Bay, there to be secured, until orders could come from Boston concerning them. And in the mean time the said Indians were well provided with provisions and suitable necessaries. The rest of the Indians robb'd the English, and took some English prisoners; whereupon post was sent to Boston. Sir Edmond Andros being at New-York, the gentlemen of Boston sent to Falmouth some soldiers for the defence of the country, and also the worshipful Mr. Stoughton, with others, to treat with the Indians in order for the settling of a peace, and getting in of our English captives. As soon as the said gentlemen arrived to the eastward, they sent away one of the Indian prisoners to the rest of the Indians, to summon them to bring in the English they had taken; also, that their sachems should come in to treat with the English, in order that a just satisfaction should be made on both sides. The gentlemen waited the return of the Indian messenger; and when he returned he brought answer that they would meet our English at a place called Macquoit, and there they would bring in the English captives, and treat with the English. And although the place appointed by the Indians for the meeting was some leagues distant from Falmouth, yet our English gentlemen did condescend to it, in hope of getting in our captives, and putting a stop to further trouble. They dispatch'd away to the place, and carried the Indian prisoners with them, and staid at the place appointed, expecting the coming of the Indians that had promised a meeting. But they, like false, perfidious rogues, did

not appear. Without doubt they had been counselled what to do by the French and their abettors, as the Indians did declare afterwards; and that they were near the place, and saw our English that were to treat with them, but would not show themselves; but did endeavour to take an opportunity to destroy our English that were to treat with them. Such was their treachery! Our gentlemen staid days to wait their coming; but seeing they did not appear at the place appointed, they returned to Falmouth, and brought the Indian prisoners, expecting that the other Indians would have sent down some reason why they did not appear at the place appointed, and to make some excuse for themselves. But, instead of any compliance, they fell upon North Yarmouth, and there kill'd several of our English. Whereupon the eastern parts were ordered to get into garrisons, and to be upon their guard until further orders from Sir Edmond Andros; and that the Indian prisoners should be sent to Boston, which was done with great care, and not one of them hurt; and care taken daily for provision. But Sir E. A., returning from New-York, set them all at liberty; not so much as taking care to redeem those of our English for them that were in their hands. I had kept one at Falmouth a prisoner, to be a guide into the woods for our English, to find out the haunts of our heathen enemies; but Sir E. A. sent an express to me, that upon my utmost peril I should set the said Indian at liberty, and take care that all the arms that were taken from him, and all the rest of those Captain Blackman had seized, should be delivered up to them, without any orders to receive the like of ours from them."

It will be readily acknowledged, that here was enough done to render the Indians inexcusable for not coming in upon the proclamation, which Sir Edmond Andros, then governour of New-England, immediately emitted thereupon, requiring them to surrender the murderers now among them. A Spaniard, that was a soldier, would say, "that if we have a good cause, the smell of gunpowder in the field is as sweet as the incense at the altar." Let the reader judge, after these things, what scent there was in the gunpowder spent for nine or ten years together in our war with the Indian-Salvages.

Now that while we are upon this head, we may at once dispatch it, I will unto these two accounts add certain passages of one more, which was published in September, 1689:

"Such were the *obscure measures* taken at that time of day, that the *rise* of this war hath been as dark as that of the river Nilus; only the generality of *thinking people* through the country can remember *when* and *where* every one did foretel a war. If any *wild English* (for there are such as well as of another nation) did then *begin* to provoke and affront the Indians, yet those Indians had a fairer way to come by right than that of bloodshed, nothing worthy of, or calling for, any *such* revenge, was done unto them. The most *injured* of them all, (if there were any such,) were afterwards dismissed by the English with favours that were then admirable even to *ourselves*; and these, too, instead of surrendring the *persons*, did increase the *number* of the murderers. But upon the *REVOLUTION* of the government, (April, 1689,) the *state of the war* became wholly *new*: and we are more arrived unto 'righteousness as the light,' and 'justice as the noon day.' A great sachem of the East we then immediately applied ourselves unto, and, with no small expences to ourselves, we engaged him to employ his interest for a good understanding between us and the party of Indians then in hostility against us. *This* was the *likely*, the *only* way of coming at those wandring salvages: but that very sachem now treacherously of an *embassador* became a *traitor*, and annexed himself with his people to the *heard* of our enemies, which have since been ravaging, pillaging, and murdering, at a rate which we ought to count *intolerable*. The Penacook Indians, of whom we were jealous, we likewise treated with; and while we were by

our kindnesses and courtesies endeavouring to render them utterly inexcusable, if ever they sought our harm, even *then*, did *these* also by some *evil instigation*, (*the devil's*, no doubt!) quickly surprize a plantation where they had been civilly treated a day or two before, and commit at once more *plunder* and *murder* than can be heard with patience."

Reader, having so placed these three accounts as to defend my *teeth*, I think I may safely proceed with our story. But because Tacitus teaches us to distinguish between the meer *occasions* and the real *causes* of a war, it may be some will go a little higher up in their enquiries: they will enquire whether no body seized a parcel of wines that were landed at a French plantation to the Eastward? Whether an order were not obtained from the King of England, at the instance of the French ambassador, to restore these wines? Whether, upon the vexation of this order, we none of us ran a *new-line* for the bounds of the province? Whether we did not contrive our new-line so as to take in the country of Monsieur St. Casteen? Whether Monsieur St. Casteen, flying from our encroachments, we did not seize upon his arms and goods, and bring them away to Pem-maquid? and *who* were the *we* which did these things? And whether the Indians, who were extreemly under the influence of St. Casteen, that had married a sagamore's daughter among them, did not from this very moment begin to be obstreperous? And whether all the sober English in the country did not from this very moment foretel a war? But for any answers to all these enquiries, I will be my self a Tacitus.

ARTICLE II.

THE FIRST ACTS OF HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE INDIANS AND THE ENGLISH.

WHEN one Captain Sargeant had seized some of the principal Indians about Saco, by order of Justice Blackman, presently the Indians fell to seizing as many of the English as they could catch. Captain Rowden, with many more in one place, and Captain Gendal, with sundry more in another place, particularly fell into the hands of these desperate *man-catchers*. Rowden, with many of his folks, never got out of their cruel hands; but Gendal, with his, got a release, one can scarce tell *how*, upon the return of those which had been detained in Boston. Hitherto there was no spilling of blood! But some time in September following, this Captain Gendal went up, with soldiers and others, to a place above Casco, called North Yarmouth, having orders to build *stockados* on both sides of the river, for defence of the place, in case of any sudden invasion. While they were at work, an English *captive* came to 'em with information, that seventy or eighty of the enemy were just coming upon 'em; and he advised 'em, "to yield quietly, that they might save their lives." The soldiers that went thither from the southward, being terrified at this report, ran with an hasty terror to get over the river; but with more *haste* than *good*

speed; for they ran directly into the hands of the Indians. The Indians, dragging these their prisoners with 'em, came up towards the *Casconians*; who having but a very little time to consult, yet in this time resolved, first, "that they would not be seized by the salvages;" next, "that they would free their friends out of the hands of the salvages, if it were possible;" thirdly, "that, if it were possible, they would use all other force upon the salvages without coming to down-right fight." Accordingly they laid hold on their neighbours, whom the salvages had seized, and this with so much dexterity, that they cleared them all, except one or two; whereof the whole number was about a dozen. But, in the scuffle, one sturdy and surly Indian held his prey so fast, that one Benedict Pulcifer gave the *mastiff* a blow with the edge of his broad ax upon the shoulder, upon which they fell to't with a vengeance, and fired their guns on both sides, till some on both sides were slain. These were, as one may call them, "the scower pit" of a long war to follow. At last the English victoriously chased away the salvages, and returned safely unto the other side of the river. And thus was the *vein* of New-England first opened, that afterwards *bled* for ten years together! The skirmish being over, Captain Gendal in the evening passed over the river in a canoe, with none but a servant; but landing where the enemy lay hid in the bushes, they were both slain immediately. And the same evening, one Ryal, with another man, fell unawares into the hands of the enemy; Ryal was afterwards ransomed by Monsieur St. Casteen, but the other man was barbarously butchered. Soon after this, the enemy went eastward unto a place called *Merry-meeting*, (from the concourse of divers rivers there) where several English had a *sad-meeting* with them; for they were killed, several of them even in cold blood, after the Indians had seized upon their houses and their persons. And about this time the town called *Sheepscote*, was entered by these rapacious *wolves*, who burnt all the houses of the town, save two or three. The people saved themselves by getting into the fort, all but one man, who, going out of the fort for to treat with them, was treacherously assassinated. Thus the place which was counted "the garden of the east," was infested by serpents; and a sword expelled the poor inhabitants. Little more spoil was done by the salvages before winter, except only that, at a place called Kennebunk, near Winter-harbour, they cut off two families, to wit, Barrow's and Bus-sie's; but winter coming on, the *serpents* retired into their holes. When summer comes, reader, look for *tornadoes* enough to overset a greater vessel than little New-England.

ARTICLE III.

THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF THE ENGLISH AGAINST THE INDIANS.

WHEN the keeper of the wild beasts at Florence has entertained the spectators with their encounters on the stage, he has this device to make 'em retire into the several dens of their seraglio. He has a fearful *machin* of wood, made like a great *green dragon*, which a man within it rous upon wheels, and holding out a couple of lighted torches at the eyes of it, frights the fiercest beast of them all into the cell that belongs unto him. Sir Edmund Andros, the Governour of New-England, that he might express his resolutions to force the wild beasts of the east into order, in the winter now coming on, turned upon them as effectual a machine as the green dragon of Florence; that is to say, an army of nearly a thousand men. With this army he marched himself in person into the Caucasæan regions where he built a fort at Pemmaquid, and another fort at Pechypscot falls besides the fort at Sheepsote. He and his army underwent no little hardship, thus in the depth of winter to expose themselves unto the circumstances of a campaign, in all the bleak winds and thick snows of that northern country. But it was hop'd that good forts being thus garrison'd with stout hearts in several convenient places, the Indians might be kept from their usual retreats, both for planting and for fishing, and lye open also to perpetual incursions from the English in the fittest seasons thereof; and it was thought by the most sensible, this method would in a little while compel the enemy to submit unto any terms: albeit others, considering the vast woods of the wilderness, and the French on the back of these woods, fancied that this was but a project to "hedge in the cuckow." However, partly the *army*, and partly the *winter*, frighted the salvages into their inaccessible dens: and yet not one of the Indians was killed; but sickness and service kill'd, it may be, more of our English than there were Indians then in hostility against them. The news of matters approaching towards a REVOLUTION in England, caused the governour to return unto Boston in the spring; and, upon his return, there fell out several odd events, with *rumours*, whereof I have now nothing to say, but that "I love my eyes too well" to mention them. Some of the soldiers took advantage from the absence of the governour to desert their stations in the army; and though this action was by *good men* generally condemned as an *evil action*, yet their friends began to gather together here and there in little bodies, to protect them from the governor, concerning whom abundance of odd stories then buzz'd about the country, made 'em to imagine that he had carried em out only to sacrifice 'em. Some of the principal gentlemen in Boston, consulting what was to be done in this extraordinary juncture, they agreed that, although *New-England* has as much to justify a revolution as *old*, yet they would, if it were possible,

extinguish all essays in the people towards an *insurrection*, in daily hopes of orders from England for our safety: but that if the country people, by unrestrainable violences, pushed the business on so far as to make a revolution unavoidable, then, to prevent the shedding of blood by an ungoverned *mobile*, some of the gentlemen present should appear at the head of it, with a *declaration* accordingly prepared. He that reads the "Narrative of Grievances" under the male-administrations of the government then tyrannizing, written and signed by the chief gentlemen of the Governor's Council, will not wonder at it, that a revolution was now rendered indeed unavoidable. It was a government whereof Ned Randolph, a bird of their own feather, confess'd, as we find in one of his published letters, "that they were as arbitrary as the great Turk." And for such a government a better similitude cannot perhaps be thought on than that of Monsieur Souligne: "'Tis like the condition of persons possessed with evil spirits, which will go an hundred leagues in less time than others can ten; but at the journey's end find themselves to be so bruised, that they never can recover it." The revolution, (and, ye tories, a *just* one) was accordingly *made* on the eighteenth of April, which their majesties, then happily seated on the British throne, kindly accepted and approved. The governor and magistrates, of the Massachusetts-colony, which were in power *three years and half* before, (a period often observed!) did some time after this resume their places, and apply themselves to such "acts of government" as emergencies made necessary for them, fortified with a letter from the king, "to authorize and empower them in their administrations." Thus they waited for further directions from the authority of England, and such a "settlement" as would "most conduce" (which were the words of the king's letter, bearing date August 12, 1689,) "to the security and satisfaction of the subjects in that colony."

ARTICLE IV.

A FLAME SPREADING UPON THE BEST ENDEAVOURS TO QUENCH IT.

It was hop'd the war would now come to an immediate end; but the great God who *creates that evil*, had further intentions to chastise a *sinful people* by those who are *not a people*. The government sent Captain Greenleaf to treat with the Indians at Penacook, who answered him with fair pretences and promises of amity. They procured an interview with some of the more eastern sagamores, who not only promised *friendship* themselves, but also undertook to make our *enemies* become our *friends*. They sent unto the soldiers yet remaining at Pammaquid for to keep their *post*, engaging to them that they should not want their *pay*. But all this care was defeated by *methods* of *mischiefs* too deep for our present penetration. The salvages began to renew their hostilities at Saco falls, in the

beginning of April, on a Lord's day morning, some while before the *revolution*. The Penacook Indians were all this while peaceably conversant at Quoquecho; and so long as that conversation continued, the inhabitants were very secure of any danger, not only from those *cut-throats*, but also from their *brethren*. Happy had it been for those honest people, if their *fear* had made so much haste as my *pen* has done, to call 'em *cut-throats*! For the Penacookian, joining with the Saconian Indians, hovered about Quoquecho, where one Mesadowit, a sagamore, being that night kindly entertained by Major Richard Waldern, horribly betray'd his kind host, with the neighbours, into the hands of murderers. Above an hundred, some say five hundred of the Indians, about break of day, having surprised the secure and silent English, they particularly rushed into the garrison of the generous Major, which was by Simon Mesadowit (for bestowing a *heathen name* upon him, we'll now call him *so*) opened for them, and having first barbarously murdered the old gentleman, who was equivalent unto *two and twenty*, they then murdered two and twenty more, and captived nine and twenty of the people; burnt four or five of the best houses, took much plunder, and so drew off; but kill'd Mr. John Broughton in their drawing off: while Mr. John Emmerson, a worthy preacher at Berwick, by declining to lodge at the hospitable Major's that night, when strongly invited, received a remarkable deliverance. Hereupon forces were dispatch'd for the relief of what remained in Quoquecho; Captain Noyes also with more forces visited Penacook, where, though the *men* escaped him, he destroy'd the *corn* of our new enemies: but the sculking enemies at the same time slew several persons at an out-farm on the north side of Merrimack-river. A party of men were soon after sent out of Piscataqua, under the command of Captain Wincal, who went up to Winnopisseag ponds, (upon advice of one John Church, who ran from them, that the Indians were there,) where they killed one or two of the *monsters* they *hunted* for, and cut down their corn. Four young men of Saco, desirous to join with them, went into the woods to *seek* their *horses*, and *found* their *deaths* by an ambush of Indians. Twenty-four armed men, going forth from Saco-falls to bury the slain, had a brisk encounter with the Indians, whom they pursued into a vast swamp, until a greater number of Indians pouring in upon them, obliged 'em, with the loss of about five or six more, to retire from any further action. But before the dogs-days were out, there was more *bleeding* still that prov'd fatal to us. On August 2, one Starky, going early in the morning from the fort at Pemmaquid unto New Harbour, fell into the hands of the Indians, who, to obtain his own liberty, informed them that the fort had at that instant but few men in it: and that one Mr. Giles, with fourteen men, was gone up to his farm, and the rest scattered abroad about their occasions. The Indians hereupon divided their army; part going up to the falls, kill'd Mr. Giles and others; part, upon the advantage of the tide, snapt the rest

before they could recover the fort. From a rock near the fort, which inconveniently overlook'd it, the assailants now overlook'd it, as over Lincoln, and grievously gauled the defendants. Captain Weems had but few with him that were able to fight; and his own face was in the fight by an accident horribly scorched with gunpowder. Wherefore the day following they surrendered the fort upon capitulations for life and liberty; which yet the Indians broke, by butchering and capturing many of them. Captain Skynner and Captain Farnham, repairing to the fort, from an island about half a mile distant from it, were both slain as they landed on the rocks; and Mr. Patishal, as he lay with his sloop in the Barbican, was also taken and slain. This, together with more spoil done by the Indians on the English at Sheepscote, and Kennebeck, and other places Eastward, caused the inhabitants to draw off unto Falmouth as fast as they could: and well if they could have made good their *standing* there!

MANTISSA.—The foregoing article of our *tragedies* hath related the taking of Quoquecho! The condition of two persons under and after the fate of Quoquecho, may have in it an entertainment acceptable for some sort of readers. It shall be in this place reported, from the communications of Mr. John Pike, the worthy minister of Dover, to whom I have been beholden for communicating to me many other passages also which occur in this our history.

I. Mrs. ELIZABETH HEARD, a widow of a good estate, a mother of many children, and a daughter of Mr. Hull, a reverend minister formerly living at Piscataqua, now lived at Quoquecho. Happening to be at Portsmouth on the day before Quoquecho was cut off, she returned thither in the night with one daughter and three sons, all masters of families. When they came near Quoquecho, they were astonished with a prodigious noise of Indians, howling, shooting, shouting, and roaring, according to their manner in making an assault. Their distress for their families carried them still further up the river, till they secretly and silently passed by some number of the raging salvages. They landed about an hundred rods from Major Waldern's garrison; and running up the hill, they saw many lights in the windows of the garrison, which they concluded the English within had set up for the direction of those who might seek refuge there. Coming to the gate, they desired entrance; which not being readily granted, they called earnestly, and bounced, and knocked, and cried out of their unkindness within, that they would not open to them in this extremity. No answer being yet made, they began to doubt whether all was well, and one of the young men then climbing up the wall, saw a horrible tawny in the entry with a gun in his hand. A grievous consternation seiz'd now upon them; and Mrs. Heard, sitting down without the gate through despair and faintness, unable to stir any further, charged her children to shift for themselves, for she must unavoidably *there* end her days. They finding it impossible to carry her with them, with heavy hearts forsook her; but then coming better to herself, she fled and hid among the Barberry-bushes in the garden: and then hastning from thence, because the daylight advanced, she sheltered herself (though seen by two of the Indians) in a thicket of other bushes, about thirty rods from the house. Here she had not been long before an Indian came towards her, with a pistol in his hand: the fellow came up to her, and stared her in the face, but said nothing to her, nor she to him. He went a little way back, and came again, and stared upon her as before, but said nothing; whereupon she asked him, "what he would have?" He still said nothing, but went away to the house co-hooping, and

returning unto her no more. Being thus unaccountably preserved, she made several essays to pass the river, but found herself unable to do it; and finding all places on that side the river fill'd with blood, and fire, and hideous outcries, thereupon she return'd to her old *bush* and there poured out her ardent prayers to God for help in this distress. She continued in the bush until the garrison was burnt, and the enemy was gone; and then she stole along by the river side, until she came to a boom, where she passed over. Many sad effects of cruelty she saw left by the Indians in her way; until arriving at Captain Gerish's garrison, she there found a refuge from the storm; and here she soon had the satisfaction to understand that her own garrison, though one of the first that was assaulted, had been bravely defended and maintained against the adversary. This gentlewoman's garrison was the most extrem frontier of the province, and more obnoxious than any other, and more uncapable of relief; nevertheless, by her presence and courage, it held out all the war, even for *ten years* together; and the persons in it have enjoy'd very eminent preservations. The garrison had been deserted, if *she* had accepted offers that were made her by her friends, of living in more safety at Portsmouth; which would have been a damage to the town and land: but by her encouragement this post was thus kept; and she is yet living in much esteem among her neighbours.

II. MRS. SARAH GERISH, daughter to Captain John Gerish of Quochecho, a very beautiful and ingenious damsel, about seven years of age, lodg'd at the garrison of her affectionate grandfather, Major Waldern, when the Indians brought an horrible destruction upon it. She was always very fearful of the Indians; but what fear may we think now surprised her, when they fiercely bid her go into such a chamber and call the people out? Finding only a little child in the chamber, she got into the bed unto the child, and hid herself in the cloaths as well as she could. The fell-salvages quickly pull'd her out, and made her dress for a march, but led her away with no more than one stockin upon her, a terrible march through the thick woods, and a thousand other miseries, till they came to the Norway plains. From thence they made her go to the end of Winnopisseag lake, and from thence to the Eastward, through horrid swamps, where sometimes they must scramble over huge trees fallen by storm or age for a vast way together, and sometimes they must climb up long, steep, tiresome, and almost inaccessible mountains. Her first master was one Sebundowit, a dull sort of fellow, and not such a *devil* as many of 'em were; but he sold her to a fellow that was a more harsh and mad sort of a *dragon*, and he carried her away to Canada.'

A long and a sad journey she had of it, thro' the midst of an hideous desert, in the midst of a dreadful winter: and who can enumerate the frights that she endured before the end of her journey? Once her master commanded her to loosen some of her upper-garments, and stand against a tree while he charged his gun; whereat the poor child shrieked out, "he's going to kill me!" God knows what he was going to do; but the villain having charged his gun, he call'd her from the tree, and forbore doing her any damage. Another time her master ordered her to run along the shore with some Indian girls, while he paddled up the river in his canoe. As they were upon a precipice, a tawny wench violently push'd her headlong into the river: but it so fell out, that in that very place the bushes hung over the water; so that getting hold of them she recovered herself. The Indians ask'd her how she became so wet? but she durst not say how, through dread of the young Indians, who were always very abusive to her when they had her alone. Moreover, once being spent with travelling all day, and lying down spent and wet at night, she fell into so profound a sleep that in the morning she waked not. The barbarous Indians left her *asleep*, and covered with *snow*; but at length waking, what agonies may you imagine she was in, to find herself left a prey for bears and wolves, and without any sustenance, in an howling wilderness, many scores of leagues from any plantation? She ran crying after them; and Providence having ordered a snow to fall, by means thereof she track'd them until she overtook them. Now, the young Indians began to terrifie her with daily intimations, "that she was quickly to be roasted unto death;" and one evening much fuel was prepared between two logs,

which they told her was for *her*. A mighty fire being made, her master called her to him, and told her that she should presently be burnt alive. At first, she stood amazed; afterwards she burst into tears; and then she hung about the tygre, and begg'd of him with an inexpressible anguish, that he would save her from the fire. Hereupon the monster so relented as to tell her, "that if she would be a good girl, she should not be burnt."

At last they arrived at Canada, and she was carried unto the Lord Intendant's house, where many persons of quality took much notice of her. It was a week after this that she remained in the Indian hands before the price of her ransom could be agreed on. But then the Lady Intendant sent her to the *nunnery*, where she was comfortably provided for; and it was the design, as was said, for to have brought her up in the Romish religion, and then have married her unto the son of the Lord intendant. She was kindly used there, until Sir William Phips, lying before Quebec, did, upon exchange of prisoners, obtain her liberty. After sixteen months' captivity she was restored unto her friends; who had the consolation of having this their desirable daughter again with them, returned from the *dead*; but coming to be sixteen years old, in the month of July, 1697, death, by a malignant feavor, more irrecoverably took her from them.

ARTICLE V.

NEW FORCES RAISED, AND NEW ACTIONS DONE.

ON August 28, 1689, Major Swayn, with seven or eight companies, raised by the Massachusetts-colony, marched eastward; and soon after Major Church, with a party of English and Christian-Indians, raised in Plymouth-colony, follow'd them. While these were on their march, the Indians that lay skulking after the Indian fashion in the thick woods, took notice how many men belong'd unto Lieut. Huckin's garrison: and seeing 'em all go out unto their daily work, nimbly ran so between them and the garrison, as to kill 'em all (about eighteen) but one, who being accidentally gone over the river, escaped them. They then attacqued the garrison, in which there now were only two boys, (and one of them lame) with some women and children; but these two *boys* very *manfully* held 'em in play a considerable while, and wounded several of them, and kept them off, till the assailants had found a way to set the house on a light fire over their heads. They then urging 'em to surrender for the sake of the goods, the boys (*brave boys* truly!) would *not*, until they had solemnly promised 'em their *lives*. But the perfidious wretches broke their promise, for they presently kill'd three or four of the children. However, one of these *minutius's*, the day after, very happily got out of their clutches. It was by a particular accident that these Indians were delivered from falling into the hands of Captain Garner, who pursued them vigorously. But while the forces now gone into the east were settling of garrisons in convenient places, a huge body of Indians fell upon Casco, where one of their first exploits was their killing of Captain Bracket. Nevertheless, Captain Hall (a valiant *soldier* in the former war, and a valiant *commander* in *this*) with his vigorous Lieutenant Dawes, just then arriving with his company, the English hotly engaged them for several hours; and after a deal of true

English valour discovered in this engagement, and the loss of ten or a dozen men, the Indians ran for it, with *what* loss on their part we do *not* know; *that* with *some* we do. Presently after this, Major Swayn, passing through extream difficulties to get at it, gave some relief to a garrison at Blue Point, which was beset by the Indians, who still fled into their inaccessible swamps when our bullets began to be hail'd upon them. It was judg'd that here one or *two opportunities* of bringing the war unto an end were strangely mist and lost: But where the *mismanagement* lay *I cannot remember*; nor what were the *faux pas* of the actors. Our *honest major* will clear himself, who, returning then to his head-quarters at Berwick, sent abroad scouts to learn, if it were possible, where they might have the *best game* at the *Chasse a La Bete noire*,* then to be followed. Captain Wiswel having with him a party of Indian auxiliaries, *they* were sent out under the conduct of Lieutenant Flag: But coming to Winnopiseag, these Indians had a consult in their own language, and sending back their Lieutenant with two Indians, nineteen of them staid in that country eleven days, not having any English with them: At which the major was justly and greatly offended. It was then *suspected*, and afterwards (by escap'd captives) *asserted*, that these wretches found the enemy, and lodg'd with them two nights, and told them what they knew of the English numbers and motions. The enemy then retired into the howling deserts, where there was no coming at them: And no endeavours being able to reach them, the army, in the month of November following, was dismissed: Only some soldiers were left in garrison at Wells, at York, at Berwick, and at Quechecho, for the assistance of the poor inhabitants against any more invasions. There has been little doubt that our northern Indians are originally Scythians; and it is become less a doubt, since it appears from later discoveries that the pretended straits of Anian are a sham; for Asia and America it seems are there contiguous. Now, of these our *Scythians* in *America*, we have still found what Julius Cæsar does report concerning them of Asia:

Difficilius Invenire quam Interficere :

“It is harder to *find* them than to *foil* them.”

A Digression, relating some Wonderful Judgments of God.

BEFORE we pass to another year, stand still, reader, and behold some wonderful events proper here to be introduced. The relation thereof shall be given as I have received it.

“PORTSMOUTH, Feb. 27, 1698-9.

“Monsieur Vincelotte, of Quebeck, arrived here the 25th of the last month, and since embarked for France by way of Bilboa, as agent to represent the affairs of Canada.

“He says that, about nine or ten years since, the Earl of Frontenac, governor of that place, who died last November, did personally attempt to subdue the Maqua's, &c. having no less than fifteen hundred soldiers in his army.

* A Game—“*Hunt of the Black Beast.*”

"After a few days' march, they (being much wearied, and very thirsty) came unto a certain small *well*, of which they drank very plentifully. But in a few hours after sundry complained of much *illness*, and according to their *various constitutions* fell sick (as it seem'd) of *different distempers*; which occasioned so great disorder and confusion in the army, that no less than *four well men*, for a while, were engaged in taking care of every *one* that was sick. About three days after, the Maqua scout narrowly observing the motions of the French, rallied together as many as possible, to give a check unto their undertaking; which they soon accomplished with very considerable advantage. But the French appearing so numerous, forced them to retreat, and in pursuit of them, took and ransackt a small town.

"The sickness by this time increased unto so great an height, as to occasion a 'council of war,' which ordered their speedy return; and in a short time, no less than eight hundred persons died out of the army.

"Now, about three years ago a certain soldier, who belong'd at that time to the army went into France. In a short time after his arrival, he robb'd one of the churches of a considerable value of plate; but being soon discovered, he was sentenced to be burnt. He then sent unto sundry *father confessors*, unto whom he acknowledged his many sins; particularly the fact for which he was condemned. But he therewithal said, that he had *something else* of more considerable moment to impart, which did much afflict his conscience: namely, an action of his about seven years before committed, when listed under the conduct of the Earl of Frontenac, in an enterprize against the Sennakers and Maqua's; for, (said he) 'I was the only person at that time instrumental to the death of near eight hundred souls. Having received some affront from some of the officers, I was prompted to seek some speedy revenge, which my own corrupt nature, with the instigation of Satan, did instantly accomplish; for being plentifully stored with some rank poison upon another account, I threw it all into a well, of which the thirsty army drank freely, and in the event it proved so fatal unto them.'

"For the further confirmation of this report, Monsieur Vincelotte at the same time told me, that he was himself wounded in the engagement, and should continue lame to his dying day.

"Reverend Sir, your most humble servant,

" S. PENNALLOW."

ARTICLE VI.

NEW ASSAULTS FROM THE INDIANS, WITH SOME REMARKABLES OF CAPTIVES TAKEN IN THOSE ASSAULTS.

THE *sun* and the *war* be again returning! The year 1690 must begin very inauspiciously. In February, the French with Indians made a descent from Canada upon a Dutch town called Schenectada, twenty miles above Albany, under the government of New-York, and in that surprising incursion they killed about sixty persons, whereof one was their minister, and carried about half as many into captivity; but the people there, assisted by the Maqua's, pursued them, and recovered some of their captives from them. Upon the advice of this mischief in the *west*, order was dispatch'd unto Major Frost in the *east*, that the towns there should stand upon their guard. The Major did his duty; but they did not theirs: They dreamt that while the deep snow of the winter continued, they were safe enough; but this proved as vain as a dream of a dry summer. On March 18, the French with Indians—being half one, half t'other—half Indianized French, and half Frenchified Indians—commanded by Mon-

sieur Artel and Hope-Hood, fell suddenly upon Salmon Falls, destroying the best part of the town with fire and sword. Near thirty persons were slain, and more than fifty were led into what the reader will by and by call "the worst captivity in the world." It would be a *long* story to tell, what a particular share in this calamity fell to the family of one Clement Short: This honest man, with his pious wife, and three children, were killed: and six or seven of their children were made prisoners. The most of which arrived safe to Canada, through a thousand hardships; and the most of these were with more than a thousand mercies afterwards redeemed from Canada, unto their English friends again. But my readers will be so reasonable as to excuse me, if I do not mention the fate of every family that hath suffered a share in the calamity of this grievous war; for 'tis impossible that I should *know all* that hath happened; and it would be improper for me to *write all* that I know: And very little is the advantage of having a name standing upon record only among unhappy *sufferers*. About sevenscore English went out after 'em, and came up with 'em: Nevertheless, through the disadvantages of their *feet* by the *snow*, they could make no *hand* on it. Four or five of ours were kill'd, and as many of the enemy; but the night put an end unto the action. Ours took one prisoner, a Frenchman, who confess'd that they came from Canada, where both French and Indians were in pay at ten livers per month, and he particularly declared the state of Canada. This *prisoner* met with such kind usage from us, that he became a "*freeman* of Christ," and embraced and professed the Protestant religion. But of the prisoners which the enemy took from us, there were two which immediately met with a very different fate. Three Indians hotly pursued one Thomas Toogood, and one of them overtaking him, while the rest perceiving it, staid behind the hill, he yielded himself a prisoner. While the salvage was getting strings to bind him, he held his gun under his arm; which Toogood observing, suddenly pluckt it from his friend Stark Naught, threatening and protesting that he would shoot him down if he made any noise; and so away he ran with it unto Quoquecho.

If my reader be inclined now to smile, when he thinks how simply poor Isgrim look'd, returning to his mates behind the hill, without either *gun* or *prey*, to remember him of his *own deserts*, the *smiles* will all be presently turn'd into *tears*. The Indians had now made a prisoner of one Robert Rogers, and being on their journey they came to an hill, where this man, being, through his corpulency, (for which he was usually nicknamed, Robin Pork) and an insupportable and intolerable *burden* laid upon his back, not so able to travel as the rest, he absconded. The wretches missing him, immediately went in pursuit of him; and it was not long before they found his *burden* cast in the way, and the *track* of his going out of the way, which they followed, until they found him hidden in a hallow tree. They took him out, they stript him, they beat him, and

prick'd him, and push'd him forward with their swords, until they were got back to the hill; and it being almost night, they fastned him to a tree with his hands behind him, and made themselves a supper, singing, dancing, roaring and uttering many signs of joy, but with *joy* little enough to the poor creature who foresaw what all this tended unto. They then cut a parcel of wood, and bringing it into a plain place, they cut off the top of a small red oak tree, leaving the trunk for a stake, whereto they bound their sacrifice. They first made a great fire near this "tree of death," and bringing him unto it, they bid him take his leave of his friends, which he did in a doleful manner; no pen, though made of a Harpy's quill, were able to describe the dolour of it! They then allowed him a little time to make his prayers unto Heaven, which he did with extream fervency and agony: whereupon they bound him to the stake, and brought the rest of the prisoners with their arms tied each to other, so setting them round the fire. This being done, they went behind the fire, and thrust it forwards upon the man, with much laughter and shouting; and when the fire had burnt some while upon him, even till he was near stifled, they pull'd it again from him. They danc'd about him, and at every turn they did with their knives cut collops of his flesh from his naked limbs, and throw them with his blood into his face. When he was dead, they set his body down upon the glowing coals and left him tied with his back to the stake; where the English army soon after found him. He was left for *us* to put out the *fire* with our *tears*!

Reader, who should be the *father* of these *myrmidons*?

ARTICLE VII.

THE CONDITION OF THE CAPTIVES THAT FROM TIME TO TIME FELL INTO THE HANDS OF THE INDIANS; WITH SOME VERY REMARKABLE ACCIDENTS.

WE have had *some* occasion, and shall have *more*, to mention captives falling into the hands of the Indians. We will here, without any thing worthy to be call'd a *digression*, come to a little *stand still*, and with mournful hearts look upon the condition of the captives in those cruel hands. Their condition truly might be express'd in the terms of the ancient Lamentations, (thus by some translated) Lam. iv. 3: "The daughter of my people is in the hands of the cruel, that are like the ostrich in the wilderness." Truly the "dark places" of New-England, where the Indians had their unapproachable *kennels*, were "habitations of cruelty;" and no words can sufficiently describe the cruelty undergone by our captives in those habitations. The cold, and heat, and hunger, and weariness, and mockings, and scourgings, and insolencies endured by the captives, would enough deserve the name of *cruelty*; but there was this also added unto the rest, that they must ever now and then have their friends made a

"sacrifice of devils" before their eyes, but be afraid of dropping a tear from those eyes, lest it should upon that provocation be next their own turn to be so barbarously sacrificed. Indeed, some *few* of the captives did very happily escape from their barbarous oppressors, by a *flight* wisely managed; and many more of them were bought by the French, who treated them with a civility ever to be acknowledged, until care was taken to fetch 'em home. Nevertheless, many scores of 'em died among the Indians; and what usage they had may be gathered from the following relations, which I have obtained from credible witnesses:

RELATION I.—James Key, son to John Key, of Quochecho, was a child of about five years of age, taken captive by the Indians at Salmon Falls; and that hellish fellow, Hope-Hood, once a servant of a Christian master in Boston, was become the master of this little Christian. This child lamenting with tears the want of *parents*, his master threatened him with death if he did not refrain his tears; but these threatnings could not extinguish the natural affections of a child. Wherefore, upon his next lamentations, this monster stript him stark naked, and lashed both his hands round a tree, and scourged him so that from the crown of his head unto the sole of his foot he was all over bloody and swollen: and when he was tired with laying on his blows on the forlorn infant, he would lay him on the ground, with taunts remembering him of his parents. In this misery the poor creature lay horribly roaring for divers days together, while his master, gratified with the *musick*, lay contriving of new torments wherewith to martyr him. It was not long before the child had a *sore eye*, which his master said proceeded from his *weeping* on the forbidden accounts: whereupon, laying hold on the head of the child with his left hand, with the thumb of his right he forced the ball of his eye quite out, therewithal telling him, "that when he heard him cry again he would serve t'other so too, and leave him never an eye to weep withal." About nine or ten days after, this wretch had occasion to remove with his family about thirty miles further; and when they had gone about six miles of the thirty, the child being tir'd and faint, sat him down to rest, at which this horrid fellow being provoked, he buried the blade of his hatchet in the brains of the child, and then chopp'd the breathless body to pieces before the rest of the company, and threw it into the river. But for the sake of these and other such truculent things done by Hope-Hood, I am resolved, that in the course of our story I will watch to see what becomes of that hideous *loup-garou*,* if he come to his *end*, as I am apt to think he will, before the story.

RELATION II.—Mehitabel Goodwin, being a captive among the Indians, had with her a child about five months old; which, through hunger and hardship, (she being unable to nourish it,) often made most grievous ejaculations. Her Indian master told her, that if the child were not quiet he would soon dispose of it; which caused her to use all possible means that his Netop-ship might not be offended; and sometimes carry it from the fire out of his hearing, where she sat up to the waste in snow and frost for several hours until it was lull'd asleep. She thus for several days preserved the life of her *babe*, until he saw cause to travel with his own *cubs* farther afield; and then, lest he should be retarded in his travel, he violently snatch'd the babe out of its mother's arms, and before her face knock'd out its brains, and stript it of the few *rags* it had hitherto enjoy'd, and order'd her the task to go wash the *bloody cloaths*. Returning from this melancholy task, she found the infant hanging by the neck in a forked bough of a tree. She desired leave to lay it in the earth; but he said, "it was better as it was, for now the wild beasts would not come at it, [I am sure they had been at it!]" and she might have the comfort of seeing it again if ever they came that way." The journey now before them was like to be very long, even as far as Canada, where his purpose was to make merchandise of his captive, and glad was the captive of such happy tidings.

* Were-wolf.

But the desperate length of the way, and want of food, and grief of mind wherewith she now encountred, caused her within a few days to faint under her difficulties. When at length she sat down for some repose, with many prayers and tears unto God for the salvation of her soul, she found herself unable to rise, until she espied her furious executioner coming towards her with *fire* in his eyes, the *devil* in his heart, and his *hatchet* in his hand, ready to bestow a *mercy-stroke* of death upon her. But then this miserable creature got on her knees, and with weeping, and wailing, and all expressions of agony and entreaty, prevailed on him to spare her life a little, and she did not question but God would enable her to "walk a little faster." The merciless tyrant was prevail'd withal to spare her this time; nevertheless her former weakness quickly returning upon her, he was just going to murder her; but a couple of Indians just at that instant coming in, suddenly called upon him to "hold his hand;" whereat such an horror surprized his *guilty soul*, that he ran away. But hearing them call his *name*, he returned, and then permitted these his friends to ransom his prisoner from him. After this, being seated by a river side, they heard several guns go off on the other side, which they concluded was from a party of Albany Indians, who were enemies unto these; whereupon this bold blade would needs go in a canoe to discover what they were. They fired upon him, and shot through him and several of his friends before the discovery could be made unto satisfaction. But some days after this, divers of his friends gathered a party to revenge his death on their *supposed enemies*; with whom they joyned battel, and fought several hours, until their *supposed enemies* did really put 'em to the rout. Among the captives which they left in their flight, one was this poor Goodwin, who was overjoyed in seeing her self thus at liberty; but the *joy* did not last long, for these Indians were of the *same sort* with the other, and had been by their own *friends* thus through a strange *mistake* set upon. However, this crew proved more favourable to her than the former, and went away silently with their booty, being loth to have any *noise* made of their foul mistake, and yet, a few days after, such another *mistake* happened; for meeting with another party of Indians, which they imagined in the *English interests*, they furiously engaged each other, and many were killed and wounded on either side; but they proved a party of the French Indians, who took this poor Goodwin, and presented her to the French captain, by whom she was carried unto Canada, where she continued five years, and then was brought safe back into New-England.

RELATION III.—Mary Plaisted, the wife of Mr. James Plaisted, was made a captive by the Indians about three weeks after her delivery of a male child. They then took her, with her infant, off her bed, and forced her to travel in this her weakness the best part of a day, without any respect of pity. At night the *cold ground* in the *open air* was her lodging; and for many a day she had no nourishment, but a little water with a little bears-flesh; which rendred her so feeble, that she with her infant were not far from totally starved. Upon her cries to God, there was at length some supply sent in by her master's taking a Moose, the broth whereof recovered her. But she must now travel many days thro' woods, and swamps, and rocks, and over mountains, and frost and snow, until she could stir no farther. Sitting down to rest, she was not able to rise, until her diabolical master helped her up; which when he did, he took her child from her, and carried it unto a river, where, stripping it of the few rags it had, he took it by the heels, and against a tree dashed out his brains, and then flung it into the river. So he returned unto the miserable mother, telling her, "she was now eased of her burden, and must walk faster than she did before!"

RELATION IV.—Mary Ferguson, taken captive by the Indians at Salmon Falls, declares that another maid, of about fifteen or sixteen years of age, taken at the same time, had a *great burden* imposed on her. Being over-born with her burden, she burst out into tears, telling her Indian master, "that she could go no further." Whereupon he immediately took off her burden, and leading her aside into the bushes, he cut off her *head*, and *scalping* it, he ran about laughing and bragging what an *act* he had now done; and showing the scalp unto the rest, he told them, "they should all be served so if they were not patient."

In fine, when the *children* of the English captives cried at any time, so that they were not

presently quieted, the manner of the Indians was to dash out their brains against a tree. And very often, when the Indians were on or near the water, they took the small children, and held them under water till they had near drowned them, and then gave them unto their distressed mothers to quiet 'em. And the Indians in their frolicks would whip and beat the small children, until they set 'em into grievous outeries, and then throw 'em to their amazed mothers for them to quiet 'em again as well as they could.

This was *Indian captivity*!—Reader, a modern traveller assures us, that at the Villa Ludovisia, not far from Rome, there is to be seen the body of a *petrified man*; and that he himself saw by a piece of the man's leg, broken for satisfaction, both the bone and the stone crusted over it. All that I will say, is, that if thou canst read these passages without relenting bowels, thou thyself art as really *petrified* as the man at Villa Ludovisia.

*Nescio tu quibuses, lector, lecturus ocellis; hoc scio quod siccis scribere non potui.**

ARTICLE VIII.

A LITTLE ACCOUNT OF THE GREATEST ACTION THAT EVER NEW-ENGLAND ATTEMPTED.

I HAVE read or heard that when the insufferable abuses which the English nation suffered from the *abbeys* were in the parliament complained of, the total dissolution of those abbeys was much forwarded by a speech of a gentleman in the House of Commons to this purpose; that his own house had been much annoy'd by *rooks* building in a tree near unto it, and that he had used many ineffectual ways to disturb and disroost these mischievous rooks, until at last he had found out an *infallible way* to be delivered from the rooks, and that was to cut down the *tree* that lodged 'em. The distresses into which New-England was now fallen, made this very comparison to be thought of. The Indian *rooks* grievously infested the country; and while the country was only on the *defensive part*, their *men* were thinned, their *towns* were broken, and their *treasures* consumed, without any hope of seeing an end of these troublesome tragedies. The French colonies to the northward were the *tree* in which those *rooks* had their *nests*: and the French having in person first fallen upon the English of New-England, it was thought that the New-Englanders might very justly take this occasion to reduce those French colonies under the English government, and so at once take away from all the *rooks* for ever all that gave 'em any advantage to infest us. Accordingly, a naval force with about seven hundred men, under the conduct of Sir William Phips, was dispatched away to L'Accady and Nova Scotia. This fleet setting sail from New-England, April 28, 1690, in a fortnight arrived at Port-Royal, and Sir William, having the fort surrendered unto him, took possession of that province for the crown of England. But this was only a step towards

* I know not, reader, whether you will read this record with dry or tearful eyes; I only know I could not write it without tears in mine.

a far greater action! There was no speech about the methods of safety made, which did not conclude with a *delenda est Carthago*.^{*} It was become the concurring resolution of all New-England, with New-York, that a vigorous attack should be made upon Canada at once, both by sea and land. A fleet of thirty-two sail, under the command of Sir William Phips, was equipp'd at Boston, and began their voyage, August 9, and the whole *matter* was put into *form*, with so much contrivance, and caution, and courage, that nothing but an evident hand of Heaven was likely to have given such a *defeat* unto it, as has been indeed generally and remarkably given unto all the colonies of America, when they have invaded one another. If this expedition did miscarry, and if Canada proved unto New-England what it prov'd unto the Spaniards, when at their deserting it they call'd it, *El Capo de Nada*: or, "the cape of nothing," (whence the name *Canada*) there is no New-Englander but what will maintain that it was with a less disgraceful miscarriage than what baffled every one of those that were made in this war against the French islands, by more powerful fleets of those who were forward enough to reproach New-England. I am sure he that reads the account of what was done at Martinico, in the "*Relation of the Voyage of M. de Gennes*," lately published, must be very easie in his reflections upon what was done at Canada. And I will add, that if the New-England-men return'd *re infecta*† from Canada, yet they did not leave two hundred men behind them to the mercy of the French, as they who most reproached New-England soon after did at Guadalupa.

The fuller narrative of these memorable things the reader may find written in "*the Life of Sir William Phips*," lately published, of which I must here give this attestation, that as my acquaintance with the author gives me assurance of his being as willing to *retract* a mistake, as unwilling to *commit* one, and of his care in whatever he writes, to be able to make the profession of Ecolampadius, *Nolui aliquid scribere, quod improbatum putem Christum*.‡ so I have compared this narrative with the *journals* of the expedition; and I find the most contested passages of the story (nor did I ever hear of any more than one or two little circumstantial passages contested as carrying a sound a little too *rhetorical*; but I say, I find them) to be the very express words thereof contained in those journals; and more than so, that very credible persons concerned therein have readily offered their depositions upon *oath* to the truth of what is written. So I take my leave of that history, and of Sir William Phips, the memorable subject of that history, whom I leave under this

EPI TAPH.

Bonus non est, qui non ad invidiam usque bonus est.§

* Carthage must be destroyed!

† Leaving their enterprise unfinished.

‡ I have taken care to write nothing, which I thought could bring reproach on Christ.

§ He is not good, who is not good enough to be hated.

[A DIGRESSION.]

READER, since we can give no better an account of the *last* English expedition to Canada, why may we not for a minute or two refresh ourselves with a story of an *old* one?

In the very year when the Massachuset-colony began, the English attempted the conquest of Canada; and though the *first* attempt miscarried, the *second* prospered. The story of it makes a chapter in Father Hennepin's account of the vast country lately discovered betwixt Canada and Mexico; and this is the sum of it.

While a colony was forming itself at Canada, an English fleet was equipp'd in the year 1628, under the command of Admiral Kirk, with a design to take possession of that country. In their voyage, having taken a French ship at the isle Percee, they sailed up the river as far as Tadousac, where they found a bark, in which they set ashore some soldiers to seize on Cape Tourment. And here a couple of salvages discovering them, ran away to advise the people of Quebeck that the English were approaching. When the fleet arrived, the admiral summoned the town to surrender, by a letter to Monsieur Champelin the governour: but the governour, notwithstanding his being so surprised with the invasion, made such a resolute answer, that the English (though, as the historian says, "they are a people that will sooner die than quit what they undertake") did conclude fort Quebeck was in a much better condition for defence than it really was, and therefore, desisting from any further attempt at this time, they returned into England with resolution further to pursue their design at a more favourable opportunity.

Accordingly, on July 19, 1629, in the morning, the English fleet appear'd again over against in the great bay of Quebeck, at the point of the isle of Orleans; which consisted of three men of war and six other vessels. Admiral Kirk, sending a summons form'd in very civil expressions for the surrender of the place, the miserable state of the country, which had been by the English interceptions hindred of supplies from France for two years together, oblig'd the Sieur Champelin to make a softer answer than he did before. He sent Father Joseph Le Caron aboard the admiral to treat about the surrender, and none of his demands for fifteen days, and then for five days' time to consider on't, could obtain any longer time than till the evening to prepare their *articles*. Upon the delivery of this message, a council was held, wherein some urged, that the English had no more than two hundred men of regular troops aboard, and some others which had not much of the air of soldiers; and that the courage of the inhabitants was much to be relied upon, and therefore it was best for to run the risk of a siege: but Monsieur Champelin, apprehending the bravery of the English, remonstrated unto the council, that it was better to make a surrender on good terms, than be all cut in pieces by an unreasonable

endeavour to defend themselves. Upon this, the articles, regulating all matters, were got ready, and Father Joseph had his commission to carry them aboard the English admiral, where the *signing* of them was deferred until to morrow. On July 20, the articles of capitulation were signed on both sides, and the English being landed, were put in possession of Canada by the governour of it. The French inhabitants, who were then in the country, had twenty crowns a-piece given them, the rest of their effects remained unto the conquerors; but those who were willing to stay, were favoured by the English with great advantages. The fleet set sail again for England, September 14, and arrived at Plymouth, October 18, in that year.

ARTICLE IX.

CASCO LOST.

WHEN the Indians at last perceived that the New-Englanders were upon a likely design to swallow up the French territories, the *prospect* of it began to have the same operation upon them, that the *success* of the design would have made *perpetual*; that is, to dis-spirit them for giving the New-Englanders any further molestations. Nevertheless, *before* and *until* they were thoroughly advised of what was a doing, and likely to be done, they did molest the country with some tragical efforts of their fury. Captain James Converse was marching through the vast wilderness to Albany with some forces, which the Massachusetts colony were willing to send by land (besides what they did send by sea unto Quebeck,) for the assistance of the army in the west that was to go from thence over the lake, and there fall upon Mount Real; but unhappy tidings out of the east required the diversion of those forces thither. About the beginning of May, the French and Indians, between four and five hundred, were seen at Casco, in a great fleet of canoos passing over the bay; but not seeing or hearing any more of them for two or three weeks together, the Casconians flattered themselves with hopes that they were gone another way. But about May 16, those hopes were over; for one Gresson, a Scotchman, then going out early, fell into the mouths of these hungry salvages. It proved no kindness to Casco, though it proved a great one to *himself*, that a commander so qualified as Captain Willard was called off two or three days before. But the officers of the place now concluding that the whole army of the enemy were watching for an advantage to surprise the town, resolved that they would keep a strict watch for two or three days, to make some further discovery before they sally'd forth. Notwithstanding this, one Lieutenant Clark, with near thirty of their stoutest young men, would venture out as far as the top of an hill in the entrance of the wood, half a mile distant from the town. The out-let from the town to the wood was thro'

a lane that had a fence on each side, which had a certain block-house at one end of it; and the English were suspicious, when they came to enter the lane, that the Indians were lying behind the fence, because the cattle stood staring that way, and would not pass into the wood as they used to do. This mettlesome company then ran up to the fence with an *huzza!* thinking thereby to discourage the enemy, if they should be lurking there; but the enemy were so well prepared for them, that they answered them with an horrible vengeance, which killed the lieutenant with thirteen more upon the spot, and the rest escaped with much ado unto one of the garrisons. The enemy then coming into town, beset all the garrisons at once, except the fort; which were manfully defended so long as their ammunition lasted; but that being spent, without a prospect of a recruit, they quitted all the four garrisons, and by the advantage of the night got into the fort. Upon this the enemy, setting the town on fire, bent their whole force against the fort, which had hard by it a deep *gully*, that contributed not a little unto the ruin of it: for the besiegers getting into that gully, lay below the danger of our guns. Here the enemy began their *mine*, which was carried so near the walls, that the English, who, by fighting five days and four nights, had the greatest part of their men killed and wounded, (Captain Lawrence mortally among the rest,) began a parley with them. Articles were agreed,* that they should have liberty to march unto the next English town, and have a guard for their safety in their march; and the French commander, lifting up his hand, swore by the everlasting God for the performance of these articles. But the agreement was kept as those that are made with Hugonots use to be: The English, being first admonished by the French that they were all *rebels* for proclaiming the Prince of Orange their King, were captived, and many of them cruelly murdered by the Indians: only some of them (and particularly Major Davis,) were carried unto Canada, where the gentry very civilly treated them. The garrisons at Papoodack, Spurwink, Black Point, and Blue Point, were so disanimated at these disasters, that without *orders* they drew off immediately to Saco, twenty miles within Casco, and from Saco in a few days also they drew off to Wells, twenty miles within the said Saco; and about half Wells drew off as far as Lieutenant Storer's. But the arrival of *orders* and *soldiers* from the government, stopt them from retiring any further; and Hope-Hood, with a party that staid for further mischief, meeting with some resistance here, turn'd about, and having first had a skirmish with Captain Sherborn, they appear'd the next Lord's day at Newichawannick or Berwick, where they burnt some houses, and slew a man. Three days after, they came upon a small hamlet on the south side of the Piscataqua river, called Fox Point, and besides the burning of several houses, they took half a dozen, and killed more than a dozen of the too securely ungarrisoned people; which it was as easie to do, as to have spoiled an ordinary hen-roost. But Captain Floyd and

Captain Greenleaf coming upon those Indians, made some slaughter among them, recovered some captives, with much plunder, and bestowed a good wound upon Hope-Hood, who lost his *gun* (which was next his *life*) in this action.

[Villain! thou shalt not escape so: There must quickly be another stroke upon thee.]

All that shall further belong to this paragraph of our story is, that when the Indians were got into the woods, they made one Goody Stockford their messenger to her neighbours, whose *charity* she so well solicited, that she got a shalop full of it unto Casco, where the Indians permitted us to redeem several of the prisoners.

ARTICLE X.

HARM WATCH'D AND CATCH'D BY THE INDIANS,

And Several Rare Instances of Mortal Wounds upon the English, not proving Mortal.

THAT memorable tygre, Hope-Hood, (called also Wohawa,) finding the coast hereabouts too hot for him, went away with his crew a great way to the westward, with a design to bewitch another crew at Aquadocta into his assistance. Here a party of French Indians, by a strange mistake, supposing Hope-Hood and his wretches to have been the Indians who had lately done some spoil upon them at Canada, furiously fell upon them, and in their *blind fury* slew him and a considerable part of his company. So we have now done with *him*: In the mean time, some other Indians came upon an helpless place, called Spruce Creek, and kill'd an old man, and carried a woman into captivity; but tho' Captain Converse pursued 'em three days, they were too nimble for him. On July 4, eight or nine persons, working in a field at a place call'd Lampereel River, the *scythe* of *death* unhappily mow'd them down in that "field of blood:" The Indians by surprize kill'd 'em all, and carried a lad captive. About this time a council of war was called at Portsmouth, 'by which 'twas thought adviseable to send out Captain Wiswel, with a considerable scout, for to scour the woods as far as Casco; and it being resolved that one of the other Captains, with about four score stout men, should accompany Captain Wiswel in this action; they *all* with such a generous emulation offered it, that it was necessary to determine it by a *lot*, which fell upon Captain Floyd. On July 4, assisted with Lieutenant Andrews, and a detachment of twenty-two men from Wells, they took their march from Quochecho into the woods. But the day following, the enemy set upon Captain Hilton's garrison in Exeter, which Lieutenant Bancroft, then posted at Exeter, with the loss of a few of his men, relieved. At this time there happened a remarkable thing. I know not whether the story told by Plato be true, that one Herus Armenius (whom Clemens will have to be Zoroaster) being slain in war, lay ten days among the dead, and then being brought away, and on the twelfth day laid on a funeral pile, he came to

life again. But it is true, that one Simon Stone, being here wounded with shot in *nine* several places, lay for *dead* (as it was time!) among the *dead*. The Indians coming to strip him, attempted with *two* several blows of an hatchet at his *neck* to cut off his *head*, which blows added, you may be sure, more enormous wounds unto those *port-holes* of *death*, at which the *life* of the poor man was already running out as fast as it could. Being charged hard by Lieutenant Bancroft, they left the man without *scalping* him; and the English now coming to bury the dead, one of the soldiers perceived this poor man to fetch a gasp; whereupon an Irish fellow then present advised 'em to give him another dab with an hatchet, and so bury him with the rest. The English, detesting this barbarous advice, lifted up the wounded man, and poured a little *fair water* into his mouth, at which he coughed; then they poured a little *strong water* after it, at which he opened his eyes. The Irish fellow was ordered now to hale a canoo ashore to carry the wounded men up the river unto a chirurgion; and as Teague was foolishly pulling the canoo ashore with the cock of his gun, while he held the muzzle in his hand, his gun went off, and broke his arm, whereof he remains a cripple to *this day*: But Simon Stone was thoroughly cured, and is at *this day* a very lusty man; and as he was born with *two thumbs* on one hand, his neighbours have thought him to have at least as many *hearts* as *thumbs*!

Reader, let us leave it now unto the sons of Æsculapius to dispute out the problem, "What wounds are to be judged mortal?" The sovereign arbiter of *life* and *death* seems to have determined it, "That no wounds are mortal, but such as he shall in his holy providence actually make so." On the one side, let it be remembered, that a scratch of a *comb* has proved mortal; that the incomparable Anatomist Spigelius, at the wedding of his daughter, gathering up the reliques of a broken glass, a fragment of it scratched one of his fingers; and all his exquisite skill in anatomy could not prevent its producing an *empyema* that killed him; that Colonel Ros-siter, cracking a plumb-stone with his teeth, broke his tooth, and lost his life; that the Lord Fairfax, cutting a *corn* in his foot, cut asunder the *thread* of his *life*; that Mr. Fowler, a vintner, playing with his child, received a little scratch of a *pin*, which turn'd unto a *gangrene* that cost him his life. And, reader, let the remembrance of such things cause thee to *live*, preparing for *death* continually. But then, on the other side, that nothing may be despaired of, remember Simon Stone. And, besides him, I call to remembrance, that the Indians, making an assault upon Deerfield, in this present war, they struck an hatchet some inches into the *skull* of a boy there, even so deep, that the boy felt the force of a wrench used by 'em to get it out. There he lay a long while weltering in his blood; they found him, they dress'd him, considerable quantities of his *brain* came out from time to time when they opened the wound; yet the lad recovered, and is now a living monument of the power and goodness of God. And

in our former war there was one Jabez Musgrove, who, tho' he were shot by the Indians with a bullet that went in at his *ear*, and went out at his *eye* on the other side of his head; and a brace of bullets that went into his *right side*, a little above his hip, and passing thro' his body within the *back-bone*, went out at his *left side*; yet he recovered, and lived many years after it.

Certainly this fellow was worthy to have been at least a lackey to the Hungarian nobleman, whose *pourtraiture* Dr. Patin saw in a gallery at Inspruck, representing a wound made in his eye with a lance, which penetrated into the substance of the brain, even to the hinder part of the head, and yet proved not a *mortal wound*.

ARTICLE XI.

A WORTHY CAPTAIN DYING IN THE BED OF HONOUR.

ON July 6, the Lord's-day, Captain Floyd and Captain Wiswel sent out their scouts before their breakfast, who immediately returned with tidings of *breakfast* enough provided for those who had their stomach sharp set for fighting: *tidings* of a considerable track of the enemy going to the westward. Our forces vigorously followed the track, till they came up with the enemy at a place call'd Wheelwright's Pond, where they engaged 'em in a bloody action for several hours. The manner of the fight here was as it is at all times with Indians; namely, what your artists at fighting do call *a la disbandad*:* and here the worthy Captain Wiswel, a man worthy to have been *shot* (if he must have been *shot*), with no *gun* inferior to that at Florence, the barrel whereof is all pure *gold*, behaving himself with much bravery, sold his life as dear as he could; and his Lieutenant Flag, and Sergeant Walker, who were "valient in their lives, in their death were not divided." Fifteen of ours were slain, and more wounded; but how many of the enemy 'twas not exactly known, because of a singular care used by them in all their battles to carry off their dead, tho' they were forced now to leave a good number of them on the spot. Captain Floyd maintained the fight after the death of Captain Wiswel several hours, until so many of his tired and wounded men drew off, that it was time for him to draw off also; for which he was blamed perhaps, by some that would not have continued it so long as *he*. Hereupon Captain Converse repaired with about a score hands to look after the wounded men, and finding seven yet alive, he brought 'em to the hospital by sun-rise the next morning. He then returned with more hands to bury the dead, which was done immediately; and *plunder* left by the enemy at their going off was then also taken by them. But the same week these *rovers* made their descent as far as Amesbury, where Captain Foot being *ensnared* by them, they tortured him to death; which disaster of the Captain was an *alarum* to

* In *melée*.

the town, and an effectual word of *command*, causing 'em to fly out of their *beds* into their *garrisons*; otherwise they had all undoubtedly before next morning slept their last; their *beds* would have been their *graves*. However, the enemy kill'd three persons, burnt three houses, butchered many cattel; and so, that *scene* of the *tragedy* being over, away they went.

In fine, from the *first* mischief done at Lampereel river, to the *last* at Amesbury, all belong'd unto one Indian expedition, in which, though no English *places* were taken, yet forty English *people* were cut off.

ARTICLE XII.

AN INDIAN FORT OR TWO TAKEN, AND SOME OTHER ACTIONS.

READER, I remember the *proximity* of Guicciardine the historian gave such offence, that Boccacini brings in an offender at Verbosity, ordered for his punishment by the Judges at Parnassus, to read that punctual historian; but the poor fellow begg'd rather to be fley'd alive, than to be tortured with reading an historian who, in relating the war between the Florentines and Pisans, made longer narrations about the taking of a *pigeon-house*, than there needed of the most fortified castle in the world. For this cause let me be excused, reader, if I make *short work* in our story, and leave the honest actors themselves to run over circumstances more at large, with their friends by the fireside.

The enemy appearing a little numerous and vexatious, the government sent more forces to break up the enemies' quarters; and auxiliaries both of English and Indians, under the command of Major Church, assisted the enterprize. About three hundred men were dispatched away upon this design in the beginning of September, who landed by night in Casco Bay, at a place called Macquoit, and by night marched up to Pechypscot-fort; where, from the information of some escaped *captives*, they had an expectation to meet with the enemy, but found that the wretches were gone farther afield. They then marched away for Amonoscoggin fort, which was about forty miles up the river; and wading through many *difficulties*, whereof one was a *branch* of the river it self; they met with four or five salvages going to their fort with two English prisoners. They sav'd the prisoners, but could not catch the salvages; however, on the Lord's day they got up to the fort undiscovered, where, to their sorrowful disappointment, they found no more than one and twenty of the enemy, whereof they took and slew twenty. They found some considerable store of *plunder*, and rescued five English captives, and laid the fort in ashes; but one disaster they much complained of, that the captain of the fort, whose name was Agameus, *alias* Great Tom, slipt away from the hands of his too *careless* keepers. But if this piece of *carelessness* did any *harm*, there was another which did some *good*: for Great Tom having terribly scared a part

of his countrymen with the tidings of what had happened, and an English lad in their hands also telling some truth unto them, they betook themselves to such a *flight* in their *fright*, as gave one Mr. Anthony Bracket, then a prisoner with 'em, an opportunity to fly four-score miles another way. Our forces returning to Macquoit, one of our vessels was there *carelessly* ran aground, and compelled thereby to stay for the next tide; and Mr. Bracket had been miserably *aground*, if it had not so fell out; for he thereby got thither before she was afloat, otherwise he might have perished, who was afterwards much improved in service against the murderers of his father. Arriving at Winter-harbour, a party of men were sent up the river, who, coming upon a parcel of the Mankeen *wolves* then hunted for, killed some of them, and seized most of their arms and stores, and recovered from them an Englishman, who told them that the enemy were intending to rendezvous on Pechypscot plain, in order to an attempt upon the town of Wells. Upon this they reimbarc'd for Macquoit, and repaired as fast as they could unto Pechypscot plain, and being divided into three parties, they there *waited* for the approach of the enemy. But being tired with one of the three Italian miseries, "waiting for those who did not come," they only possessed themselves of more plunder there hid by the enemy, and returned unto Casco-harbour. The enemy it seems *dogg'd* their motions; and in the night they made a mischievous assault upon such of the English army as were too remiss in providing for their own safety in their going ashore; killing five of our Plymouth friends, who had lodg'd themselves in an house, without *commanders* or *centinels*. The English, as soon as the light of the day (which was the Lord's-day, September 21,) gave 'em leave, quickly ran upon the enemy, and eased the world of some of them, and made the rest scamper from that part of the world, and got many of their canoos, and not a little of their ammunition, and their best furniture for the winter. The army was after this dismiss'd, only an hundred men were left with Captain Converse and Lieutenant Plaisted, who spent their time as profitably as they could, in scouting about the frontiers, to prevent surprizals from an enemy which rarely did *annoy* but when they could *surprize*.

ARTICLE XIII.

A FLAG OF TRUCE.

NEW-ENGLAND was now quite out of breath! A tedious, lingering, expensive *defence*, against an *ever-approaching* and *unapproachable* adversary had made it so. But nothing had made it more so than the expedition to Canada, which had exhausted its best spirits, and seem'd its *Ultimus Conatus*.^{*} While the country was now in too great amazements to "proceed *any* farther" in the war, the Indians themselves entreat them to

^{*} Last struggle.

"proceed *no* farther." The Indians came in to Wells with a flag of truce, and there ensued some overtures with the English commissioners, Major Hutchinson and Captain Townsend, sent from Boston to join with some others at Wells. At length, a meeting was appointed and obtained at Sagadahock, November 23, where the redemption of ten English captives was accomplished; one of whom was Mrs. Hull, whom the Indians were very loth to part withal, because, being able to write well, they made her serve them in the quality of a Secretary: another was named Nathanael White, whom the barbarous Canibals had already tied unto a stake, and cut off one of his ears, and made him eat it raw, and intended for to have roasted the rest of him alive: the poor man being astonished at his own deliverance! At last they signed articles, dated November 29, 1691, wherein they engaged, that no Indians in those parts of the world should do any injury to the persons or estates of the English in any of the English colonies, until the first of May next ensuing: and that on the said first of May they would bring into Storer's garrison at Wells all the English captives in their hands, and there make, and sign, and seal articles of peace with the English; and in the mean time give seasonable advice of any plots which they might know the French to have against them. To this instrument were set the *paws* of Edgeremet, and five more of their sagamores and noblemen.

But as it was not upon the *firm land*, but in their canoos upon the *water*, that they signed and sealed this instrument; so, reader, we will be jealous that it will prove but a *fluctuating* and *unstable* sort of a business; and that the Indians will *do a lie* as they used to do. However, we will dismiss all our soldiers to their several homes, leaving only Captain Converse to keep Wells in some order, until the first of May do show whether any more than a meer *flag of truce* be yet shown unto us.

ARTICLE XIV.

REMARKABLE ENCOUNTERS.

At the day appointed, there came to the place Mr. Danforth, Mr. Moodey, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Brattle, and several other gentlemen, guarded with a troop, to see how the Frenchified Indians would "keep their faith with the Hereticks of New-England." The Indians being poor *musicians* for *keeping of time*, came not according to their *articles*, and when Captain Converse had the courage to go fetch in some of them, they would have made a lying excuse, "that they did not know the time." They brought in *two* captives, and promised that in *twenty* days more they would bring in to Captain Converse all the rest; but finding that in *two and twenty* days they came not, with much concern upon his mind he got himself supplied as fast as he could with five and thirty men from the county of Essex.

His men were not come half an hour to Storer's house, on June 9, 1691, nor had they got their *Indian weed* fairly lighted into their mouths, before fierce Moxus, with two hundred Indians, made an *attaque* upon the garrison. This recruit of men, thus at the very *nick of time*, saved the place; for Moxus, meeting with a brave repulse, drew off; and gave Modockawando cause to say, (as a captive afterwards related it) "My brother Moxus has miss'd it now, but I will go my self the next year, and have the dog Converse out of his hole." About this time, the enemy slew two men at Berwick, two more at Exeter, and the biggest part of nine, loading a vessel at Cape Nidduck. But about the latter end of July we sent out a small army under the command of Captain March, Captain King, Captain Sherburn, and Captain Walten, (Converse lying sick all summer, had this to make him yet more *sick*, that he could have no part in these actions) who landing at Macquoit, marched up to Pechypscot, but not finding any signs of the enemy, "marched down again." While the *commanders* were waiting *ashore* till the *soldiers* were got *aboard*, such great numbers of Indians poured in upon them, that though the commanders wanted not for courage or conduct, yet they found themselves obliged, with much ado, (and not without the death of worthy Captain Sherburn) to retire into the vessels which then lay aground. Here they kept pelting at one another all night; but unto little other purpose than *this*, which was indeed remarkable, that the enemy was at this time *going to take* the isle of Shoales, and no doubt had they *gone* they would have *taken* it; but having exhausted all their ammunition on this occasion, they desisted from what they designed. For the rest of the year, the compassion of Heaven towards distressed New-England kept the Indians under a strange *inactivity*: only on September 28, seven persons were murdered and captived at Berwick; and the day following thrice seven of Sandy-Beach; on October 23, one Goodridge and his wife were murdered at Rowly, and his children captived; and the day following the like fate befel a family at Haverhil. And this year, a very good strong fort at Cape Nidduck, owned by a widow, was unhappily deserted; after which the enemy came and burnt the houses in it.

ARTICLE XV.

THE MARTYRDOM OF MR. SHUBAEL DUMMER, WITH THE FATE OF YORK.

*Quoties viri boni violenta morte perierunt, toties apud pios crevit fides resurrectionis.**
GROT. in ZECH. 13. 7.

BUT the *winter* must not pass over without a *storm* of blood! The Popish Indians, after long silence and repose in their *inaccessible kennels*, which made our frontier towns a little remit their tired vigilance, did,

* Every time that good men have suffered violent deaths, the faith of the Christian in a resurrection has received new support.

January 25, 1691, set upon the town of York, where the inhabitants were in their unguarded houses here and there scattered, *quiet and secure*. Upon the firing of a gun by the Indians, which was their *signal*, the inhabitants looked out; but unto their amazement, found their houses to be invested with horrid salvages, who immediately kill'd many of those unprovided inhabitants, and more they took prisoners. This body of Indians, consisting of divers hundreds, then sent in their summons to some of the *garrisoned houses*; and those garrisons, whereof some had no more than two or three *men* in them, yet being so well *manned*, as to reply, "that they would spend their blood unto the last drop, ere they would surrender;" these cowardly miscreants had not mettle enough to meddle with 'em. So they retired into their howling thickets, having first murdered about fifty, and captivated near an hundred of that unhappy people. In this calamity great was the share that fell to the family of Mr. Shubael Dummer, the pastor of the "little flock" thus prey'd upon; those blood-hounds, being set on by some Romish missionaries, had long been wishing that they might embrue their hands in the blood of some New-English Minister; and in this action they had their diabolical satisfaction. Our DUMMER, the minister of York, was one of whom—for his exemplary holiness, humbleness, modesty, industry, and fidelity—the world was not *worthy*. He was a gentleman *well-descended, well-tempered, well-educated*; and now short of sixty years of age. He might have taken for his "coat of arms" the same that the holy martyr Hooper prophetically did, "a lamb in a flaming bush, with rays from heaven shining on it." He had been solicited with many temptations to *leave his place*, when the clouds grew thick and black in the Indian hostilities, and were like to break upon it; but he chose rather with a paternal affection to stay amongst those who had been so many of them converted and edified by his ministry; and he spent very much of his own *patrimony* to subsist among them, when their distresses made them unable to support him as they otherwise would have done. In a word, he was one that might by way of eminency be called, "a good man." This good man was just going to take horse at his own door, upon a journey in the service of God, when the *tygres* that were making their deprivations upon the *sheep* of York seiz'd upon this their *shepherd*; and they shot him so, that they left him dead among the tribe of Abel on the ground. Thus was he (as Ambrose in his elegant oration, "*De obitu Fratris*,"* expresses it) *Non nobis ereptus, sed periculis*.† His wife they carried into captivity, where, through sorrows and hardships among those "dragons of the desert," she also quickly died; and his church, as many of them as were in that captivity, endured this, among other anguishes, that on the next Lord's day, one of those tawnies chose to exhibit himself unto them, ("a devil as an angel of light!") in the *cloaths* whereof they had stript the dead body of this their *father*. Many

* On the death of a brother.

† Not snatched from us, but from peril.

were the *tears* that were dropt throughout New-England on this occasion; and *these* among the rest; for tho' we do not as tradition tells us the Antediluvians did use to do "by the blood of ABEL," yet we cannot but mournfully *sing of the blood of such an Abel*.

EPITAPH.

DUMMER, the *shepherd* sacrific'd
By *wolves*, because the *sheep* he priz'd.
The *orphan's* father, church's *light*,
The *love* of heav'n, of hell the *spight*.
The countries *gapman*, and the *face*
That *shone*, but knew it not, with *grace*.
Hunted by *devils*, but reliev'd
By *angels*, and on high receiv'd.

The martyr'd *Pelican*, who bled
Rather than leave his charge *unfed*.
A proper *bird of paradise*,
Shot, and flown thither in a *trice*.

Lord, hear the cry of righteous DUMMER's wounds,
Ascending still against the *salvage hounds*,
That worry thy dear *flocks*, and let the cry
Add force to *theirs* that at thine *altar* lye.

To compleat the epitaph of this good man, there now needs no more than the famous old Chaucer's motto:

*Mors mihi ærumnarum requies.**

ARTICLE XVI.

THE MEMORABLE ACTION AT WELLS.

A VESSEL, the name whereof I know not, (reader, let it be the Charity,) being immediately dispatched unto Sagadehock, by the *charitable compassions* of the more Southward neighbours, with effects to accomplish it, happily effected the redemption of many that were taken captives at York. But the rest of the people in that broken town talking of drawing off the government, sent Captain Converse and Captain Greenleaf, with such encouragements unto them to keep their *station*, as prevailed with 'em still to *stand* their ground. In February Major Hutchinson was made commander in chief, and forces under the command of Captain Converse, Captain Floyd, and Captain Thaxter, were by him so prudently posted on the *frontiers*, that by maintaining a continual communication, it became a difficult thing for the enemy to make any more approaches. Lieutenant Wilson particularly hearing of a man shot at in Quochecho-woods, went out with a scout of about eighteen men, who came upon the Indians that had shot at the man, and killed and wounded *all* but *one* of the whole company. But now, reader, the *longest day* of the *year* is to come on, and, if I mistake not, the *bravest act* in the *war* fell out upon it. MODOCKAWANDO is now come, according to his promise a twelve-month ago. Captain Converse was lodged in Storer's garrison at Wells with but fifteen men; and there came into Wells two sloops, with a Shallop, which had aboard supplies of *ammunition* for the soldiers, and *contribution* for the needy. The cattel this day came *frighted*, and *bleeding* out of the woods, which was a more certain *omen* of Indians a coming than all the *prodigies*

* Death ends my misfortunes.

that Livy reports of the "sacrificed oxen." Converse immediately issued out his commands unto all quarters, but especially to the sloops just then arrived. The sloops were commanded by Samuel Storer and James Gouge, and Gouge's being two miles up the river, he wisely brought her down undiscovered unto Storer's, by the advantage of a mist then prevailing. A careful *night* they had on't! The next *morning* before *d daylight*, one John Diamond, a stranger that came in the shallop on a visit, came to Captain Converse's garrison, where the watch invited him in; but he chose rather to go aboard the sloops, which were little more than a gun-shot off; and, alas! the enemy issuing out from their lurking-places, immediately seized him, and haled him away by the hair of the head, (in spite of all the attempts used by the garrison to recover him,) for an *horrible story* to be told by and by concerning him. The general of the enemies' army was Monsieur Burniff; and one Monsieur Labrocree was a principal commander; (the enemy said, he was Lieutenant General;) there were also divers other Frenchmen of quality, accompanied with Modockawando, and Moxus, and Egeremet, and Warumbo, and several more Indian sagamores: the army made up in all about five hundred *men*, or fierce things in the shape of *men*, all to encounter fifteen men in one little garrison, and about fifteen more *men*, (worthily called *such*!) in a couple of open sloops. Diamond having informed them *how 'twas* in all points, (only that for *fifteen*, by a mistake he said *thirty*,) they fell to dividing the persons and plunder, and agreeing that such an English captain should be slave to such a one, and such a gentleman in the town should serve such a one, and his wife be a maid of honour to such or such a squaw proposed, and Mr. Wheelwright (instead of being a worthy counsellor of the province, which he *now* is!) was to be the servant of such a *Netop*; and the sloops, with their stores, to be so and so parted among them. There wanted but *one thing* to consummate the whole matter, even the *chief thing* of all, which I suppose they had not thought of; that was, for *Heaven* to deliver all this prize into their hands: but, *aliter statutum est in cœlo*!* A man habited like a gentleman made a speech to them in English, exhorting 'em to courage, and assuring 'em, that if they would courageously fall upon the English, all was their own. The *speech* being ended, they fell to the *work*, and with an horrid shout and shot, made their assault upon the feeble garrison; but the English answered with a brisk volley, and sent such a leaden shower among them, that they retired from the garrison to spend the storm of their fury upon the sloops.

You must know that Wells' harbour is rather a *creek* than a *river*, for 'tis very narrow, and at low water in many places *dry*; nevertheless, where the vessels ride it is *deep* enough, and so far off the bank, that there is from thence no leaping aboard. But our sloops were sorely incommoded by a turn of the creek, where the enemy could lye out of danger so near

* It was ordered otherwise in Heaven.

'em as to throw mud aboard with their hands. The enemy was also privileged with a great heap of plank lying on the bank, and with an haystack, which they strengthened with the posts and rails; and from all these places, they poured in their vengeance upon the poor sloops, while they so placed smaller parties of their salvages, as to make it impossible for any of the garrisons to afford 'em any relief. Lying thus within a dozen yards of the sloops, they did with their *fire arrows* divers times desperately set the sloops on fire: but the brave defendants, with a *swab* at the end of a rope tied unto a pole, and so dipt into the water, happily put the fire out. In brief, the sloops gave the enemy so brave a repulse, that at night they retreated: when they renewed their assault, finding that their *fortitude* would not assure the success of the assault unto them, they had recourse unto their *policy*. First, an Indian comes on with a *slab* for a *shield* before him; when a shot from one of the sloops pierced the slab, which fell down instead of a *tombstone* with the dead Indian under it: on which, as little a fellow as he was, I know not whether some will not reckon it proper to inscribe the *epitaph* which the Italians use to bestow upon their dead Popes: "When the dog is dead, all his malice is dead with him." Their next *stratagem* was this: they brought out of the woods a kind of a cart, which they trimm'd and rigg'd, and fitted up into a thing that might be called a *chariot*: whereupon they built a platform, shot-proof in the front, and placed many men upon the platform. Such an engine they understood how to shape, without having read (I suppose) the description of the *Pluteus* in "*Vegetius!*" this chariot they push'd on towards the sloops, till they were got, it may be, within fifteen yards of them; when, lo! one of their *wheels*, to their admiration, sunk into the ground. A Frenchman stepping to heave the wheel with an helpful shoulder, Storer shot him down; another stepping to the wheel, Storer with a well-placed shot, sent him after his mate: so the rest thought it was best to let it stand as it was. The enemy kept gauling the sloop from their several batteries, and calling 'em to surrender, with many fine promises to make them *happy*, which ours answered with a just *laughter*, that had now and then a mortiferous *bullet* at the end of it. The tide rising, the chariot overset, so that the men behind it lay open to the sloops, which immediately dispenced an horrible slaughter among them; and they that could get away, got as fast and as far off as they could. In the night the enemy had much discourse with the sloops: they enquired, "who were their commanders?" and the English gave an answer, which in some other cases and places would have been too true, "that they had a great many commanders:" but the Indians replied, "You lie!—you have none but Converse, and we will have him too before morning!" They also, knowing that the magazine was in the garrison, lay under an hill-side, pelting at *that* by times; but Captain Converse once in the night sent out three or four of his men into a field of wheat for a *shot*, if they could get one. *There* seeing a *black heap* lying

together, ours all at once let fly upon them a *shot*, that slew several of them that were thus "caught in the corn," and made the rest glad that they found themselves able to run for it. Captain Converse was this while in much distress about a *scout* of six men which he had sent forth to Newichawannick the morning before the arrival of the enemy, ordering them to *return* the day following. The scout *return'd* into the very mouth of the enemy that lay before the garrison; but the corporal, having his wits about him, call'd out aloud, (as if he had seen Captain Converse making a sally forth upon 'em) "Captain, wheel about your men round the hill, and we shall catch 'em; there are but a few rogues of 'em!" upon which the Indians, imagining that Captain Converse had been at their heels, betook themselves to their heels; and our folks got safe into another garrison. On the Lord's-day morning there was for a while a deep silence among the assailants; but at length, getting into a body, they marched with great formality towards the garrison, where the Captain ordered his handful of men to lye snug, and not to make a shot until every shot might be likely to do some execution. While they thus beheld a formidable crew of *dragons*, coming with open mouth upon them to swallow them up at a mouthful, one of the soldiers began to speak of *surrendering*; upon which the Captain vehemently protested, "that he would lay the man dead who should so much as mutter that base word any more!" and so they heard no more on it: but the valiant Storer was put upon the like protestation, to keep 'em in good fighting trim aboard the sloops also. The enemy now approaching very near, gave three shouts that made the earth ring again; and crying out in English, "Fire, and fall on brave boys!" the whole body, drawn into three ranks, fired at once. Captain Converse immediately ran into the several flankers, and made their best guns fire at such a rate, that several of the enemy fell, and the rest of 'em disappeared almost as nimbly as if there had been so many spectres: particularly a parcel of them got into a small deserted house; which having but a board-wall to to it, the captain sent in after them those bullets of twelve to the pound, that made the house too hot for them that could get out of it. The *women* in the garrison on this occasion took up the Amazonian stroke, and not only brought ammunition to the men, but also with a *manly* resolution fired several times upon the enemy. The enemy, finding that things would not yet go to their minds at the garrison, drew off to try their skill upon the sloops, which lay still abreast in the creek, lash'd fast one to another. They built a great *fire-work*, about eighteen or twenty foot square, and fill'd it up with combustible matter, which they fired; and then they set it in the way for the tide now to float it up unto the sloops; which had now nothing but an horrible death before them. Nevertheless, their demands of both the garrison and the sloops to yield themselves, were answered no otherwise than with *death* upon many of them, spit from the guns of the besieged. Having tow'd their fire-work as far as they durst, they committed it unto

the tide; but the distressed Christians that had this deadly *fire* swimming along upon the *water* towards them, committed it unto God: and God looked from heaven upon them in this prodigious article of their distress. "These poor men cried, and the Lord heard them, and saved them out of their troubles:" The *wind*, unto their astonishment, immediately turn'd about, and with a fresh gale drove the *machin* ashore on the other side, and split it so, that the *water* being let in upon it, the *fire* went out. So the godly men that saw God from heaven thus fighting for them, cried out, with an astonishing joy, "If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, they had swallowed us up quick; blessed be the Lord who hath not given us a prey to their teeth; our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers!" The enemy were now in a pitiful pickle with toiling and moiling in the mud, and black'ned with it, if *mud* could add *blackness* to such miscreants; and their ammunition was pretty well exhausted: so that now they began to draw off in all parts, and with rafts get over the river; some whereof breaking, there did not a few *cool* their late *heat* by falling into it. But first they made all the spoil they could upon the cattle about the town; and giving one shot more at the sloops, they kill'd the only man of ours that was kill'd aboard 'em. Then, after about half an hour's consultation, they sent a flag of truce to the garrison, advising 'em with much flattery to surrender; but the captain sent 'em word, "that he wanted for nothing but for men to come and fight him." The Indian replied unto Captain Converse, "Being you are so stout, why don't you come and fight in the open field like a man, and not fight in a garrison like a squaw?" The captain rejoined, "What a fool are you! do you think thirty men a match for five hundred? No," (says the captain, counting, as well he might, each of his *fifteen* men to be as good as *two*!) "come with your thirty men upon the plain, and I will meet you with my thirty as soon as you will." Upon this the Indian answered, "Nay, we own English fashion is all one fool: you kill me, me kill you! No; better lye somewhere and shoot a man, and he no see! that the best soldier!" Then they fell to coaking the captain with as many *fine words* as the fox in the fable had for the allurement of his prey unto him; and urged mightily that Ensign Hill, who stood with the flag of truce, might stand a little nearer their army. The captain, for a good reason, to be presently discerned, would not allow *that*: whereupon they fell to threatning and raging, like so many defeated devils, using these words: "Damn ye, we'll cut you as small as tobacco before to morrow morning." The captain bid 'em to make haste, for he "wanted work;" so the Indian, throwing his flag on the ground, ran away, and Ensign Hill, nimbly stripping his flag, ran into the valley; but the salvages presently fired from an ambushment behind an hill, near the place where they had urged for a parley.

And now for poor John Diamond! The enemy retreating (which opportunity the sloops took to burn down the dangerous hay-stock,) into

the plain, out of gun-shot, they fell to torturing their captive, John Diamond, after a manner very diabolical. They *stripped* him, they *scalped* him alive, and after a *castration*, they finished that article in the punishment of *traitors* upon him; they slit him with knives between his fingers and his toes; they made cruel gashes in the most fleshy parts of his body, and stuck the gashes with fire-brands which were afterwards found sticking in the wounds. Thus they butchered *one* poor Englishman with all the *fury* that they would have spent upon them *all*; and performed an exploit for five hundred furies to brag of at their coming home. Ghastly to *express*!—what was it then to *suffer*? They returned then unto the garrison, and kept firing at it now and then till near ten a clock at night; when they all marched off, leaving behind 'em some of their dead; whereof one was Monsieur Labocree, who had about his neck a pouch with about a dozen *reliques* ingeniously made up, and a printed paper of *indulgencies*, and several other implements; and, no doubt, thought himself in as good safety as if he had all the spells of Lapland about him: but it seems none of the *amulets* about his *neck* would save him from a *mortal shot* in the *head*. Thus, in forty-eight hours, was finished an action as worthy to be related, as perhaps any that occurs in our story. And it was not long before the valiant Gouge, who bore his part in this action, did another that was not much inferiour to it, when he suddenly recovered from the French a valuable prey, which they had newly taken upon our coast.

I doubt, reader, we have had this *article* of our history a little too long. We will finish it when we have remarked that, albeit there were too much *feebleness* discovered by my countrymen in some of their actions during this war at sea, as well as on shore, yet several of their actions, especially at sea, deserve to be remembered. And I cannot but particularly bespeak a remembrance for the exploit performed by some of my neighbours in a vessel going into Barbadoes. They were in sight of Barbadoes assaulted by a French vessel, which had a good number of guns, and between sixty and seventy hands. Our vessel had four guns, and eight *fighting men*, (truly *such*!) with two tawny servants. The names of these *men* were Barret, Sunderland, Knoles, Nash, Morgan, Fosdyke, and two more that I now forget. A desperate engagement ensued, wherein our eight marriners managed the matter with such bravery, that, by the help of Heaven they killed between thirty and forty of the French assailants, without losing one of their own little number: and they sank the French vessel which lay by their side, out of which they took twenty-seven prisoners, whereof *some* were wounded, and *all* crying for quarter. In the fight, the French pennant, being by the wind fastned about the top-mast of the English vessel, it was torn off by the sinking of the French vessel, and left pleasantly flying there. So they sailed into Barbadoes, where the *assembly* voted them one publick acknowledgment of their courage and conduct in this brave action, and our *history* now gives them another.

ARTICLE XVII.

THE FORT AT PEMMAQUID.

HIS Excellency Sir William Phips being arrived now the Governour of New-England, applied himself with all possible vigour to carry on the war: and the advice of a new slaughter some time in July, made by the Indians, on certain poor husbandmen in their meadows, at the north side of Merrimack-river, put an accent upon the zeal of the designs which he was now vigorously prosecuting. He raised about four hundred and fifty men, and in pursuance of his instructions from Whitehall, he laid the foundations of a fort at Pemmaquid, which was the finest thing that had been seen in these parts of America. Captain Wing, assisted with Captain Bancroft, went through the former part of the work; and the latter part of it was finished by Captain March. His Excellency, attended in this matter with these worthy Captains, did in a few months dispatch a service for the king, with a *prudence*, and *industry*, and *thriftiness*, greater than any *reward* they ever had for it. The fort, called the William Henry, was built of stone, in a quadrangular figure, being about seven hundred and thirty-seven foot in compass, without the *outer* walls, and an hundred and eight foot square, within the *inner* ones; twenty-eight ports it had, and fourteen (if not eighteen) guns mounted, whereof six were eighteen-pounders. The wall on the south line, fronting to the sea, was twenty-two foot high, and more than six foot thick at the ports, which were eight foot from the ground. The greater flanker or round tower at the western end of this line, was twenty-nine foot high. The wall on the east line was twelve foot high, on the north it was ten, on the west it was eighteen. It was computed that in the whole there were laid above two thousand cart-loads of stone. It stood about a score of rods from high-water mark; and it had generally at least sixty men posted in it for its defence, which, if they were *men*, might easily have maintained it against more than twice six hundred assailants. Yea, we were almost ready to flatter our selves that we might have writ on the gates of this fort, as the French did over that of Namur, (yet afterwards taken by K. William,) *Reddi, non Vinci potest*.* Now, as the architect that built the strong fortress at Narne in Poland had, for his recompence, his eyes put out, lest he should build such another, Sir William Phips was almost as hardly recompenced for the building of this at Pemmaquid. Although this fort, thus erected in the *heart* of the enemies' country, did so break the *heart* of the enemy, that indeed they might have called it, as the French did theirs, upon the river of the Illinois, the fort of *Crevecoeur*; and the tranquillity *after* enjoyed by the country, (which was very much more than *before*) was, under God, much owing thereunto: Yet the expense of maintaining

* It may be given up, but not conquered.

it, when we were so much impoverished otherwise, made it continually complained of as one of the "countrie's grievances." The murmurings about this fort were so epidemical, that, if we may speak in the foolish cant of astrology, and prognosticate from the aspect of Saturn upon Mars at its nativity, "Fort William-Henry, thou hast not long to live! Before the year ninety-six expire, thou shalt be demolished." In the mean time, let us accompany Major Church, going with a company to Penobscot, where he took five Indians; and afterwards to Taconet, where the Indians, discovering his approach, set their own fort on fire themselves, and flying from it, left only their corn to be destroyed by him. And so we come to the end of 1692, only we are stopt a little with a very strange parenthesis.

ARTICLE XVIII.

A SURPRISING THING LAID BEFORE THE READER,

FOR HIM TO JUDGE, (IF HE CAN) WHAT TO MAKE OF IT.

READER, I must now address thee with the *words* of a poet:

*Dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
Indictum ore alio.*—HORAT.*

But with *truths* more confirmed than what uses to come from the pen of a poet. The story of the prodigious war, made by the *spirits* of the *invisible world* upon the people of New-England, in the year 1692, hath entertain'd a great part of the English world with a just astonishment. And I have met with some strange things, not here to me mentioned, which have made me often think that this inexplicable war might have some of its original among the Indians, whose chief sagamores are well known unto some of our captives to have been horrid *sorcerers*, and hellish *conjurers*, and such as conversed with *dæmons*. The sum of that story is written in the "*Life of Sir William Phips*;" with such irreproachable truth, as to defie the utmost malice and cunning of all our Sadduces to confute it in so much as one material article: And that the balant and latrant noises of that sort of people may be for ever silenced, the story will be abundantly justified, when the further account written of it by Mr. John Hale shall be published: For none can suspect a gentleman so full of dissatisfaction at the proceedings then used against the supposed *witchcrafts*, as now that reverend person is, to be a *superstitious writer* upon that subject.

Now, in the time of that matchless war, there fell out a thing at Gloucester, which falls in here most properly to be related: A town so scituated, surrounded and neighboured, in the county of Essex, that no man in his wits will imagine, that a dozen Frenchmen and Indians would come and alarm the inhabitants for three weeks together, and engage 'em in several skirmishes, while there were two regiments raised, and a detachment of

* I sing great deeds, as yet unsung | In poet's verse—by poet's tongue.—*Odes*, III. 25, v. 7.

threescore men sent unto their succour, and not one man hurt in all the actions, and all end unaccountably. And because the relation will be extraordinary, I will not be my self the author of any one clause in it; but I will transcribe the words of a minister of the gospel, who did me the favour, with much critical caution, to examine *witnesses*, not long after the thing happened, and then sent me the following account:

A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT OF MANY WONDERFUL AND SURPRISING THINGS,

Which happened in the town of Glocester, in the year 1692.

"EBENEZER BAPSON, about midsummer, in the year 1692, with the rest of his family, almost every night heard a noise, as if persons were going and running about his house. But one night being abroad late, at his return home, he saw two men come out of his door, and run from the end of the house into the corn. But those of the family told him there had been no person at all there: whereupon he got his gun, and went out in pursuit after them, and coming a little distance from the house, he saw the two men start up from behind a log, and run into a little swamp, saying to each other, 'The man of the house is come now, else we might have taken the house.' So he heard nor saw no more of them.

"Upon this, the whole family got up, and went with all speed to a garrison near by; and being just got into the garrison, they heard men stamping round the garrison: Whereupon Bapson took his gun and ran out, and saw two men again running down an hill into a swamp. The next night but one, the said Bapson going toward a fresh meadow, saw two men which looked like Frenchmen, one of them having a bright gun upon his back, and both running a great pace towards him, which caused him to make the best of his way to the garrison; where being come, several heard a noise, as if men were stamping and running not far from the garrison. Within a night or two after this, the persons in the garrison heard a noise, as if men were throwing stones against the barn. Not long after this, Bapson, with John Brown, saw three men, about a gun-shot off the garrison, which they endeavoured to shoot at, but were disappointed by their running to and fro from the corn into the bushes. They were seen two or three nights together: but though the abovesaid strove to shoot at them, they could never attain it. On July 14, Bapson and Brown, with the rest of the men in the garrison, saw, within gun-shot, half a dozen men; whereupon all the men but one made haste out of the garrison, marching towards them. Bapson presently overtook two of them, which run out of the bushes, and coming close to them, he presented his gun at them, and his gun missing fire, the two men returned into the bushes. Bapson then called unto the other persons, which were on the other side of the swamp, and upon his call they made answer, 'Here they are! here they are!' Bapson then running to meet them, saw three men walk softly out of the swamp by each other's side; the middlemost having on a white waistcoat. So being within two or three rod of them, he shot, and as soon as his gun was off, they all fell down. Bapson then running to his supposed prey, cried out unto his companions, whom he heard on the other side of the swamp, and said, 'he had kill'd three! he had kill'd three!' But coming almost unto them, they all rose up, and one of them shot at him, and hearing the bullet whist by him, he ran behind a tree, and loaded his gun, and seeing them lye behind a log, he crept toward them again, telling his companions, 'they were here!' So his companions came up to him, and they all ran directly to the log, with all speed; but before they got thither, they saw them start up, and run every man his way; one of them run into the corn, whom they pursued, and hemm'd in; and Bapson seeing him coming toward himself, shot at him as he was getting over the fence, and saw him fall off the fence on the ground, but when he came to the spot he could not find him. So they all searched the corn; and as they were searching, they heard a great discoursing in the swamp, but could not understand what they said; for they spoke in an *unknown tongue*. Afterwards, looking out from the garrison, they saw several men skulking among the corn and bushes, but could not get a shot at them.

"The next morning, just at day-break, they saw one man come out of the swamp not far from the garrison, and stand close up against the fence, within gun-shot. Whereupon Isaac Prince, with a long gun, shot at him with swan-shot, and in a moment he was gone out of sight; they saw him no more. Upon this, Bapson went to carry news to the harbour; and being about half a mile in his way thither, he heard a gun go off, and heard a bullet whiss close by his ear, which cut off a pine bush just by him, and the bullet lodg'd in an hemlock-tree. Then looking about he saw four men running towards him, one with a gun in his hand, and the other with guns on their shoulder. So he ran into the bushes, and turning about, shot at them, and then ran away and saw them no more. About six men returned from the harbour with him, searching the woods as they went; and they saw where the bullet had cut off the pine-bush, and where it was lodg'd in the hemlock-tree, and they took the bullet out, which is still to be seen. When they were come to the garrison, they went to look for the tracks of the strange men that had been seen, and saw several tracks; and whilst they were looking on them, they saw one which look'd like an Indian, having on a blue coat, and his hair ty'd up behind, standing by a tree, and looking on them. But as soon as they spake to each other, he ran into a swamp, and they after him, and one of them shot at him, but to no purpose. One of them also saw another, which look'd like a Frenchman, but they quickly lost the sight of him.

"JULY 15. Ezekiel Day being in company with several others, who were ordered to scout the woods, when they came to a certain fresh meadow, two miles from any house, at some distance from the said meadow, he saw a man which he apprehended to be an Indian, cloathed in blue; and as soon as he saw him start up and run away, he shot at him; whereupon he saw another rise up a little way off, who also run with speed; which, together with the former, were quickly out of sight; and though himself, together with his companions, diligently sought after them, they could not find them. The same day John Hammond, with several other persons, scouting in the woods, saw another of these 'strange men,' having on a blue shirt and white breeches, and something about his head; but could not overtake him.

"JULY 17. Three or four of these 'unaccountable troublers' came near the garrison; but they could not get a shot at them. Richard Dolliver also, and Benjamin Ellary, creeping down an hill upon discovery, saw several men come out of an orchard, walking backward and forward, and striking with a stick upon John Row's deserted house, (the noise of which was heard by others at a considerable distance;) Ellary counting them to be eleven in all; Dolliver shot at the midst of them, where they stood thickest, and immediately they dispersed themselves, and were quickly gone out of sight.

"JULY 18. Which was the time that Major Appleton sent about sixty men from Ipswich, for the town's assistance under these *inexplicable alarms* which they had suffered night and day, for about a fortnight together; John Day testifies, that he went in company with Ipswich and Gloucester forces to a garrison about two miles and a half from the town; and news being brought in that guns went off in a swamp not far from the garrison, some of the men, with himself, ran to discover what they could; and when he came to the head of the swamp, he saw a man with a blue shirt and bushy black hair run out of the swamp, and into the woods; he ran after him with all speed, and came several times within shot of him: but the woods being thick, he could not obtain his design of shooting him; at length he was at once gone out of sight; and when afterwards he went to look for his track, he could find none, though it were a low miry place that he ran over.

"About July 25, Bapson went into the woods after his cattel, and saw three men stand upon a point of rocks which look'd toward the sea. So he crept among the bushes till he came within forty yards of them: and then presented his gun at them, and snapt, but his gun miss'd fire, and so it did above a dozen times, till they all three came up towards him, walking a slow pace, one of them having a gun upon his back. Nor did they take any more notice of him, than just to give him a look; though he snapt his gun at them all the while they walked toward him, and by him: neither did they quicken their pace at all, but went into a parcel

of bushes, and he saw them no more. When he came home he snapt his gun several times, sometimes with but a few corns of powder, and yet it did not once miss fire. After this, there occurred several strange things; but now, concluding they were but spectres, they took little further notice of them."

[Several other testimonies, all of the same effect with the foregoing, my friend had added, which for brevity I omit: and only add, the most considerable of these passages were afterward sworn before one of their majesties' council.]

"Reverend and truly honoured sir: According to your request, I have collected a brief account of the occurrences remark'd in our town the last year. Some of them are very admirable things, and yet no less true than strange, if we may believe the assertions of credible persons. Tho' because of great haste it is a rough draught, yet there is nothing written but what the persons mentioned would, if duly called, confirm the truth of by oath.

"I might have given you a larger account; only several who saw and heard some of the most remarkable things, are now beyond sea. However, I hope the substance of what is written will be enough to satisfy all rational persons that Gloucester was not alarumed last summer for above a fortnight together by real French and Indians, but that the *devil* and his agents were the cause of all the molestation which at this time befel the town; in the name of whose inhabitants I would take upon me to entreat your earnest prayers to the Father of mercies, that those apparitions may not prove the sad *omens* of some future and more horrible molestations to them.

"Sir, your very humble servant,

J. E.

"May, 19, 169 7-8ths."

Now, reader, albeit that passage of the sacred story, 2 Chron. xx. 22, "The Lord set ambushments against the children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, and they were smitten," is by the best expositors thus understood: that there was the ministry of the *Holy Angels* wondrously employ'd in this matter; the *Angels* in the shape of Moabites and Ammonites fell upon them of Mount Seir, and upon this apprehended provocation they then all fell upon one another, until the whole army was destroyed: nevertheless, I entirely refer it unto thy judgment, (without the least offer of my own) whether Satan did not now "set ambushments" against the good people of Gloucester, with *dæmons* in the shape of armed Indians and Frenchmen, appearing to considerable numbers of the inhabitants, and mutually firing upon them for the best part of a month together. I know the most considerate gentlemen in the neighbourhood unto this day believe the whole matter to have been a prodigious piece of the strange descent from the "invisible world," then made upon other parts of the country. And the publication of this prodigy, among other "wonders of the invisible world" among us, has been delay'd until *now*, that so the opinion of our most considerate gentlemen about it might have time for a thorough concoction: and that the gentlemen of the order of St. Thomas may have no objection to make against it. But, be it what it will, they are not a few profane *squibs* from the sons of the extravagant Bekkar, that will be a fit explication for things thus attested, and so very *marvellous*.

ARTICLE XIX.

PACEM TE POSCIMUS OMNES.*

IN the year 1693, his Excellency sent away Captain Converse, to draw off the fittest of the officers and soldiers quartered in the east for a march; and causing about three hundred and fifty more to be levied, gave him what he had merited above a year ago—even a commission of major, and commander in chief over these forces. While Major Converse was at Wells, hearing of some Indians that were seen in the woods, he surprised them all; and finding that they had cut off a poor family at Oyster river, he gave the chief of them something of what *they* also had merited. Going to Pemmaquid, after some service there, they sailed up Sheepscoate river, and then marched through the woods to Taconet, which being deserted by the Indians, they ranged through many other woods, but could meet with none of their enemies. Repairing then to Saco, they began another fort, which was carried on by that worthy gentleman Major Hook, and the truly commendable Captain Hill, and proved a matter of good consequence unto the province. While these things were doing, sometime in July, the straggling Indians did some spoil upon Quaboag, a remote village in the road unto Connecticut: but advice being dispatched unto the towns upon Connecticut-river, a party immediately sally'd out after the spoilers, and leaving their horses at the entrance of a swamp, whither by their track they had followed them, they came upon the secure adversary, and kill'd the most of them, and recovered the captives, with their plunder; and returning home, had some reward for so brisk an action.

But now the Indians in the east, probably disheartened by the forts erecting, that were like to prove a sore annoyance to them in their enterprises; and by the fear of wanting ammunition, with other provisions, which the French were not so able just now to dispence unto them; and by a presumption that an army of Maqua's, (part of those terrible *cannibals* to the westward,) whereof 'tis affirmed by those who have published the stories of their travels among them, that they have destroy'd no less than two million salvages of other nations about them, through their being supplied with fire-arms, before hundreds of other nations (lying between them and the river *Meschasippi*) was come into their country, because they found some of their *squa's* kill'd upon a Whortle-berry plain: all the charms of the French friar, then resident among them, could not hinder them from suing to the English for peace. And the English being so involved in *debts*, that they scarce knew how to prosecute the war any further, took some notice of their suit. Accordingly a peace was made upon the ensuing articles:

* We all sue thee for peace.

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW-ENGLAND.

The Submission and Agreement of the Eastern Indians at Fort William Henry in Pemmaquid, the 11th day of August, in the fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, &c., 1693.

“WHEREAS a bloody war has for some years now past been made and carried on by the Indians within the eastern parts of the said province, against their Majesties’ subjects the English, through the instigation and influences of the French; and being sensible of the miseries which we and our people are reduced unto, by adhering to their ill council: We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being Sagamores and Chief Captains of all the Indians belonging to the several rivers of Penobscote and Kennebeck, Amarascogin and Saco, parts of the said province of the Massachusetts Bay, within their said Majesties’ sovereignty, having made application unto his Excellency Sir William Phips, Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over the said province, that the war may be put to an end, do lay down our arms, and cast our selves upon their said Majesties’ grace and favour. And each of us respectively for our selves, and in the name and with the free consent of all the Indians belonging unto the several rivers aforesaid, and of all other Indians within the said province, of and from Merrimack river unto the most easterly bounds of the said province: hereby acknowledging our hearty subjection and obedience unto the crown of England; and do solemnly covenant, promise and agree, to and with the said Sir William Phips, and his successors in the place of Captain General and Governour in Chief of the aforesaid province or territory, on their said Majesties’ behalf in manner following, viz:

“That at all time and times for ever, from and after the date of these presents, we will cease and forbear all acts of hostility towards the subjects of the crown of England, and not offer the least hurt or violence to them, or any of them, in their persons or estate: But will henceforward hold and maintain a firm and constant amity and friendship with all the English.

“*Item.*—We abandon and forsake the French interest, and will not in any wise adhere to, join with, aid or assist them in their wars or designs against the English, nor countenance, succour or conceal any of the enemy Indians of Canada, or other places, that shall happen to come to any of our plantations within the English territory, but secure them, if in our power, and deliver them up unto the English.

“That all English captives in the hands or power of any of the Indians, within the limits aforesaid, shall with all possible speed be set at liberty, and returned home without any ransom or payment to be made or given for them, or any of them.

“That their Majesties’ subjects the English shall and may peaceably and quietly enter upon, improve, and for ever enjoy all and singular their rights of lands, and former settlements and possessions within the eastern parts of the said province of the Massachusetts Bay, without any pretensions or claims by us, or any other Indians, and be in no wise molested, interrupted, or disturbed therein.

“That all trade and commerce, which may hereafter be allowed between the English and Indians, shall be under such management and regulation as may be stated by an act of the General Assembly, or as the governour of the said province, for the time being, with the advice and consent of the council, shall see cause to direct and limit.

“If any controversie or difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the English and Indians, for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on one side or the other, no private revenge shall be taken by the Indians for the same, but proper application be made to their Majesties’ government upon the place, for remedy thereof, in a due course of justice; we hereby submitting ourselves to be ruled and governed by their Majesties’ laws, and desire to have the benefit of the same.

“For the full manifestation of our sincerity and integrity in all that which we have herein before covenanted and promised, we do deliver unto Sir William Phips, their Majesties’ governour as aforesaid, Ahassombamett, brother to Edgeremett, Wenongahewitt, cousin to Madockawando, and Edgeremett, and Bagatawawongon, *alias* Sheepscot John, to abide and remain in the custody of the English, where the governour shall direct, as hostages or pledges for our fidelity, and the true performance of all and every the foregoing articles, reserving liberty to exchange them in some

reasonable time for a like number, to the acceptance of the governour and council of the said province, so they be persons of as good account and esteem amongst the Indians as those which are to be exchanged. In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our several marks and seals, the day and year first above-written.

"The above-written instrument was deliberately read over, and the several articles and clauses thereof interpreted unto the Indians, who said they well understood and consented thereunto, and was then signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us,

EDGEREMETT,
MADOCKAWANDO,
WASSAMBOMET of Navidgwock,
WENOBSON of Teconnet, in behalf of Moxus,
KETERRAMOGIS of Narridgwock,
AHANQUIT of Penobscot,
BOMASEEN,
NITAMEMET,
WEBENES,
AWANSOMECK,

JOHN WING,
NICHOLAS MANNING,
BENJAMIN JACKSON,
ROBIN DONEY,
MADAUMBIS,
PAQUAHARET, *alias*, NATHANIEL,
JOHN HORNYBROOK,
JOHN BAGATAWAWONGO, *alias*,
SHEEPSCOAT JOHN,
PHILL. OUNSAKIS, *Squaw*. } Interpreters."

ARTICLE XX.

BLOODY FISHING AT OYSTER RIVER, AND SAD WORK AT GROTON.

A YEAR'S *breathing time* was a great favour of Heaven to a country quite out of *breath* with numberless calamities. But the favour was not so thankfully enjoyed as it should have been. And now, "the clouds return after the rain." The *spectre* that with burning tongs drove Xerxes to his war upon the Græcians, had not lost his influence upon our Indians. The perfidy of the Indians appeared first in their not restoring the English captives according to their covenant; but the perfidious wretches excused this with many protestations. That which added unto our *jealousies* about them, was their insolent carriage towards a sloop, commanded by Captain Wing; and the information of a fellow called Hector, that the Indians intended most certainly to break the peace, and had promised the French priests, taking the *sacrament* thereupon, to destroy the first English town they could surprize. Rumours of Indians lurking about some of the frontier-plantations, now began to put the poor people into *consternation*; but upon an imagination that they were only certain beaver-hunters, the consternation of the people went off into *security*. 'Tis affirmed by English captives, which were then at Canada, that the desolation of Oyster river was commonly talk'd in the streets of Quebec two months before it was effected; for the spies had found no town so secure as *that*. And now what was *talk'd* at Quebec in the month of May, must be *done* at Oyster river in the month of July; for on Wednesday, July 18, 1694, the treacherous enemy, with a great army, fell upon that place, about break of day, and kill'd and captiv'd ninety-four (or an hundred) persons, about a score of whom were men belonging to the trained band of the town. Several persons remarkably escaped this bloody deluge, but none with more

bravery than one Thomas Bickford, who had an house, a little pallisado'd, by the river side, but no man in it besides himself. He dexterously put his wife, and mother, and children aboard a canoo, and, sending them down the river, he *alone* betook himself to the defence of his house, against many Indians that made an assault upon him. They first would have persuaded him with many fair *promises*, and then terrified him with as many fierce *threatnings*, to yield himself; but he flouted and fired at them, daring 'em to come if they durst. His main *stratagem* was to change his *livery* as frequently as he could; appearing sometimes in one coat, sometimes in another, sometimes in an hat, and sometimes in a cap; which caused his besiegers to mistake this *one* for *many* defendants. In fine, the pitiful wretches, despairing to *beat* him out of his house, e'en left him in it; whereas many that opened unto them, upon their solemn engagements of giving them life and good quarter, were barbarously butchered by them; and the wife of one Adams, then with child, was with horrible barbarity ripped up. And thus there was an end of the *peace* made at Pemmaquid! Upon this, the friends of Mrs. Ursula Cutt (widow of Mr. John Cutt, formerly President of New-Hampshire,) desired her to leave her farm, which was about a mile above the bank, exposed to the enemy, on the south side of Piscataqua river. She thank'd them for their *care*; but added, that she believed the enemy had now done their do for this time; and however, by the "end of the week" her "business at the farm" would be all "dispatched," and on Saturday she would repair to her friends at the bank. But, alas! before the "end of the week," she saw the *end of her life*: On Saturday, about one or two a clock in the afternoon, the "business at the farm" was "dispatched" sure enough! The Indians then kill'd this gentlewoman and three other people, a little before they had finished a point of husbandry then in their hands. Nor did the storm go over so: some drops of it fell upon the town of Groton, a town that lay, one would think, far enough off the place where was the last *scene* of the *tragedy*. On July 27, about break of day, Groton felt some surprizing blows from the Indian hatchets. They began their attacks at the house of one Lieutenant Lakin, in the out-skirts of the town; but met with a repulse there, and lost one of their crew. Nevertheless, in other parts of that plantation, (when the good people had been so tired out as to lay down their *military watch*) there were more than twenty persons killed, and more than a dozen carried away. Mr. Gershom Hobart, the minister of the place, with part of his family, was remarkably preserved from falling into their hands when they made themselves the masters of his house; though they took two of his children, whereof the one was killed, and the other sometime after happily rescued out of his captivity.

I remember, the Jews in their book, "*Taanith*," tell us, "the elders proclaimed a fast in their cities on this occasion, because the wolves had devoured two little children beyond the Jordan." Truly, the elders of

New-England were not a little concerned at it, when they saw the *wolves* thus devouring their children, even on this side of Merrimack!

ARTICLE XXI.

MORE ENGLISH BLOOD SWALLOWED, BUT REVENGED.

READER, we must after this, ever now and then, expect the happening of some unhappy accident. The blood thirsty salvages, not content with quaffing the blood of two or three persons, found at work in a field at Spruce Creek, on August 20, and of another person at York, the same day, (captivating also a lad which they found with him;) they did on August 24 kill and take eight persons at Kittery. Here a little girl, about seven years old, the daughter of one Mr. Downing, fell into their barbarous hands; they knock'd her o' the head, and barbarously scalped her, leaving her on the cold ground, (and it was then very *cold*, beyond what use to be,) where she lay all the night ensuing: yet she was found *alive* the next morning, and, recovering, she is to this day *alive* and well; only the place broke in her skull will not endure to be closed up. He had another daughter, which at the same time almost miraculously escap'd their hands. But so could not, at another time, Joseph Pike, of Newbury, the deputy sheriff of Essex, who on September 4, travelling between Amesbury and Haverhil, in the execution of his office, with one Long, they both had an "arrest of death" served upon them from an Indian ambuscado. Bommaseen, a commander of prime quality among the Indians, who had set his hand unto the late "articles of submission," came, November 19, with two other Indians, to Pemmaquid, "as loving as bears, and as harmless as tygres," pretending to be just *arrived* from Canada, and much *afflicted* for the late mischiefs, (whereof there was witness that he was a principal actor;) but Captain March, with a sufficient activity, seiz'd them; as Robin Doney, another famous villain among them, with three more, had been seiz'd at Saco fort a little before. Bommaseen was convey'd unto Boston, that he might, in a close imprisonment there, have time to consider of his treacheries and his cruelties, for which the justice of Heaven had thus delivered him up. When he was going to Pemmaquid, he left his company with a strange reluctancy and formality, as if he had presaged the event; and when at Pemmaquid he found the event of his coming, he discovered a more than ordinary disturbance of mind; his *passions* foam'd and boil'd like the very waters at the fall of Niagara.

But being thus fallen upon the mention of that vengeance wherewith Heaven pursued the chief of the salvage murderers, it may give some diversion unto the reader, in the midst of a long and a sad story, to insert a relation of an accident that fell out a little after this time.

The Indians, (as the captives inform us) being "hungry, and hardly

bestead," passed through deserted Casco, where they spied several horses in Captain Bracket's orchard. Their famish'd Squa's begged them shoot the horses, that they might be revived with a little *roast-meat*; but the young men were for having a little sport before their supper. Driving the horses into a pond, they took one of them, and furnished him with an *halter*, suddenly made of the *main* and the *tail* of the animal, which they cut off. A son of the famous Hegan was ambitious to mount this *Pegasean steed*: but being a pitiful horseman, he ordered them, for fear of his falling, to tie his legs fast under the horse's belly. No sooner was this "beggar set on horseback," and the spark, in his own opinion, thoroughly equipt, but the mettlesome horse furiously and presently ran with him out of sight. Neither *horse* nor *man* were ever seen any more; the astonish'd tawnies howl'd after one of their nobility, disappearing by such an unexpected accident. A few days after, they found one of his *legs*, (and that was *all*,) which they buried in Captain Bracket's cellar, with abundance of lamentation.

ARTICLE XXII.

A CONFERENCE WITH AN INDIAN SAGAMORE.

BUT now Bommaséen is fallen into our hands, let us have a little discourse with him.

Behold, reader, the troubles and the troublers of New-England! That thou mayest a little more exactly behold the *spirit* of the matter, I'll recite certain passages occurring in a discourse that pass'd between this Bommaséen (who was one of the Indian princes or chieftains) and a minister of the gospel, in the year 1696.

Bommaséen was with some other Indians now a prisoner in Boston. He desired a conference with a minister of Boston, which was granted him. Bommaséen, with the other Indians assenting and asserting to it, then told the minister that he pray'd his instruction in the *Christian religion*; inasmuch as he was afraid that the French, in the Christian religion which they taught the Indians, had abused them. The minister enquired of him what of the things taught 'em by the French appear'd most suspicious to 'em? He said, the French taught 'em that the Lord JESUS CHRIST was of the *French* nation; that his mother, the Virgin Mary, was a French lady; that they were the English who had murdered him; and that whereas he rose from the dead, and went up to the heavens, all that would recommend themselves unto his favour, must revenge his quarrel upon the English as far as they can. He asked the minister whether these things were so; and pray'd the minister to instruct him in the *true* Christian religion. The minister, considering that the humour and manner of the Indians was to have their discourses managed with much of *similitude* in them, looked about for some agreeable object, from whence he might

with apt *resemblances* convey the *ideas* of truth unto the minds of savages; and he thought none would be more agreeable to *them* than a *tankard of drink*, which happened then to be standing on the table. So he proceeded in this *method* with 'em.

He told them (still with proper actions painting and pointing out the *signs* unto them) that our Lord Jesus Christ had given us a *good religion*, which might be resembled unto the *good drink in the cup* upon the table; that if we take this good religion, (even that good drink,) into our hearts, it will do us *good*, and preserve us from *death*; that God's *book*, the Bible, is the *cup* wherein that good drink of religion is offered unto us; that the French, having the cup of good drink in their hands, had put *poison* into it, and then made the Indians to drink that *poisoned liquor*, whereupon they run mad, and fell to killing of the English, though they could not but know it must unavoidably issue in their own destruction at the last; that it was plain the English had put no poison into the good drink: for they set the cup wide open, and invited all men to *come* and *see* before they *taste*, even the very Indians themselves—for we translated the Bible into Indian; that they might gather from hence, that the French had put poison into the good drink, inasmuch as the French kept the *cup* fast shut, (the Bible in an *unknown tongue*,) and kept their *hands* upon the *eyes* of the Indians, when they put it unto their mouths.

The Indians expressing themselves to be well satisfied with what the minister had hitherto said, pray'd him to go on with showing 'em what was the *good drink* and what was the *poison* which the French had put into it.

He then set before them distinctly the chief *articles* of the Christian religion, with all the simplicity and sincerity of a Protestant: adding upon each, "This is the good drink in the Lord's cup of life:" and they still professed, "that they liked it all."

Whereupon he demonstrated unto them, how the Papists had in their idolatrous Popery, some way or other depraved and alter'd every one of these *articles*, with scandalous *ingredients* of their own invention; adding upon each, "this is the poison which the French have put into the cup."—At last he mentioned this article:

"To obtain the pardon of your sins, you must confess your sins to God, and pray to God, that he would pardon your sins for the sake of Jesus Christ, who died for the sins of his people: God loves Jesus Christ infinitely; and if you place your eye on Jesus Christ only, when you beg the pardon of your sins, God will pardon them. You need confess your sins to none but God, except in cases when men have known your sins, or have been hurt by your sins; and then those men should know that you confess your sins; but, after all, none but God can pardon them."

He then added, "The French have put poison into this good drink; they tell you that you must confess your sins to a priest, and submit unto a penance enjoined by a priest; and this priest is to give you a pardon. There is no need of all this. 'tis nothing but French poison, all of it."

The wretches appearing astonish'd to meet with one who would so fairly put them into a glorious way to obtain the "pardon of their sins," and yet take no *bever-skins* for it, in a rapture of astonishment they fell on their knees, and got his hand into theirs, and fell to kissing of it with an extream show of affection.

He shaking them off with dislike of their posture, Bommaseen, with the rest of them, stood up; and first lifting up his eyes and hands to Heaven, declaring that God should be judge of his heart in what he said, he then said, "Sir, I thank you for these things; I resolve to spit up all the French poison; you shall be my father; I will be your son; I beseech you to continue to instruct me in that religion which may bring me to the salvation of my soul!"—Now God knows what *heart* this Indian had when he so expressed himself: to him let us leave it.—But so much for this digression.

ARTICLE XXIII.

MORE MISCHIEFS IN SPIKE OF TREATIES.

EXCEPT it were the falling of two soldiers belonging to Saco garrison into the hands of the enemy, who took the one, and kill'd the other, some time in March, 1695, many months pass'd away without any action between them and us, and it is reported by returned captives that the hand of God reach'd them, and a mortal sickness did at a strange rate carry off multitudes of them. At length, a *praying* Indian of the Reverend Eliot's catechumens, but afterwards a Pagan, and now a popish apostate, with a great fleet of canoos came into an island, about a league from the fort at Pemmaquid, May 20, 1695; and after they had laid still there all the Lord's day, on Monday morning they sent unto the English for another treaty. They declared their design was to "exchange captives," and renew the peace, and condemned themselves for their violating the peace made near two years ago. Eight captives they immediately delivered up; and upon a grant of a *truce* for thirty days, Colonel John Philips, Lieutenant-colonel Hawthorn, and Major Converse, were sent commissioners unto Pemmaquid for the management of that affair.

Our commissioners, with good reason, demanding a surrender of all the English captives according to former agreement, before they would allow any new propositions of peace to be offered, the Indians, disgusted that their idol Bommaseen was left at Boston, broke off the conference, and went off in discontent. Advice was immediately dispatched into all parts of the eastern country to stand well upon their guard; notwithstanding which, on July 6, Major Hammond, of Kittery, fell into the hands of the lurking Indians; and the next week two men at Exeter were kill'd by some of the same dangerous *lurkers*. Major Hammond was now aboard a canoo, intending to put ashore at Saco; but some of the garrison-soldiers

there, not knowing that they had such a good friend aboard, inadvertently fired upon the canoo; and so the Indians carried him clear away. They transported him at length to Canada, where he met with extraordinary civilities; Count Frontenac, the governour himself, nobly purchased him of his tawny master, and sent him home to New-England by a vessel which also fetch'd from thence a considerable number (perhaps near thirty) of English prisoners. In August, the house of one Rogers, at Billerica, was plundered, and about fifteen people kill'd and taken by Indians, which, by appearing and approaching, 'tis said on *horse-back*, were not suspected for Indians, (for, "who set them on horse-back?") till they surprized the house they came to. And about the same time, Sergeant Haley, venturing out of his fort at Saco, stept into the "snares of death." On September 9, Sergeant March, with three more, were killed by the Indians, and six more at the same time wounded at Pemmaquid, rowing a *gondula* round an high rocky point above the *barbican*. On October 7, the Indians entred the house of one John Brown, at Newbury, carrying away nine persons with them; whereupon Captain Greenlief, nimbly pursuing the murderers, did unhappily so stumble on them in the night, that they wounded the good man, and made their escape over the river. The captain retook all the captives; but the Indians in their going off strook them all so violently on the *head* with the *chubs*, which I remember a French historian somewhere calls by the frightful name of *head-breakers*, that they afterwards all of them died, except a lad that was only hurt in the shoulder. Some of them lingered out for half a year, and some of them for more than a whole year; but if the doctors closed up the *wounds* of their *heads*, they would grow *light-headed*, and faint, and sick, and could not bear it; so at last they died with their very *brains* working out at their wounds.

But having thus run over a "journal of deaths" for the year 1695, let us before the year be quite gone see some vengeance taken upon the "heads in the house of the wicked." Know then, reader, that Captain March, petitioning to be dismiss'd from his command of the fort at Pemmaquid, one Chub succeeded him. This Chub found an opportunity, in a pretty *chubbed manner*, to kill the famous Edgeremett and Abenquid, a couple of principal sagamores, with one or two other Indians, on a Lord's-day, the sixteenth of February. Some that well enough liked the *thing* which was now done, did not altogether like the *manner* of doing it, because there was a pretence of *treaty* between Chub and the sagamores, whereof he took his advantage to lay violent hands on them. If there were any unfair dealing (which I know not) in this action of Chub, there will be another February not far off, wherein the "avengers of blood" will take their *satisfaction*.

ARTICLE XXIV.

STILL MISCHIEF UPON MISCHIEF.

THE next whole year, namely, 1696, had it not been for the degree of a *famine*, which the "alteration of the course of nature" in these, as well as other parts of the world, threatned us withal, would have been a year of *less trouble* than some of the rest in our *troublesome decad*. The most *uneasie accident* of this year shall be told when we arrive unto the month of August; but in the mean time it was a matter of some *uneasiness* that, on May 7, one John Church, of Quoquecho, who had been a captive, escaped from the hands of the Indians, almost seven years before, was now slain and stript by their barbarous hands: and on June 24, one Thomas Cole, of Wells, and his wife, were slain by the Indians, returning home with two of his neighbours and their wives, all three sisters, from a visit of their friends at York: and on June 26, at several places within the confines of Portsmouth, several persons, twelve or fourteen, were massacred, (with some houses burnt,) and four taken, which yet were soon retaken; among whom there was an ancient woman scalp'd for dead, and no doubt the salvages, upon producing her scalp, received the "price of her death" from those that hired them, and yet she so recovered as to be still *alive*. Moreover, on July 26, the Lord's-day, the people at Quoquecho, returning from the public worship of God, *three* of them were killed, *three* of them were wounded, and *three* of them carried away prisoners to Penobscot; which last *three* were nevertheless in less than three weeks returned. But now we are got into fatal August; on the fifth or sixth day of which month, the French, having taken one of the English men of war, called the Newport, and landed a few men, who joined with the Indians to pursue their business, Chub, with an unaccountable baseness, did surrender the brave fort at Pemmaquid into their hands. There were ninety-five men double-armed in the fort, which might have defended it against nine times as many assailants; that a fort now should be so basely given up! imitating the stile of Homer and Virgil, I cannot help crying out, *O merce Novanglæ, neque enim Novangli!** and yet, if you read the story written by the Sieur Froger, how poorly St. James's fort in Africa was given up to the French in the year 1695, you'll say that the things done in America are not so bad as what have been done in other parts of the world. The enemy having demolished so fair a citadel, now growing mighty *uppish*, triumph'd, as well they might, exceedingly; and threatned that they would carry all before them. The honourable Lieutenant-governour Stoughton, who was now commander in chief over the province, immediately did all that could be done to put a stop unto the fury of the adversary. By *sea* he sent out three men of war, who, disadvantaged by the winds, came not

* New England women, not New England men!

soon enough to engage the French. By *land*—the Indians being so posted in all quarters, that the people could hardly stir out, but about half a score of the poor people in their fields here and there were pick'd off—he sent Colonel Gidney with five hundred men, who, perceiving the salvages to be drawn off, only strengthened the garrisons, and returned. The lieutenant-governour, that he might not in any other point be wanting to the public safety, hereupon dispatched Colonel Hawthorn, with a suitable number of soldiers and frigats, unto St. John's, with orders to fetch away some great guns that were lying there, and join with Major Church, who was gone with forces that way to attack the fort at St. John's, which was the nest of all the *wasps* that stung us; but the difficulty of the *cold season* so discouraged our men, that, after the making of some few shot, the enterprize found itself under too much *congelation* to proceed any further. So we will afflict our selves no further for this year; except only with mentioning the slaughter of about five poor soldiers, belonging to Saco-fort, October 13, who had a discovery of the enemy seasonable enough to have made their escape; yet not agreeing about the way of making it, as if led by some *fatality* to their *destruction*, or as if they had been like *squirrels*, that must run down the tree squeaking and crying into the mouths of the *rattle-snakes* that fix their *eyes* upon them, they went back into the very path where the Indian ambush was lying for them.

ARTICLE XXV.

A NOTABLE EXPLOIT; *DUX FÆMINA FACTI*.*

ON March 15, 1697, the salvages made a descent upon the skirts of Haverhill, murdering and captivating about thirty-nine persons, and burning about half a dozen houses. In this broil, one Hannah Dustan, having lain in about a week, attended with her nurse, Mary Neff, a body of terrible Indians drew near unto the house where she lay, with designs to carry on their bloody devastations. Her husband hastened from his employments abroad unto the relief of his distressed family; and first bidding *seven* of his *eight* children (which were from *two* to *seventeen* years of age) to get away as fast as they could unto some garrison in the town, he went in to inform his wife of the horrible distress come upon them. Ere she could get up, the fierce Indians were got so near, that, utterly despairing to do her any service, he ran out after his children; resolving that on the horse which he had with him, he would ride away with *that* which he should in this extremity find his affections to pitch most upon, and leave the rest unto the care of the Divine Providence. He overtook his children, about forty rod from his door; but then such was the *agony* of his parental affections, that he found it impossible for him to distinguish any one of

* A woman the leader in the achievement.

them from the rest; wherefore he took up a courageous resolution to live and die with them all. A party of Indians came up with him; and now, though they fired at him, and he fired at them, yet he manfully kept at the rear of his *little army* of unarmed children, while they marched off with the pace of a child of five years old; until, by the singular providence of God, he arrived safe with them all unto a place of safety about a mile or two from his house. But his house must in the mean time have more dismal *tragedies* acted at it. The nurse, trying to escape with the new-born infant, fell into the hands of the formidable salvages; and those furious tawnies coming into the house, bid poor Dustan to rise immediately. Full of astonishment, she did so; and sitting down in the chimney with an heart full of most fearful *expectation*, she saw the raging dragons rifle all that they could carry away, and set the house on fire. About nineteen or twenty Indians now led these away, with about half a score other English captives; but ere they had gone many steps, they dash'd out the brains of the infant against a tree; and several of the other captives, as they began to tire in the sad journey, were soon sent unto their long home; the salvages would presently bury their hatchets in their brains, and leave their carcases on the ground for birds and beasts to feed upon. However, Dustan (with her nurse) notwithstanding her present condition, travelled that night about a dozen miles, and then kept up with their new masters in a long travel of an hundred and fifty miles, more or less, within a few days ensuing, without any sensible damage in their health, from the hardships of their *travel*, their *lodging*, their *diet*, and their many other difficulties.

These two poor women were now in the hands of those whose "tender mercies are cruelties;" but the good God, who hath all "hearts in his own hands," heard the sighs of these prisoners, and gave them to find unexpected favour from the master who hath laid claim unto them. That Indian family consisted of twelve persons; two stout men, three women, and seven children; and for the shame of many an English family, that has the character of *prayerless* upon it, I must now publish what these poor women assure me. 'Tis this: in obedience to the instructions which the French have given them, they would have *prayers* in their family no less than thrice every day; in the morning, at noon, and in the evening; nor would they ordinarily let their children *eat* or *sleep*, without first saying their prayers. Indeed, these *idolaters* were, like the rest of their whiter brethren, *persecutors*, and would not endure that these poor women should retire to their English prayers, if they could hinder them. Nevertheless, the poor women had nothing but fervent prayers to make their lives comfortable or tolerable; and by being daily sent out upon business, they had opportunities, together and asunder, to do like another Hannah, in "pouring out their souls before the Lord." Nor did their praying friends among our selves forbear to "pour out" supplications for them. Now, they could not observe it without some wonder, that their Indian master sometimes

when he saw them dejected, would say unto them, "What need you trouble your self? If your God will have you delivered, you shall be so!" And it seems our God would have it so to be. This Indian family was now travelling with these two captive women, (and an English youth taken from Worcester, a year and a half before,) unto a rendezvous of salvages, which they call a *town*, some where beyond Penacook; and they still told these poor women that when they came to this town, they must be stript, and scourg'd, and run the *gantlet* through the whole army of Indians. They said this was the *fashion* when the captives first came to a town; and they derided some of the faint-hearted English, which, they said, fainted and swoon'd away under the *torments* of this discipline. But on April 30, while they were yet, it may be, about an hundred and fifty miles from the Indian town, a little before break of day, when the whole crew was in a *dead sleep*, (reader, see if it prove not so!) one of these women took up a resolution to imitate the action of Jael upon Sisera; and being where she had not her own *life* secured by any *law* unto her, she thought she was not forbidden by any *law* to take away the *life* of the *murderers* by whom her child had been butchered. She heartened the nurse and the youth to assist her in this enterprize; and all furnishing themselves with hatchets for the purpose, they struck such home blows upon the heads of their sleeping oppressors, that ere they could any of them struggle into any effectual resistance, "at the feet of these poor prisoners, they bow'd, they fell, they lay down; at their feet they bow'd, they fell; where they bow'd, there they fell down dead." Only one squaw escaped, sorely wounded, from them in the dark; and one boy, whom they reserved asleep, intending to bring him away with them, suddenly waked, and scuttled away from this desolation. But cutting off the scalps of the ten wretches, they came off, and received *fifty pounds* from the General Assembly of the province, as a recompence of their action; besides which, they received many "presents of congratulation" from their more private friends: but none gave 'em a greater taste of bounty than Colonel Nicholson, the Governour of Maryland, who, hearing of their action, sent 'em a very generous token of his favour.

ARTICLE XXVI.

REMARKABLE SALVATIONS: AND SOME REMARKABLE DISASTERS.

BESIDES a man taken at York in May, and another man kill'd at Hatfield in June, and a third kill'd at Groton, and a fourth with two children carried captives, there fell out more *mischief*, with no small *mercy* on June 10, at Exeter. The day before, some women and children would needs ramble without any guard into the woods to gather strawberries; but some that were willing to chastise them with a *fright* for their presumption, made an *alarum* in the town, whereupon many came together in their

arms. The Indians, it seems, were at this very time (unknown to the English) lying on the other side of the town, ready to make a destructive assault upon it; but supposing this alarm to be made on their account, they therefore supposed themselves to be discovered. Wherefore they laid aside their purpose of attempting the destruction of the town, and contented themselves with *killing* one man, *taking* another, and *wounding* a third. But on July 4, Lord's-day, Major Charles Frost, who had been a person of no little consequence to our frontiers, returning from the public worship of God in Berwick, (to repair unto which, about five miles from his own house, he had that morning expressed such an *earnestness*, that much notice was taken of it,) pass'd several more dangerous places without any damage; but in a place on a little plain, by the turn of a *path*, where no danger was expected, "the adder in the path" surprized him; the Indians having stuck up certain boughs upon a log, there mortally shot him, with two more, while his two sons that were in the front of the company happily escaped; and the two young men that rode post unto Wells with these tidings, in their going back, had their own death added for another article of such unhappy tidings. About the latter end of this month also, three men, *mowing* the meadows at Newichawannic, were themselves *cut down* by the Indians; though one of the *mowers* bravely slew one of the *murderers*. But the most important action of this year was a little further off. About the beginning of July, Major March was employed with about five hundred soldiers, not only to defend the frontiers, but also to seek out and beat up the enemies' quarters. In the mean time, the lieutenant-governour, apprehending an *invasion* from a formidable French fleet on the coast of New-England, with his accustomed prudence and vigour applied himself to put the whole province into a posture of defence: And the militia, with the several forts, especially that of Boston, (very much through the contrivance and industry of Captain Fairweather,) were brought into so good a posture, that some could hardly forbear too much dependance on our preparations. But it being more particularly apprehended that, in the intended invasion, the Indians, assisted by the French, would make a descent upon our frontiers by *land*, Major March was advised therefore to employ some of his forces in scouting about the woods. Before the Major arrived at York, a party of the enemy kill'd a man that stood centinel for some of his neighbours at work in the marsh at Wells, and catching another *alive*, they carried him a mile and a half off, and roasted him to *death*. But Captain Bracket, that followed them *quite* as far as Kennebunk, did but *almost* overtake them: For truly, reader, our soldiers cannot (as antiquity reports the old Græcian and Roman soldiers could) march at a running pace, or trot heavily loaded, five and twenty miles in four hours; but rather suspect whether those reports of antiquity be not romantick. Three soldiers of Saco fort, after this, cutting some fire wood on Cow-Island, for the use of the fort, were

by the Indians cut off; while that Lieutenant Fletcher, with his two sons, that should have guarded them, went a *fowling*; and by doing so, *they* likewise fell into the *snare*. The Indians, carrying these three captives down the river in one of their canoos, Lieutenant Larabe, who was abroad with a scout, way-laid them; and, firing on the foremost of the canoos that had three men in it, they all three fell, and sank in the "river of death;" several were killed aboard the other canoos; and the rest ran their canoos ashore, and escaped on the other side of the river; and one of the Fletchers, when all the Indians with him were kill'd, was delivered out of the hands which had made a prisoner of him, tho' his poor father afterwards died among them. Hereupon Major March, with his army, took a voyage farther eastward, having several transport vessels to accommodate them. Arriving at Casco-bay, they did, on the 9th of September, come as occult as they could, further east among the islands, near a place called Corbin's sounds; and landed before day at a place called Damascotta river; where, before half of them were well got ashoar, and drawn up, the scarce yet expected enemy entertained them with a *volley* and an *huzzah*! None of ours were hurt; but Major March repaid 'em in their own *leaden coin*: and it was no sooner light, but a *considerable battel* ensued. The commanders of the transport vessels were persons of such a mettle, that they could not with any patience forbear going ashore to take a part of their *neighbour's fare*; but the enemy, seeing things operate this way, fled into their fleet of canoos, which hitherto lay out of sight, and got off as fast and as well as they could, leaving some of their dead behind them, which they never do but when under extream disadvantages. Our army thus beat 'em off, with the loss of about a dozen men, whereof one was the worthy Captain Dymmock, of Barnstable; and about as many wounded, whereof one was Captain Philips, of Charlestown; and in this action Captain Whiting, a young gentleman of much *worth* and *hope*—courageously acting his part as commander of the forces, "the helpers of the war," which the colony of Connecticut had charitably lent unto this expedition—had his life remarkably rescued from a bullet grazing the top of his head. But there was a singular providence of our Lord Jesus Christ in the whole of this matter. For by the seasonable arrival and encounter of our army, an horrible descent of Indians, which probably might have laid whole plantations desolate, was most happily defeated. And at the same time the signal hand of Heaven gave a defeat unto the purposes of the French squadrons at sea, so that they had something else to do, than to visit the coast of New-England.

ARTICLE XXVII.

THE END OF THE YEAR; AND, WE HOPE, OF THE WAR.

"O THOU SWORD of the wilderness, when wilt thou be quiet?"—On September 11, a party of the enemy came upon the town of Lancaster, then prepared for *mischief* by a wonderful security, and they did no little mischief unto it. Near twenty were killed, and among the rest Mr. John Whiting, the pastor of the church there: Five we carried captive; two or three houses were burnt, and several *old people* in them. Captain Brown with fifty men pursued them, till the night stopp'd their pursuit; but it seems a strange dog or two, unknown to the company, did by their barking alarum the enemy to rise in the night, and strip and scalp an English captive woman, and fly so far into the woods that, after two days' bootless labour, our men returned. November arrived before any farther bloodshed; and *then* 'twas only of one man in the woods at Oyster river. December arrived with the welcome tidings of a peace concluded between England and France, which made us hope that there would be little more of any bloodshed at all.

The winter was the severest that ever was in the memory of man; and yet February must not pass without a stroke upon Pemmaquid Chub, whom the government had mercifully permitted, after his *examination*, to retire unto his habitation in Andover. As much out of the way as to Andover, there came above thirty Indians, about the middle of February, as if their errand had been for a *vengeance* upon Chub, whom (with his wife) they now massacred there. They took two or three houses, and slew three or four persons; and Mr. Thomas Barnard, the worthy minister of the place, very narrowly escaped their fury. But in the midst of their *fury* there was one piece of *mercy*, the like whereof had never been seen before: for they had got Colonel Dudley Bradstreet, with his family, into their hands; but perceiving the town mustering to follow them, their *hearts* were so changed, that they dismissed their captives without any further damage unto their persons. Returning back by Haverhil, they *kill'd* a couple, and a couple they *took*, with some remarkable circumstances worthy to be made a *distinct history*. But, reader, we are now in haste for to have our *present history* come unto an end: And though the end of this *year* did not altogether prove the end of the *war*—for on May 9, 1698, the Indians murdered an old man at Spruce-Creek, and carried away three sons of that old man, and wounded a man at York—yet we were not without prospect of our troubles growing towards a period: and even in that very murder at Spruce-Creek, there fell out one thing that might a little encourage our hopes concerning it. The murderer was a famous kind of a *giant* among the Indians; a fellow reputed seven foot high: this fellow killed the poor old man in cold blood, after he had sur-

rendered himself a prisoner: But behold, before many hours were out, this famous and bloody fellow, accidentally shot himself to death by his gun going off, when he was foolishly pulling a canoo to the shore with it.

The last bloody action that can have a room in our story is this. The Indians, (though sometimes it hath been much doubted *what* Indians!) have in this war made several descents upon some of the upper towns that were our most northerly settlements upon Connecticut-river. But the pious and honest people in those towns, have always given them a brave repulse, and had a notable experience of the Divine favour to them in their preservations. Deerfield has been an extraordinary instance of courage in keeping their *station*, though they have lived all this while in a very *Pihahiroth*; and their worthy pastor, Mr. John Williams, deserves the thanks of all this province, for his encouraging them all the ways imaginable to stand their ground. Once the enemy was like to have surprised them into a grievous desolation; but he, with his praying and valiant little flock, most happily repelled them. And now, about the middle of July, 1698, a little before sun-set, four Indians killed a man and a boy in Hatfield meadows, and carried away two boys into captivity. The advice coming to Deerfield in the night, they presently dispatched away twelve men to way-lay the enemy coming up the river; having first look'd up unto the Lord Jesus Christ, that they might find the enemy, and harm none but the enemy, and rescue the children which the enemy had seized upon. After a travel of near twenty miles, they perceived the Indians in their canoos coming up the river, but on the other side of it, within a rod or two of the opposite shore: Whereupon they so *shot* as to *hit* one of the Indians, and they all jumpt out of the canoos, and one of the boys with them. The wounded salvage crawled unto the shoar; where, his back being broken, he lay in great anguish, often endeavouring with his hatchet for to knock out his own brains, and tear open his own breast, but could not: and another Indian, seeing the two boys getting one to another, design'd 'em a shot, but his gun would not go off: whereupon he followed 'em with his hatchet for to have knock'd 'em on the head; but just as he came at 'em, one of our men sent a shot into him that spoil'd his enterprize; and so the boys, getting together into one canoo, brought it over to the friends thus concerned for them. These good men, seeing their exploit performed thus far—*two Indians* destroy'd, and *two children* delivered—they fell to praising of God; and one young man particularly kept thus expressing himself: "Surely, 'tis God, and not we, that have wrought this deliverance!" But as we have sometimes been told that, even in the beating of a *pulse*, the dilating of the heart, by a *diastole* of delight, may be turned into a contracting of it, with a *systole* of sorrow; in the beating of a few pulse, after this, they sent five or six men with the canoo, to fetch the other, which was lodged at an island not far off, that they might pursue the other Indians: when those two Indians, having hid themselves

in the high-grass, unhappily shot a quick *death* into the young man, whose expressions were but now recited. This hopeful young man's brother-in-law was intending to have gone out upon this action; but the young man himself importuned his mother to let *him* go: which, because he was an *only son*, she denied; but then, fearing she did not well to "withhold her son" from the service of the publick, she gave him leave: saying, "See that you do now, and as you go along, resign, and give up your self unto the Lord; and I desire to resign you to him!" So he goes, and so he dies; and may *he* be the *last* that falls in a long and sad war with Indian salvages!

ARTICLE XXVIII.

THE EPILOGUE OF A LONG TRAGEDY.

FOR the present then the Indians have *done* murdering; they'll "do so no more till next time." Let us then have *done* writing, when we have a little informed our selves what is become of the chief murderers among those wretches, for whom, if we could find a *name* of a length like one of their own Indian long-winded words, it might be,

BOMBARDO-GLADIO-FUN-HASTI-FLAMMI-LOQUENTES.*

Major Converse, and Captain Alden, in pursuance of instructions received from the lieutenant-governour and council, arriving at Penobscot on October 14, 1698, were there informed that Madockawando, the noted sagamore, with several other sachims of the east, were lately dead. And sixty days after this, the chief sachims now living, with a great body of Indians, entertained them with a friendly discourse; wherein they said, that the Earl of Frontenac had sent them word, there was a peace concluded between the kings of France and England, and that one of the articles in the peace was, for prisoners on both sides to be returned, and they were resolved to obey the Earl of Frontenac as their father; and accordingly such prisoners of ours as they had now at hand might immediately return, if *we* could *persuade* them, for *they* would not *compel* them. When our English messengers argued with them upon the *perfidiousness* of their making a *new war* after their *submission*, the Indians replied, that they were instigated by the French to do what they did, against their own inclinations; adding, that there were two Jesuits—one toward Amonoscoggin, the other at Narridgaway—both of which they desired the Earl of Belomont and the Earl of Frontenac to procure to be removed; otherwise it could not be expected that any *peace* would continue long. The Indians also, and the English prisoners, gave them to understand, that the last winter, many, both Indians and English prisoners, were starved to death; and particularly, nine Indians in one company went a hunting, but met

* Breathing bombs, swords, death, spears, and flames.

with such hard circumstances, that, after they had eat up their *dogs* and their *cats*, they died horribly famished: and since the last winter, a grievous and unknown disease is got among them, which consumed them wonderfully. The sagamore Saquadoock further told them that the Kennebeck Indians would fain have gone to war again this last summer, but the other *refused*, whereupon they likewise *desisted*: and they resolved now to "fight no more:" but if any ill accident or action should happen on either side, he did, in the name of the Indians, desire that we would not presently make a war upon it, but in a more amicable way compose the differences.

That the Indian affairs might come to be yet more exactly understood, the General Assembly of the province employ'd Colonel John Philips and Major Converse to settle them. These gentlemen took a difficult and a dangerous voyage, in the depth of winter, unto the eastern parts in the province-galley, then under the command of Captain Cyprian Southack; and the principal sagamores of the Indians there coming to them, did again renew and subscribe the *submission* which they had formerly made in the year 1693, with this addition unto it:

"And whereas, notwithstanding the aforesaid submission and agreement, the said Indians, belonging to the rivers aforesaid, or some of them, thro' the ill counsel and instigation of the French, have perpetrated sundry hostilities against his Majesties' subjects the English, and have not delivered and returned home several English captives in their hands, as in the said submission they covenanted;

"Wherefore, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, sagamores, captains, and principal men of the Indians belonging unto the rivers of Kennebeck, Ammonoscoggin, and Saco, and parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence and folly, in not complying with the aforesaid submission and agreement, and also of the sufferings and mischiefs that we have hereby exposed our selves unto, do in all humble and most submissive manner cast our selves upon his Majesties' mercy, for the pardon of all our rebellions, hostilities, and violations of our promises, praying to be received into his Majesties' grace and protection; and for, and on behalf of ourselves, and of all other the Indians, belonging to the several rivers and places aforesaid, within the sovereignty of his Majesty of Great-Britain, do again acknowledge and profess our hearty and sincere obedience unto the crown of England, and do solemnly renew, ratify and confirm all and every of the articles and agreements contained in the aforesaid recited commission. And in testimony thereof, we, the said sagamores, captains, and principal men, have hereunto set our several marks and seals at Casco-Bay, near Mares-Point, the seventh day of January, in the tenth year of the reign of his Majesty King William the Third, *Annoque Domini, 1699.*"

Subscribed by Moxus,—and a great number more. In the presence of James Converse, Cyprian Southack, John Gills, Interpreter, and Scodook, *alias* Samson.

At this time, also, the Indians restored as many of the English captives in their hands as were able to travel above an hundred miles in this terrible season of the year, from their head-quarters down to the sea-side; giving all possible satisfaction for the restoration of the rest as early in the spring as there could be any travelling.

The condition of these captives has afforded many very *remarkable things*, whereof 'tis a thousand pities that so many are lost. But because one of the two gentlemen employ'd as commissioners for the treaty with

the Indians, took certain minutes of remarkable things from some of the captives, I am willing to give the reader a taste of them.

“AT MARES-POINT IN CASCO-BAY, JAN. 14, 1698-9.

“THE captives informed me, that the Indians have three forts at Narridgawog, and Narrackomagog, and Amassacanty. And at each of these forts they have a *chappel*, and have *images* in them. They informed me, that three captives in one wigwam were starved to death last winter.

“Mary Fairbanks and Samuel Hutching, and some other captives, told me that Jonathan Hutching, belonging to Spruce-Creek, a lad fourteen years old, they met him crying for want of victuals, for in two or three days he had nothing to eat. Afterward, as he was going to fetch some wood, he felt something hard in his bosom. He put in his hand, and unto his astonishment he found there two great large ears of Indian corn, which were very well roasted. He eat them, and knew not how they came unto him.

“Some other of the captives told me that one Mary Catter, (which person we now brought home with us, belonging to Kittery,) her master, and many other Indians, came down to Casco-Bay. There, seeing some sloops or shallops, they thought they were the English coming upon them, and ran away into the woods, and left the said Mary Catter very sick in the wigwam, without any thing at all to eat. They staid away many days; but left a fire in the wigwam. She lay wishing for something to eat, and at length in came a turtle. She got *that*, and eat it; but afterwards began to despair of out-living the famine, which was returned upon her. At length, when she was very hungry, in came a partridge; she took a stick, and struck it, and drest it, and eat it. And by that time she was hungry again, her master came to look after her.

“They tell of several of the Indians that have kill’d themselves with their own guns, in taking them out of their canoos.

“Assacombuit sent Thomasin Rouse, a child of about ten years old, unto the water-side to carry something. The child cried: he took a stick, and struck her down: she lay for dead: he took her up, and threw her into the water: some Indians not far off ran in and fetch’d her out. This child we have now brought home with us.

“This Assacombuit hath killed and taken this war, (they tell me,) an hundred and fifty men, women, and children. A bloody devil.”

Thus the Paper of Minutes.

The reader has nothing but peace before him. Doubtless he comforts himself with hopes of times better to *live* in, than to *write* of!

But that which yet more assures a “break of day” after a long and sad *night* unto us, is, that the best king at this day upon earth, and the greatest monarch that ever swayed the sceptre of Great Britain, hath commissioned a noble person, who hath in him an illustrious *image* of his own *royal virtues*, to take the government of the provinces; and he is accordingly arrived now near our horizon. When the schools of the Jews delivered, that there were “three great gifts” of the good God unto the world—the *law*, the *rain*, and the *light*—R. Zeira added, “I pray let us take in *peace* for a *fourth*. All these *four gifts* of God are now enjoyed by New-England; but I must now ask, that our hope of a *fifth* may be added unto the number; which is a *governour* of signalized virtues. To the truly noble Earl of Bellomont the whole English nation must own it self indebted while it is a nation, for the most generous and successful zeal with which he laboured for those acts of Parliament; by assenting

whereunto, the mighty William hath irradiated England with *blessings* that it never saw before his happy reign: blessings richly worth all the expences of a *revolution*. England owes no less immortal statues unto the Earl of Bellamont, than Ireland unto his illustrious ancestors. But the *continent* of *America* must now share in the influence of that noble person, whose merits have been signalized on the most famous *islands* of *Europe*; and the greatest person that ever set foot on the English continent of *America* is now arrived unto it. We are now satisfying our selves in the expectations of the great and good influences to be derived from the conduct of a governour, in whom there will meet,

—*Virtus et Summa potestas**

And now, reader, I will conclude our history of the Indian war, in terms like those used by the Syrian writer at the conclusion of his book:

Finis, per Auxilium Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, mense duodecimo, per manus peccatoris pauperis et errantis.†

ARTICLE XXIX.

QUAKERS ENCOUNTERED.

FOR the present, then, we have done with the Indians: but while the Indians have been thus molesting us, we have suffered molestations of another sort, from another sort of enemies, which may with very good reason be cast into the same history with them. If the Indians have chosen to prey upon the *frontiers* and *out-skirts* of the Province, the Quakers have chosen the very same *frontiers*, and *out-skirts* for their more *spiritual assaults*; and finding little *success* elsewhere, they have been labouring *incessantly*, and sometimes not *unsuccessfully*, to enchant and poison the *souls* of poor people, in the very places where the *bodies* and *estates* of the people have presently after been devoured by the salvages. But that which makes it the more agreeable, to allow the Quakers an *article* in our history of the Indians is, that a certain silly scribler, the very first-born of *Nonsensicality*, (and a *first-born* too, that one might salute as the martyr Polycarp once did the wicked Marcion,) one Tom Maule, at this time living in Salem, hath exposed unto the publick a volume of *nonsensical* blasphemies and heresies, wherein he sets himself to defend the Indians in their bloody villanies, and revile the country for defending it self against them. And that the *venom* of this pamphlet might be improved unto the *height* of *slandrous wickedness*, there hath been since added unto it, in another pamphlet, a parcel of ingredients compounded for mischief, as if “by the art of the apothecary.” None but he whom the Jews in their “*Talmuds*” call *Bentamalion*, could have inspired such a slanderer! Have the Quakers ever yet censured this their author for holding-forth in his *Alcoran*, (page

* Virtue and sovereign power.

† Finished, by the aid of our Lord Jesus Christ, in a twelvemonth, by the hands of a poor and erring sinner.

221,) "That the devil, sin, death, and hell, are but nothing, they are but a non-entity;" and, (page 183,) that "all men who have a body of sin remaining in them, are *witches*?" I have cause to believe they never did! nor that they ever advised him to pull in his *horns*, from goring the sides of New-England with such passages as those in (page 195) the same horrible pamphlet: "God hath well rewarded the inhabitants of New-England for their unrighteous dealings towards the native Indians, whom now the Lord hath suffered to reward the inhabitants with a double measure of blood, by fire and sword," &c. And those "unrighteous dealings" he explains to be the killing of the Indians, (or murdering of them,) by the old planters of these colonies in their *first settlement*. Thus are the ashes of our *fathers* vilely *staled* upon by one who, perhaps, would not stick at the villany of doing as much upon their *baptism* it self. I must tell you, friends, that if you don't publickly "give forth a testimony" to defie Tom Maule, and "his works," it will be thought by some, (who it may be don't wish you so well as I do,) that you own this *bloody stuff*; which doubtless you'll not be so ill-advised as to do. But, certainly, if the good people of New-England now make it not a proverb for a *liar* of the first magnitude, "HE IS AS VERY A LIAR AS TOM MAULE," they will deprive their language of one significant expression which now offers it self unto them.

Let us now leave our friend Maule's works as a fit volume to be an appendix unto the famous "*Tartareus*," and worthy of a room in Pantagruel's library. The fittest way to answer him, would be to send him to *Boston woods*!

In the mean time, I owe unto the publick a piece of history, which it may be for the safety of our northern towns to be acquainted withal. Know, sirs, that once the famous George Keith undertook to be the champion of our New-English Quakers, and bid fair to be the very *Dalae*, or *Prester John*, of all the English *Tartars*; but a minister of Boston, upon that occasion, publishing a book, entitled, "*Little Flocks guarded against Grievous Wolves*," could not but complain of it as a very "scandalous thing" in George Keith to maintain the points of the Foxian Quakerism, while he really differed from them. All this while George Keith was admired by our Quakers as an *apostle*, or an *oracle*: but he finding it impossible to maintain the gross tenets of the common Quakers, preach'd unto them the necessity of believing on a *Christ without*, as well as a *Christ within*. Hereupon there grew such alienations between him and the other Quakers, (who had been taught by George Fox to say, "the devil is in them who say, they are saved by Christ without them,") that he not only has written divers learned books to confute those very doctrines of the common Quakers, which the pastors of New-England had upon his provocation written against, but also has therefor undergone a storm of *persecution* from the Friends in Pensilvania; yea, 'tis verily thought that poor George would have been made a sacrifice to Squire Samuel Jennings,

and the rest of the Pensilvanian *dragons*; and that since a crime which their laws had made *capital*, was mention'd in the *mittimus* whereby Keith was committed, they would have hang'd him, if a *revolution* upon their government had not set him at liberty. Being by the fines, and gaols, and fierce usages of the Quakers in Pensilvania, driven over to England, the wonderful hand of God hath made this very man, I think I may say, incomparably the greatest *plague* that ever came upon that sect of *Energumens*. Although he do himself still retain the name of a Quaker, yet he hath in one treatise after another earnestly called upon the divines throughout the nation more vigorously to employ their *talents* against the Quakers, as a more "dangerous generation" of people than they are well aware; and he did in the year 1696, with the leave of the Lord Mayor, challenge the Quakers to make their appearance at Turner's-hall, in the chief city of Europe; where he proved, unto the satisfaction of a vast assembly, that the chief writers of the Quakers assert *Christ* neither to be *God* nor *man*: and that they deny *Christ* to be pray'd unto; and that they had affirm'd "*Christ's* outward blood, shed on the ground, to be no more than the blood of another saint;" and that they had charged him with "new doctrine," for directing to *faith* in *Christ without us*, as well as *within us*; and that at their meetings they had censured him for saying, "that *Christ's* body came out of the grave," which they say, "it never did:" and many more such horrid matters.

To confirm these things, besides the grievous *bites* which Francis *Buggy*, one of their late friends, hath given them, one Daniel Leeds, without wholly casting off the profession of a Quaker, hath lately printed a book, wherein he produces above *threescore* instances of the *flat contradictions* which he hath observed in the books of the *Friends*, that have most pretended unto *infallibility*; and he demonstrates, from evident matter of fact, that though they declared unto the world, "that their sufferings had been greater, and more unjust, than the sufferings of *Jesus* and his *Apostles*;" yet they themselves were no sooner mounted into the seat of government, than they fell to persecuting as bad as any in the world. Albeit, Fox writes, "they that cause people to be put in prison, and have their goods taken away, are disorderly teachers, and shall be rooted out:" nevertheless, Leeds proves, by many examples, that the Pensylvanians did it even upon their own friends, for meer *scruples* of their *consciences*. 'Tis reported, the Quakers are so confounded at this book of Leeds, that they have been at the charge to buy up the *whole impression* of it, and so to stifle and smother it: if it be so, I hope 'twill but produce a *new impression* of so rare a book. The "marvellous providence" of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, having thus employ'd the pens of the Quakers themselves to warn you that you beware of Quakerism, it will be a marvellous infatuation in any of you, after this, to be led away with that "error of the wicked." Reader, make a pause, and here admire the "marvellous providence" of our Lord *Jesus Christ*! The first and great Apostle of the Quakers, even

George Fox, the shoe-maker, in his "*Great Mystery*," pag. 94, excludes from the church of Christ those who "are not infallible in discerning the hearts of other men." Whereas now, in spite of all their *infallibility*, such friends as Keith (and Leeds) whom they once admired, profess that they never, in their *hearts*, *believed*, as the common Foxian Quakers do; and Quakerism suffers from none in the world more than these. But that I may a little suggest unto you certain methods of encountering those adversaries of your faith, which "go about seeking whom they may deceive," and whom I do here offer to prove as horrid *idolaters* as even those that worshipp'd the rats of Egypt, if it be fairly demanded of me, I will first recite unto you certain passages of a discourse, which a minister of Boston had with a very busie and noisie teacher among the Quakers, (and another of the Friends) in his return from his *visitation* unto some of our northern towns, where the giddy people had cry'd him up for a *nonesuch*.

Quaker. We are come to give thee a friendly visit.

Minister. I am glad to see you at my house; you shall be welcome to the best entertainment my house can afford you. But will you do me the favour to let me understand the designs upon which you visit these parts of the country?

Quaker. I come to preach Jesus Christ.

Minister. Excuse me—what *Christ*, I pray?

Quaker. The same Christ that appeared unto Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; and that appeared unto Moses in the bush, and that was with Israel in the wilderness—

Minister. I would interrupt you. I perceive that we shall be drawn into some discourse. Matter of argument will occur, I foresee, in our discourse. *Argument* sometimes does draw forth *words* that may have too much *warmth* in them; I purpose none such. But if you are sensible that I do let fall any *one such word* in our disputation, do me the favour to take notice of it unto me, and I'll immediately correct it. Now if you please—

Quaker. Thou speakest very well. This is but according to the good report we have heard of thee.

Minister. Friend, I am sensible that you are come among us to preach a religion, different from that which is commonly preached, professed, and practised in the country. If you approve the religion of the country, I can't see where's the sense of it, for you to take such tedious journeys for our illumination. I pray be so kind as to let me know what point in our holy religion you do *not* approve?

Quaker. 'Tis not my business here to enquire into thy religion. I am come to preach the religion of Jesus Christ; the same that the holy prophets and apostles believed; even the inward manifestation of Christ in our hearts—

Minister. To make short work on it, I perceive you both to be that sort of people we call Quakers. Now, there is among the Quakers that extream uncertainty, variety, and contradiction, that no man can say what you hold, any further than each *individual person* will confess his own tenets. I must therefore pray the favour of you to tell me: do you own George Fox's book, entituled "*The Great Mystery*?"

Quaker. 'Tis none of our business to tell what books we own, and what we do not own: and it is none of thy business to ask us. I say, we own Jesus Christ and his inward manifestation in our hearts. And that's enough!

Minister. You'll excuse me: I do again ask, whether you do own George Fox's book of "*The Great Mystery*?" because doubtless you have read it. And if you'll ask *me* as much concerning any book under Heaven, (that I have read) *whether* I own it, or *how much* I own of it, I'll answer you with all the freedom in the world.

Quaker. I say what hast thou to do with George Fox? or to examine me?

Minister. Yes, friend, I do, and must, and will examine *you*. For you are come to *hold-forth*

unto as many of *my flock* as you can; and the word of God bids me to *try* you. And I have to do with George Fox too; because George Fox in his writings has to do with *me*. And if you will sincerely tell me, whether you own George Fox, or no, I shall more probably tell *who* you are. In short, if you'll say, you deny and renounce George Fox, then I must go another way to work with you. If you'll say you own him, then I must endeavour to save you from some of his *damnable heresies*?

Quaker. What heresies?

Minister. Numberless. But I do at this time call to mind *three* of them. *First*, "That the soul of man is without beginning, and infinite." This is, if I forget not, in the 90th page of that book. *Secondly*, "That it is not contrary to the Scripture, that God the Father took upon him humane nature;" and, "that the Scripture does not tell people of a Trinity, nor three persons in God; but that these three persons were brought in by the Pope." (This is in pag. 246.) *Thirdly*, "That they that are not compleat in Sanctification, are not compleat in Justification." (This is in pag. 284.) Now, what say ye, sirs?

Quaker. What hast thou to do to rake into the ashes of the dead? Let George Fox alone. Hast thou any thing to charge upon me?

Minister. I shall know, if you'll tell me, whether you own George Fox, or no. And you *can* tell me if you *will*. I would be more civil to *you*, sirs.

Quaker. I never saw that book of George Fox. [And so said the other Quaker that was with him.]

Minister. Sirs, you astonish me! What! Never see George Fox's book of "*The Great Mystery*?" 'Tis impossible! this thing is to me a *mystery*! Sirs, that book is the very *Bible* of Quakerism. 'Tis essential unto a Quaker, at least unto a *teaching* Quaker, as you are, to be *indoctrinated* from that book. Never see it, man!—However, if you say so, I must believe it.

Quaker. [Fell into an harangue, *repeating* what he had preached abroad about the country; which, because I would mis-recite nothing, I dare not undertake exactly to recite in this place.]

Minister. I perceive our conversation will be to little advantage, except we get a little closer to some *certain point*, which I have hitherto endeavoured, but ineffectually. Sirs, there are several points which I would willingly bring you to. And there happening to be several of my honest neighbours at hand, I have pray'd them (with your leave) to walk in, that they may be witnesses of what passes between us. *First*, I'll begin, if you please, with *this*: I told you, at the beginning, I would not willingly treat you with one *hard word*. There is an *hard word* which will presently occur by the unavoidable course of disputation. I would pray you to ease me of the trouble of speaking it. You shall yourself have the speaking of it.

Quaker. What's that?

Minister. I pray, friend, what doth the Scriptures say of them that say, "they know Jesus Christ," and yet "keep not his commandments?"

Quaker. Nay, what dost thou say the Scripture says in that case?

Minister. You will compel me I see—I say, then, the Scripture says, "He that says I know him, and keeps not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him." 'Tis in 1 Joh. ii. 4.

Quaker. And what then?

Minister. Why *this* then. He that says "I know Jesus Christ," and yet "keeps not the commandments" of Jesus Christ, is a "*liar*, and the truth is not in him." You say, "you know Jesus Christ." But you must give *me* leave to say, that you "keep not the commandments" of Jesus Christ. Therefore—pray sirs, do *you* help out the *conclusion*. I am loth to speak it. You know what it is.

Quaker. Yes, yes; we know well enough what conclusion thou wouldst be at; thou wouldst say that we are liars, and the truth is not in us.

Minister. Right! since it must be so.

Quaker. But what commandment of Jesus Christ is there that we do not keep?

Minister. The commandment of Jesus Christ is, for his disciples to be "baptised with water;" but you Quakers do not keep that commandment of Jesus Christ.

Quaker. How dost thou prove that Jesus Christ commanded baptism with water.

Minister. I know you must have the word *water*, or nothing will content you; else I would have urged, for a sufficient proof, our Lord's commanding his ministers to *baptise* men (Matth. xxviii.

19); this *command* expresses our *duty*. 'Tis not our *duty* to baptise men with the *Holy Spirit*. This belongs not unto *us*, but unto Him whose that *Holy Spirit* is. You will not say we *sin*, if we don't baptise the disciples in all nations with the *Holy Spirit*. So then it must be a baptism with water which is there commanded by our Lord. But, as I said, you must have the word *water*, and you shall have it. The Apostle Peter said—

Quaker. The Apostle Peter! the Apostle Peter! thou wast to prove that Jesus Christ commanded baptism with water, and now thou art come to the Apostle Peter!

Minister. Stay, friend, not so fast! Will you say, then, that the commandments brought by the Apostle Peter, as the commandments of Jesus Christ, are not the commandments of Jesus Christ? But, however, I'll mend the expression—The Spirit of Jesus Christ in the Apostle Peter. (Now I hope it fits you!)

Quaker. [J. S.] Thou art a monster, all mouth, and no ears—

Minister. Prethee talk civilly; don't make me believe that I am at Ephesus. If I were in one of *your* houses, I would not give *you* such language; you had but now a greater liberty to use your *mouth* than I have hitherto taken; and my *ears* were patient. But you foresee my argument is going to pinch you. 'Tis but *civility* to let me finish it.

Quaker. Thou wast to prove that Jesus Christ commanded baptism with water. And thou hast not proved it. And therefore thou speakest falsely.

Minister. What do you mean? These little *shuffles* won't help you. I say, the *Spirit* of Jesus Christ in the Apostle Peter, after our Lord's ascension, when it was impossible for John's baptism (which was into the Messiah suddenly to come, not already come) to have place, did say, in Acts x. 47, "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptised, which have received the Holy Ghost?"

Quaker. How does this prove that Jesus Christ commanded these to be baptised with water?

Minister. Thus: If Jesus Christ had not *commanded baptism with water*, any man might have then *forbid* it. But no man could forbid it. *Therefore* Jesus Christ commanded it.

Quaker. Therefore! therefore! *argo! argo!* Why, dost thou think religion is to be proved by thy *therefore's*—by thy *argo's*?

Minister. Friend, I perceive the word *therefore* is a very dead-doing sort of a word to ye. I'll dismiss this terrible word. I'll only say, the reason why none could forbid believers to be *baptised with water*, was merely *because* Jesus Christ commanded it.

Quaker. BECAUSE! Why, the word *because* is as bad as the word *therefore*.

Minister. (smiling.) It may be so. But, in the mean time, you are wonderfully unreasonable! I say, why could none *forbid water* for the faithful to be *baptised*?

Quaker. Who says none could forbid water? 'tis only said, Can any man forbid water?

Minister. I pray, sirs, and is not this, *none can*? But I'll bring the matter to bear upon you without those two dangerous words, *THEREFORE* and *BECAUSE*, at which you are so terrified. I will put the matter into the form of a *question*, and your *answer* to this question shall put an end to our present velitations.

Quaker. What have we to do to answer thy questions?

Minister. My question is, "Whether a man might not forbid, in the worship of Jesus Christ, what Jesus Christ himself hath no way commanded? You can answer this question if you will; and I desire—I demand your answer.

Quaker. What? for us to answer thy questions! that would be to ensnare our selves.

Minister. I am very sensible of *that*. Therefore take notice you are *ensnared* in the *toils* of your own miserable delusions. But still I say, answer my question.

Quaker. Do you see, neighbours? Friend M. was to prove that Jesus Christ commanded baptism, and now he's come to a question!

Minister. So I am truly. And I see 'tis a question that puts you into a *sweat*. I beseech you to answer it. I *require* you to answer it. What shall I say? I *defie* you to answer it. Pardon my *cogency*; you *force* me to't!

Quaker. I say, how does a question prove that Jesus Christ commanded baptism with water? and why dost thou baptise infants?

Minister. Nay. I'll keep you to the question. Your *answer* to the *question* will prove it; I am designing to make *you your selves* prove it. And, sirs, I do here offer to you, that I will give the best answer I can to any question in the world that you shall put unto *me*. Why are you so loth to answer one short question of mine?

Quaker. I be not obliged to answer thy question.

Minister. I must contrive some fair way to *compel* some answer unto this *one question*. Give me leave therefore to tell you, that if you do not answer this question, you go away conquered and confounded. Yea, sirs, I must in faithfulness tell you that you carry away the dreadful mark of *hereticks* upon you, even, "to be condemned in your own conscience." You go away *self-condemned*, that you don't keep the "commandments of Jesus Christ;" and therefore that you are—what you remember the Apostle John said concerning you.

Quaker. I don't condemn thee for using baptism with water.

Minister. This is no *answer* to the *question* still: for you don't observe it your self; neither you, nor any Quakers under Heaven. Wherefore I still urge for an answer.

Quaker. Thou art not civil to us. Is this thy civility to strangers? We have heard a great fame of thee, for thy civil and obliging carriage towards others that are not of thy perswasion. But now thou art uncivil to us. That which I have to say is, I will keep to that book, the Bible, and I will preach what is in that book.

Minister. (*Taking up the Bible.*) Friend, you pretend then to understand *this book*. I do here make you this offer, that I will immediately turn you to *ten* several places in one book of this Holy Bible, (the Chronicles) and if you can give me a tolerable solution of any *one* of them, I'll acknowledge that you are worthy to preach out of it.

Quaker. Canst thou do it thy self?

Minister. I humbly hope I can.

Quaker. How dost thou know that I can't? [wrong'd you.

Minister. I say you *can't*. Now do you accept my offer? If you *can*, I'll own that I have

Quaker. What's that to thee what I can do?

Minister. Look you, neighbours; I think 'tis to no purpose to proceed unto any other points, with such *unreasonable folks* as these. You see how 'tis. If you desire it, I'll proceed.

Neighbours. No, sir; 'tis to no purpose; they are a people of no reason.

Quaker. Nay, Friend M——, I would not have thee to be so hard upon us; I mean thee no harm. I hear thou takest a great deal of pains for the good of thy people; and they will do well to hearken to thee. I have rebuked some of them for speaking evil of thee. Yea, it is my judgment that thou, and other such ministers as thou art, ought honorably to be maintained by the people.

Minister. You differ from all your *friends*, methinks. What! would you have us to be *hirelings*? 'Tis very strange to hear a Quaker plead for the *maintenance* of our *ministry*. But, for your satisfaction, I'll tell you, the people whom I serve I never once in all my life *asked* for any maintenance or salary; and I never made any *agreement* with them about any salary in all my life.

Quaker. I say, I would not have thee too hard upon us. New-England has persecuted our friends at a grievous rate.

Minister. Nay, friends, be not you too hard upon *me*, about that matter. I approve *persecution* as little as any of you all. I *abhor* it: I have *preach'd* against it, I have *writ* against it, I have *bewailed* the mistakes that some good men have committed in it. I would have you treated with all the *civility* imaginable. I would not have the *civil magistrate* inflict upon you the damage of one farthing for your consciences.

Quaker. But now you may see how the judgments of God are come upon the east-country, by the Indians, for your persecution.

Minister. I can't tell *that* neither. For tho' I am sorry at my heart that ever you were persecuted, yet I can't say, that because *Boston* was guilty of persecution, therefore *Newichawannick*, and *Casco-Bay*, (places in other provinces) that never had any such thing in it, must be cut off.

Quaker. Yes, they persecuted at the eastward. There were two women of our friends cruelly scourged there.

Minister. I suppose you refer to a story published by one George Bishop, a Quaker: he complains bitterly of the New-England persecution, because there came two Quaker women stark naked into our public assemblies, and they were carried unto the whipping-post for it. This was in the northern parts of the country, as I have been told. These baggages, I believe, were the persecuted women you talk of!

Quaker. Well, and what if they did appear naked, to show the people the nakedness of their sins?

Minister. For shame, sirs! Let us have no more of this talk.

Quaker. Why didst thou treat George Keith so hardly?

Minister. He deserved it when I so treated him. And you Quakers have since treated him ten times worse than ever I did. You write whole books of railing against him. I never got him into *gaols*, and under *finés*. I should have been troubled at any that would have done so. But *you* have done it. Therefore I believe 'tis best for you to leave that subject.

And so, after a few other small *pulls*, the *saw* stood still: the *conference* ended.

There are five or six witnesses which I have to attest unto the truth of this relation which I have here given, of a conference with a Quaker, which had all the *Friends* far and near *wondering* (as well as *wandering*) *after him*. And yet these *Oretians* boasted among their friends, how much they had confounded the minister in this conference.

All that I would presume now to commend unto those towns which have such Quakers annoying of them, is this: Brethren, carry it *well*, even with all convenient *civility* and *humanity*, towards this poor deluded people; while you charge your children and servants that they do not go unto their meetings: and cast not your selves also into *temptation* by needlessly being there. But, after all—yea, *before all*—make an experiment which the good people at Lyn made a little while ago, with a success truly observable and memorable.

The Quakers made a more than ordinary descent upon the town of Lyn, and Quakerism suddenly spread there at such a rate as to alarum the neighbourhood. The pastor of the church there indicted a day for *prayer with fasting*, to implore the help of Heaven against the unaccountable *enchantment*; and the good people presented accordingly, on July 19, 1694, their fervent supplications unto the Lord, that the *spiritual plague* might proceed no further. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ gave a remarkable effect unto this holy method of encountering the charms of Quakerism; it proved a better method than any coercion of the civil magistrate: Quakerism in Lyn received (as I am informed) a *death-wound* from that very day; and the number of Quakers in that place hath been so far from *increasing*, that I am told, it hath since rather *decreased* notably. Now, let other endangered plantations "go and do likewise."

The Quakers are such enemies to the holy *religion* which is the life of New-England, that you must excuse my concern to have you fortify'd against *their* attempts also, while I am giving you an *history* of your *other enemies*. What *all* of them would be at, methinks, was a little intimated by what *one* of them once declared. The Globe-tavern was near our public and spacious meeting-house at Salem; and a noted Quaker there caused a paper to be set upon the door of that meeting-house, which had such stuff as this written in it:

"Beware, beware, and enter not!

But rather to the Globe, and spend a pot."

This is but like a passage mentioned in the life of that excellent man, Mr. P. Henry, lately published. A debauched gentleman, in his revels,

drinking and swearing, at Malpas, was reproved by a Quaker then in his company. "Why," said the gentleman, "I'll ask thee one question: Whether it is better for me to follow drinking and swearing, or to go and hear Henry?" The Quaker answered, "Nay, of the two, rather follow thy drinking and swearing." Behold the spirit of Quakerism! When I once compelled a Quaker to confess that the body of Jesus of Nazareth rose from the grave, and went up into the heavens, he begg'd me that I would not improve his confession, as if made on the behalf of all his friends. And another of them, as I hear, publicly *held-forth* in one of his late *stercorations*, that the *husks* of the *swine*, on which the *prodigal* fed in the *parable*, were the *bread* and *wine* in that which people call the *sacrament*.

But what will become of those forlorn villages, that shall resign themselves to the conduct of that "light within," which our sacred Scriptures indeed never expressly mention but once or twice, and then call it *real darkness*; and which may lead men to all this wickedness? There was among the Mahometans in the eastern parts of the world a sect called BATENISTS, from the Arabic, *Baten*, (which signifies *within*;) who were the enthusiasts that followed "the light within," like our Quakers, and on this principle they did such numberless villanies, that the world was not able to bear them. None of all their diabolical *raveries*, which I know I am now pulling on my self, and which I value no more than if they came from the Pouliats of Malabar, shall frighten me from soliciting your Christian cares and prayers, that you may be not over-run with *English BATENISTS*. And I must solicitously make the observation that, although such a number of Quakers in our nation be a dreadful *judgment* of God upon men, smiting them with *spiritual plagues* for their unfruitfulness and unthankfulness under the gospel; nevertheless, 'tis a special *favour* of God, that the number of Quakers is no greater; for if they should multiply, not only would *Christianity* be utterly extinguished, but *humanity* it self exterminated. It is well known that when a Quaker had stolen an hour-glass, their Mahomet, George Fox, (of whom Sol. Eccles, in a sheet called "*The Quaker's Challenge*," page 6, says, "he was the Christ,") thus vindicated it, (*Great Myst.*, page 77:) "As for any being moved of the Lord to take away your hour-glass from you, by the eternal power it is owned." Reader, dost not thou even *tremble* to think what a *dark land* we should have, if it should ever be filled with these pretended followers of the *light*, who wear the name of *tremblers*? In truth, I know not unto what better one might compare them, than unto the *machevelions* growing upon St. Lucia; trees which bear apples of such an odour and colour as invites people to eat thereof; but it is horribly dangerous to do so; for there is no antidote that can secure a man from speedy death, who hath once tasted of them. The *leaf* of the trees makes an ulcer on any place touched with it; the *dew* that falls from them fetches off the skin; the very *shadow* swells a man so as to kill him, if he be not speedily helped.

ARTICLE XXX.

THINGS TO COME.

FROM relating of *things past*, it would no doubt be very acceptable to the reader if we could pass to *foretelling of things to come*. Our *curiosity* in this point may easily come to a degree *culpable* and *criminal*. We must be humbly content with what the God in whose *hands* are our *times* hath *revealed* unto us. *Two things* we will venture to insert:

First, for our *selves* at home, let us remember an awful saying of our Goodwin, quoted by my Reverend friend Mr. Noyes, in his late excellent sermon at our anniversary election: "As you look for *storms* in *autumn*, and *frosts* in *winter*, so expect *judgments* where the gospel hath been preached; for the quarrel of the covenant must be avenged."

Secondly, for the *church* abroad, I am far from deserting what was asserted in the sermon preached at our anniversary election in the year 1696:

"The tidings which I bring unto you are, that there is a REVOLUTION and a REFORMATION at the very door, which will be vastly more wonderful than any of the deliverances yet seen by the church of God from the beginning of the world. I do not say that the *next year* will bring on this *happy period*; but this I do say, the bigger part of this assembly may, in the course of nature, live to see it. These things will come on with horrible commotions, and concussions, and confusions: The mighty angels of the Lord Jesus Christ will make their descent, and set the world a *trembling* at the approaches of their almighty Lord; they will *shake* nations, and *shake* churches, and *shake* mighty kingdoms, and *shake once more, not earth only, but heaven also*."

Unto these *two things*, my reader will not mis-improve it, I hope, if I add a *third* lately fallen into my hands; and never yet so exposed unto the publick.

A WONDERFUL MATTER INCONTESTABLY DEMONSTRATED,

And much desired by some good men to be in this place communicated.

"MR. JOHN SADLER, a very learned and a very pious man, and a most exemplary Christian, lay sick in his bed at his mannor of Warmwell, in Dorsetshire: In the year 1663, in the time of his illness, he was visited by Mr. Cuthbert Bound, the minister of Warmwell.

"Mr. Sadler then desired his man (one Thomas Gray) to see that there should be no body else in the room, and lock the door, and give him the key.

"He then sat up in his bed, and asked Mr. Bound and the attendant Gray, whether they saw no body? And whether they did not *hear* what a person said that stood at a corner of the chamber? They replied, 'No.' He wondered at it, and said, 'the man spake so loud that the whole parish might hear him.'

"Hereupon calling for a pen and ink, he wrote what was told him, and made them set their hands to it; for he told them, 'the man would not be gone till he had seen that done.' —The *articles* written down were—

I. "That there would, after so many months, be a *plague* in London, whereof so many would die [naming the number].

II. "That the greatest part of the city should be *burnt*, and *Pauls* he particularly showed him, tumbled down into ruins, as if beaten down with great guns.

III. "That there would be *three sea-fights* between the English and the Dutch.

IV. "That there would appear *three blazing stars*; the last of which would be terrible to behold. [He said the man shew'd him the *star*.]

V. "That afterwards there would come *three small ships* to land in the west of Weymouth, which would put all England in an uproar, but it would come to nothing.

VI. "That in the year 1688, there would come to pass such a thing in the kingdom, as all the world would take notice of.

VII. "That after *this* and *after some further disturbance*, there would be *happy times*; and a *wonderful thing* would come to pass, which he was not now to declare.

VIII. "That he and his man (Gray) should *die* before the accomplishment of these things, but Mr. Bound should live to see it.

IX. "For the confirmation of the whole, the man thus appearing told him that he should be *well* the next day; and there would come *three men* to visit him—one from Ireland, one from Guernsey, and his brother Bingham."

"Accordingly, the day following, Mr. Sadler went abroad: and this day there accidentally met at his house, and so dined with him, first, the Lord Steel, who had been the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and now returning from thence in his way to London, came to see Mr. Sadler; secondly, Monsieur de la Marsh, a French Minister from Guernsey; and lastly, his brother Bingham.

"Mr. Bound and Gray, within three days after this, made *affidavit* of it before Colonel Giles Strangeways, and Colonel Crocker, who is yet alive.

"Mr. Daniel Sadler and Mr. John Sadler, the sons of this old Mr. Sadler, very serious and worthy Christians, are at this time living in Rotterdam; one of them is his majesties' agent for transportation.

"Mr. Daniel Sadler, making his applications to Mr. Bound for his testimony about this matter, the said old Mr. Bound, in a letter dated Warmwell, August 30, (O. S.) 1697, asserts the matter at large unto him, and subscribes, 'This I shall testifie before the king himself, if occasion be, when he comes into England. Yours, CUTHBERT BOUND, yet minister of Warmwell.'

"Mr. Daniel Sadler has this testimony further fortified by a letter from one Mr. Robert Loder; telling him that he had met with an *old copy* of the depositions aforesaid, which accordingly he transcribes for him; and several yet living in Dorchester affirmed unto him the truth of the story. The copies of these letters are now in Boston, in New-England.

"Mr. John Sadler adds his testimony that his father told unto his mother and himself that he had been told of remarkable things to come to pass, particularly the *burning* of London and Pauls. But that they were not acquainted with all the matters he foretold unto Mr. Bound and Gray. Only he remembers well *they two* were with him in his chamber alone; and his father went abroad within a day or two; and that (according to the sign he had given to them,) the *three persons* aforesaid visited him. He adds, that his father spoke of leaving in writing the things that had been shown to him; and that a little after, he saw once a thin *octavo* manuscript in his father's study, which he believed had those things in it; but after that he could never find it. This testimony is dated in October, 1697."

A worthy and a godly gentleman, at this time living in Rotterdam, and well acquainted with both Mr. Daniel, and Mr. John Sadler, sends this to Mr. Increase Mather, in New-England, with a letter, dated 26th March, 1698.

Reader, I am not ignorant that many *cheats* and *shams* have been imposed upon the world, under the notion of communications from the *invisible world*; and I hope I am not becoming a *visionary*. But *fancies* and *juggles* have their foundation laid in *realities*: there would never have been *impostures* of *apparitions*, and of communications from the *invisible world*, if there never had been *really* some such things to be counterfeited and imitated. *Wise men* therefore will count it a *folly* in its *exaltation* and *extremity* to deride all instances of *strange things* arriving to us from the invisible world, because that *some things* have been delusions. No; 'tis a *wisdom* that is pleasing to God, and useful to the world, for a due notice to be taken of *rare things*, wherein we have incontestable *proofs* of an *invisible*

world, and of the interest it hath in humane affairs. The narrative of Mr. Sadler is advantaged with such incontestable *proofs*, and contains in it such notable passages, that I believe I do well to lay it before serious men; and I believe no serious men will play the *buffoon* upon it. By no means pretend I to pass any judgment upon this *remarkable* narrative; by no means do I presume to tell what I think of it any more than this, that it is *remarkable*. Nevertheless, for the caution of unwary readers, I will annex the words of an excellent writer upon *Divine Providence*:

“Watch against an unmortified *itch* after excentric or extraordinary dispensations of Providence. Luther said, ‘The martyrs, without the apparition of angels, being confirmed by the word of God alone, died for the name of Christ; and why should not we acquiesce?’ And he observeth how the *devil* hath greatly deluded parties who have been gaping after visions.”

Nor will it be unprofitable to recite the words of another author, whom I must quote, as R. David Kimchi did use to quote R. Joseph Kimchi, under the title of *Adoni Avi*:

“*Evil angels* do now appear more often than *good ones*. ’Tis an unwarrantable and a very dangerous thing for men to wish that they might see *angels*, and converse with them. Some have done so, and God hath been provoked with them for their curiosity and presumption, and hath permitted *devils* to come unto them, whereby they have been deceived and undone.”

More Particular Prognostications upon the Future State of New-England.

BUT, oh my dear New-England, give one of thy friends leave to utter the fears of thy best friends concerning thee; and consider what fearful cause there may be for thee to expect sad THINGS TO COME! If every *wise man* be a *prophet*, there are some yet in thee that can *prophesie*. *Predictions* may be form’d out of these.

¶ REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS.

I. Where *schools* are not vigorously and honourably encouraged, whole *colonies* will sink apace into a degenerate and contemptible condition, and at last become horribly *barbarous*: and the first instance of their *barbarity* will be, that they will be undone for want of men, but not see and own what it was that *undid* them.

II. Where faithful ministers are *cheated* and *grieved* by the *sacrilege* of people that rebel against the express word of Christ, “let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things,” the righteous judgments of God will *impoverish* that people; the *gospel* will be made lamentably *unsuccessful* unto the souls of such a people; the ministers will either be fetch’d away to *heaven*, or have their ministry made wofully insipid by their incumbrances on *earth*.

III. Where the *pastors* of churches in a vicinity despise or neglect *formed associations* for mutual assistance in their evangelical services, “wo to him that is alone.” ’Tis a sign either that some of the pastors want

love to one another, or that others may be conscious to some *fault*, which may dispose them to avoid inspection; but fatal to the *churches* will be the tendency of either.

IV. Where churches have some hundreds of souls under their *discipline*, but the single pastors are not strengthened with *consistories* of *elders*, or an agreeable number of wise, and good, and grave men, chosen to join with the pastor, as their *president* in that part of his work, which concerns the *well-ruling* of the *flock*, their discipline will by degrees be utterly lost; the *grossest offenders* will by degrees, and thro' parties, be scarce to be dealt withal.

V. Where pastors do not quicken orderly *private meetings* of both elder and younger Christians, for exercises of religion in their neighbourhood, the power of religion will observably decay among those Christians; the "seed sown" in the *publick* will not so much prosper, for want of being "watred" *in private*: and when the pastor shall fall sick, there will not be so much as one company of Christians in all his *flock* that can come together to pray for his life.

VI. Where churches professing a great *reformation*, shall in their *constitution* cease to *represent* unto the *world* the *holiness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his *heavenly kingdom*, they will become loathsome to that holy Lord; their *glory* is gone, and their *defence* goes with it; the dreadful wrath of Heaven will astonish the world with the things which it will do unto them.

VII. Where churches are loath to give unto *councils* regularly upon *complaints* enquiring into their *administrations*, an account thereof, 'tis much to be suspected that they are chargeable with *male-administrations*; and if the advice of regular councils come once to be trod under foot by any particular churches, all serious men will be afraid of joining to such *unaccountable societies*.

VIII. Where a mighty body of people in a country are violently set upon running down the ancient *church state* in that country, and are violent for the hedge about the *communion* at the *Lord's table* to be broken down; and for those who are not admitted unto the communion, to stand on equal terms in all *votes* with them that are; the churches there are not far from a tremendous convulsion, and they had need use a marvellous *temper* of resolution with circumspection to keep it off.

IX. Where churches are "bent upon backsliding," and carried away with a strong spirit of *apostasie*, whatever minister shall set himself to withstand their *evil bents*, will pull upon himself an inexpressible contempt and hatred; be his merits never so *great*, a thousand arts will be used for to make him *little*; he had need be a man of *great faith*, and *great prayer*; but God will at length *honour* such a man with wonderful recompences.

X. Where a *fountain* shall become *corrupt*, there the *streams* will no longer "make glad the city of God."

XI. The gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ we have with much expence lately sent unto several of our southern plantations; if it be rejected, there are terrible things to come upon them; 'twere better to have lived in Sodom, than in one of those plantations.

XII. God prepare our dear brethren in Connecticut for certain *changes* that are impending over them!

Finally, there was a town called Amyclæ, which was ruined by *silence*. The rulers, because there had been some false alarms, forbad all people under pain of death to speak of any *enemies* approaching them: so, when the enemies came indeed, no man durst speak of it, and the town was lost. *Corruptions* will grow upon the land, and they will gain by *silence*: 'twill be so invidious to it, no man will dare to speak of the corruptions; and the fate of Amyclæ will come upon the land.

Reader, I call these things *prophecy*; but I wish I be not all this while writing *history*.

Now, if any discerning persons apprehend any *dangers* to impend over New-England, from any of the *symptoms* mentioned, it is to be hoped they will employ their best thoughts how to anticipate those dangers. And whereas, 'tis the sense of all men, who discern any thing, that it is in vain to hope for any good, until a "spirit of grace" be poured out from Heaven to dispose men unto it; I beg them to consider, whether the only way to obtain that "spirit of grace" be not humbly to *ask* it by *prayer* with *fasting* before the God of heaven.

It was therefore an article in an advice agreed by some of the principal ministers in this province; and with the mention of that advice, (which, doubtless, all but the *sleeping* will follow,) I'll conclude:

"Solemn days of prayer with fasting, celebrated in our churches, to implore the grace of God, for the rising generation, would probably be of blessed consequence for the turning of our young people unto the God of our fathers. The more there is this way ascribed unto *grace*, the more the grace of God is like to be communicated; and there is in this way a natural and a plentiful tendency to awaken our unconverted youth unto a sense of their everlasting interests; which, were it generally accomplished, a remarkable *reformation* were therein effected."

OBSERVABLE THINGS.

THE HISTORY OF TEN YEARS,

ROULED AWAY UNDER THE GREAT CALAMITIES OF A WAR WITH INDIAN-SALVAGES,

REPEATED AND IMPROVED IN A SERMON AT BOSTON LECTURE, 27 D. 7 M., 1698.

JUDG. vi. 3. 5, 6: The children of the east came up against them; and they entred into the land to destroy it; and Israel was greatly impoverished.

PREFACE.

WHEN the Israelites were engaged in a WAR, they made choice of a priest among them, to serve some of their greatest occasions in it, and after a *sacred unction* bestow'd upon him, we are told by Maimonides, he was call'd Mashuach Milchamah, that is to say, *Unctus Belli*; which was as much as to say, "the priest of the war."

To bring unto a people profitable advices and reflections upon a WAR, wherein they are engaged, and sound the "silver trumpet" of the gospel, with agreeable notes unto them in it, is to do in some sort the office of the Mashuach Milchamah; and this office the ensuing discourse presumes to do, with endeavours that the voice of Heaven, by the *trumpet* of our late war, may be heard giving a *certain sound* in these *eccho's* of it.

The history of a long war hath with all possible care of *truth* been given you. The author earnestly prays, that if the least material *mistake* have happened in the history, he may be advised, and it may be corrected. The noise that may be made by a few sordid people here and there in a room *tophetized* with smoke, and rheum, and spittle, and malice, and lies, crying out concerning the most conscientious essays to preserve *memorable truths*, "they are a parcel of lies!" he values not. But he now tenders to the acceptance of the more *civilized readers* an improvement of *memorable truths*, which it was *his duty to make*, and it will be *theirs to mind*.

THE REMARKABLES OF A LONG WAR, COLLECTED AND IMPROVED.

BOSTON LECTURE, 27 D. 7 M., 1698.

IF a *book* of some consequence be laid open before one that cannot *read*, he may look and gaze upon it; but unto what purpose, as long as he cannot understand it? This very comparison is by the great Austin well applied unto the *judgments* of God. And I will therefore so far improve the comparison, as to observe, that the judgments of God, under which we have been languishing for ten years together, are a sort of a book put into our hands; a book indeed all written in *blood*; a book yet full of *divine lessons* for us. But can every man read this terrible book? No; methinks I see the book managed like the book brought unto the blessed prophet of old in Isa. xxix. 12: "The book is delivered unto him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I am not learned." It will certainly be a work well becoming a minister of the gospel, and every serious Christian will be glad of seeing the work done; to take this book, and help you as well as we can to spell the *divine lessons* contained in it.

Christians, let us now do a work for which the great God hath given us that Warrant, and that command in Psal. cvii. 43: "Who is wise, and will observe these things?"

The various and marvellous dispensations of the Divine Providence towards the children of men, are in this elegant Psalm admirably set before us. Among those dispensations there is a particular mark set upon this, that the God of heaven "turns a fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them which dwell therein;" and though men have "sown fields there, and have multiplied greatly, yet they are again diminished, and brought low through oppression, affliction, and sorrow." Of such dispensations is this passage to be understood, as a question, "Who is wise, and will observe these things?" But if you will rather take it as a sentence, it still comes to the same sense, "Whoso is wise, will observe these things." And the French version very expressively intimates the *design*, as well as the *event* of this *observation*: "that so they may consider the favors of the Lord." No less than ten years have rouled away since we have been plunged into the distresses of a war with a barbarous enemy. In this war we have seen the "fruitful land" of almost one whole province, and another whole county, "turned into barrenness;" doubtless not without provocations of "wickedness in them who dwelt therein;" men had "sown fields" there along the shore in settlements for an hundred miles together, and had "multiplied greatly" into a cluster of *towns*, (besides lesser *villages*,) that might challenge the name of a Decapolis, but in this war we have seen them "diminished again, and brought low, through oppression, affliction, and sorrow." I am to lead you this day through a spacious country, which has been on many accounts the most charming part of New-England; and I must herewithal say, "Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations he has made in that land." Sirs, 'tis time for us to "observe these things;" and this not with a meer *Athenian*, but with a more *profitable* observation. I must not be discouraged from this holy service, by the vain scoffs of those that *blaspheme* all attempts, to "consider the wondrous works of God," as if it were nothing but a "telling of news in the pulpit." The biggest part of the Holy Bible, which is but a relation of such "wondrous works," would be scoffed by such prophane men, if they might not thereby become obnoxious. No, if "whoso is wise will observe these things," then let no man call it folly to make the *observation*. A long war is the *text* which I am now to insist upon: and if we would approve our selves *wise*, after all the *stripes* that have in this war been given us, these things will occur to our observation in it.

I. In the war that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise may observe" the consequence of entertaining the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, and obtaining and maintaining the *ordinances* of that glorious gospel. The Gadarens of old were loth to have any of Christ in their coast: and anon comes a Roman war which distress'd all the land: but the woful town of Gadara was the very first place besieged in that war, and sad things were done unto it. Alas, how little of an "evangelical church state" was there to be seen among all our *eastern settlements*! It hath been for the want of

this, that the judgments of God have more than once forbidden them to be called *settlements*. The towns were generally without *preachers* of Christ, and much more generally without *churches* of Christ, for to irradiate 'em: yea, not one of the towns that are utterly broken up, had any *minister* in it for a long while before their final darkness came upon them. Such a "way of living" did content many of them, that it were horrible to tell what ignorance of Christ they were thereby sunk into. I would never have told you that some young men, twenty years old, in this land, never so much as once heard the name of Christ in all their lives, if I did not think that the God of heaven required us all to mourn before him for such an "horrible thing in the land." Indeed, the strange disasters which attended the first essays to settle that good country, made many people imagine the Indian *sorcerers* had enchanted the ground, so that no English could thrive on such an enchanted soil. But had they carried the *gospel* of the Lord Jesus Christ with them, doubtless they had confuted that vain imagination; all the *spells* of hell would have been insignificant; there would not have prevailed any *enchantment* against a *God-spel* which we have in our gospel. The *original design* of New-England was to settle *congregations*, wherein the Lord Jesus Christ should be known and served according to his gospel; and instruct *families* that should be the nurseries of those congregations. The plantations of the East had little of this *illustrious design* in their eye; the enjoyments of Gadarens did seem too much to satisfie too many of them. "For this cause" we may believe it is, that our Lord Jesus Christ, looking down from heaven upon these *unchristian undertakings*, thunder-struck them with his indignation: "He saw the foolish taking root, but suddenly he cursed their habitation." When some of our eastern people have been pining away under the fatigues of their captivity among the Indians, who had stript them of all they had, *then* they cried out, "Now, now the Lord is punishing of us for our leaving of his ordinances, and removing to a place of no gospel for larger accommodations in the world, and exposing our children to be bred up like the very Indians, into whose hands we are fallen!" That which invites one to think it may be "for this cause," is the singular *distinction* and *protection* which the CHURCHES of our Lord have enjoyed throughout the whole progress of our calamity. No places that have had CHURCHES gathered in them, have all this while been broken up; however, some of them have had much "bread of adversity, and water of affliction." The enemy that have come in upon our land "like a flood" carried all before them as an "irresistible torrent," until they came to places that have churches as it were to *garrison* them. There the Almighty Lord hath check'd the "proud waves," and said, "Hitherto, ye shall come, and no further!" But here let me add a very observable thing: the Lord had some of his *elect* among our Eastern people; but he has brought those *elect home* unto himself, by burning them out of their homes and habita-

tions. The Indians have driven 'em hither, and here they have met with the gospel of Christ, and been effectually called unto the Lord, and join'd unto our churches, and blessed the name of God for bringing them unto these churches. *Periissent, nisi periissent!** Now, "whoso is wise, and will observe these things," cannot but wish, that the *folly* of erecting plantations, without the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ, may be no more committed among us. It was wholesome counsel given, and usually taken in the beginning of New-England, "Let Christians no where sit down without good ministers, but let them rather tarry where they are, as Ezra tarried by the river Ahava, till he had got some Levites to go with them." And it was even then observed, that places which made beginnings any long while without ministers, were with miserable *unsettlements* broken all to pieces. I suppose our eastern country will shortly again be peopled: but let the people which intend there to settle themselves in the fear of God, remember this admonition: don't venture to form *towns* without the *gospel* in them any more. If the lamentable experience which you have more than once had, of a blast from Heaven upon enterprizes to live without the gospel of the Son of God, will not inspire you with more of wisdom for the future, I will foretel your fate in those awful words, Psal. xxviii. 5: "Because they regard not the works of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands, he shall destroy them, and not build them up." Yea, but let all New-England at the same time learn what the welfare or the ruin of all will turn upon. The whole world was made for our Lord Messiah, and the *curse* of God will more or less plague the world, according to the respects which that *second Adam*, our *Lord Messiah* finds in it. But New-England is by a more eminent profession that "Immanuel's land." Let the interests of the Christian religion in *reformed Churches* be pursued and preserved among us, then "all will go well!" Our acknowledgment of our Lord JESUS CHRIST in CHURCHES that shall be so ordered as to represent him and his kingdom unto the world, this will be our *glory*; and this *glory* will be our *defence*; or, as 'tis promised in Isa. iv. 5: "Upon all the glory shall be a defence." But if once the "spirit of this world" eat out the spirit and power of religion, and the order of our churches, and men's value for a room in the churches be lost, then write *Ichabod* upon all our glory; and let us expect that our Holy Lord will "spew us out of his mouth."

II. In the war that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise, may observe" in the very *instruments* of our calamity, shrew'd intimations of the "provoking evils" for which the righteous God hath chastised us by such instruments.

When the miseries of the *sword* are inflicted on a people, it becomes them to consider what *provocations* they have given to the Almighty God,

* They would have been lost, had they not been lost.

who "makes peace, and creates evil; for 'tis he, the Lord, who doth all these things." The sword, by which we have been so grievously harassed, hath been in the hands of God; and if our Father had not been very angry, would he have taken a sword into his hands? We are blind before lightning, we are deaf unto thunder, if we do not sensibly perceive the *anger* of God in the tremendous rebukes that we have suffered: and we are unaccountably and inexcusably stupid, if we do not enquire, "What means the heat of this anger?" It was once the commination of God in Ezek. vii. 24. 27, "I will bring the worst of the heathen, and they shall possess their houses, and the hands of the people of the land shall be troubled:" such "trouble" hath come upon us from the "worst of the heathen!" But what was the cause of all? It follows: "I will do unto them after their way, and I will judge them according to their deserts, and they shall know that I am the Lord." It is but seasonable for us now to look back upon our own *way*, and see how much we have *deserved* all this vengeance by going out of the way. Two persons in their travels beholding the horrid ruins of Germany, one of them said, *Hic fuit hostilitas*—"behold the fruit of hostility!" His friend answered, *Hic fuit iniquitas*—"behold the fruit of iniquity!" If you will travel over our east country, how frequent, how dismal occasions will you see to sigh, "See what has been done by hostility!" But there will be as many occasions for a sadder sigh than that: namely, "See the sad effects of iniquity!" Now, in this contemplation, I do not go to charge them that were once inhabitants of the now ruined plantations with any *sins*, but what are more or less to be found in all our colonies. I ask no more from our brethren, who yet survive the desolations that have come upon their estates and neighbours in those plantations, but that they join with the rest of us all in "searching and trying of our ways," and "judging of ourselves." For, alas! "every mouth must be stopp'd, and all the land is become guilty before God!" Let us all then enquire, what may have been those "provoking evils" for which the "holy and blessed God" hath given the *sword* a commission so dreadful to devour us? But then let us be sure "to enquire wisely concerning that matter." And here I will not enquire whether those that went before us might never be too forward in any *unjustifiable encroachments* to possess and command those lands which have since proved so expensive unto us? Older men than I are best able to manage that enquiry, though I also have heard it made. But that whereupon I rather bespeak your thoughts, is this: will you please to enquire into the *properties* and *qualities* of our adversaries? 'Tis possible, that in their properties and qualities we may read something of those miscarriages, for which our God hath raised them up to be our adversaries. It hath been commonly seen, that when the people of God have sinfully come to *imitate* the *evil manners* of *other nations*, God hath made those very nations to be a sore scourge unto them. And the sense of this was that which long ago

caused many sensible persons to foretel, which of the *neighbour nations* would bring our dear England low. Now, since the Indians have been made by our God "the rod of his anger," 'tis proper for us to enquire whether we have not in some instances too far initiated the *evil manners* of the Indians? The Indians are infamous, especially for three scandalous vices: *First*, they are *liars* of the first magnitude; one cannot believe a word they speak. *Secondly*, they are sluggards to a proverb; they are for any way of living rather than work. *Thirdly*, they are abominably indulgent unto their children; there is no *family government* among them. Will you now enquire, sirs, how far we are *Indianized* in every one, but especially the last of these evil manners? If we find these *Indian vices* to grow epidemical among us, oh! dont wonder that our God hath been with *Indian hatchets* cutting down the *tree* that brings forth *fruits* thus disagreeable to him that planted it.

Now, "whoso is wise, will observe these things." And yet the *observation* may extend it self a little further. Sometimes the sovereign God chuses a nation remarkably laudable for some *good thing*, to punish his own people for the want of that thing. Thus, when the *Christian churches* fell into *idolatry*, God sent the Mahometans upon them, to torment them with one woe after another horribly; and the Mahometans are very remarkable for this, that they are great haters of idolatry, and where-ever they come, they destroy those "idols and works of men's hands," which are adored in the anti-Christian apostacy. Well, but can any *good thing* be reported of our Indian-invaders? Yes, there is one good thing which the French have taught them: there is *family prayer* among them, a daily *family worship* upheld among them. I fear, I fear, this is more than can be said of many English sufferers, that have been annoy'd by those Indian-invaders. It may be, the wretched Indians have cut off multitudes of families, to whom they might have said, "these families never pray'd unto God once in a month, and we have done it every day!" and many of our poor folks never heard any family prayer in their lives, till they were dragg'd into the forlorn and howling wigwams of those wretched salvages. I have heard it said, that in a town of it may be more than *seventy families*, there have not been *twice seven families* that have had any constant invocation of God in them. If it be so, then hear the voice of God in it, when he sent those monstrous and furious barbarians to burn down such *prayerless houses*; the voice of Heaven in it is, "If Indians will pray in their families more than English, then let Indians destroy those English families." It was once the direful imprecation, in Jer. x. 25, "Pour out thy great wrath upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not on thy name." Truly, God has used a sort of *heathen*, to "pour out his great wrath upon families," which in this one point were worse than those heathen, that they "did not call on his name." For God's sake, be so wise as to observe these things, and let family prayer be no where neglected

throughout the land, lest, while God is punishing us by the Pagans, we become worse than Pagans. Let me faithfully and solemnly advise you; sirs, a *prayerless family* is a *Pagan family*. Do not now imagine that it is only the more strict and severe doctrine of a *non-conformist* that now smites your consciences; it is the doctrine of a *Christian*; and, it may be, 'twill have the more force upon some of you, if I tell you, that the late arch-Bishop of Canterbury, in a book on that subject, has this passage: "that constant family worship is so necessary to keep alive a sense of God and religion in the minds of men, that he sees not how any family that neglects it can in reason be esteemed a family of Christians, or indeed to have any religion at all." I will add but this word unto all the rest: If, after this, there be a prayerless family among us, I would, if I could, write upon their door, "Lord have mercy upon us!" for there is a *plague* in that Pagan family.

III. In the WAR that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise, may observe," that the very *objects* of our *sins* have been made the very *engines* of our *plagues*. It is a thing extraordinarily observable, though it ordinarily happens, that *in quo quis peccat in eo punitur*: "men are *plagued* by those very things with which they have *sinned*." If an Eli omit his duty towards his children, it follows, in 1 Sam. ii. 33, those very children shall "consume thine eyes, and grieve thine heart." I am very much mistaken, if our *eyes* have not been *consumed*, and if our *hearts* not *grieved*, by those to whom we have omitted our duty exceedingly. The grand crime of the Jews was in relation to the Romans, and God made the Romans the destroyers of the Jews. You will now demand of me, whether I think that we are chargeable with any crime relating to the Indians, which have been so bloodily destroying of us. I must freely tell you I think we are. The old Britains did not what they should have done, to convert the Saxons unto Christianity; and when the Britains were afterwards fearfully destroyed by the Saxons, their famous countryman Gildas told them, "This is the vengeance of God upon you, because you did no more for the conversion of those miserable heathen." And I admire that the English Protestants in Ireland, after such massacres from the Irish Papists, do no more effectually make this reflection. But that which I am now to reflect upon, is this: had we done but half so much as the French Papists have done, to proselyte the Indians of our east unto the Christian faith, instead of being "snares and traps" unto us, and "scourges in our sides, and thorns in our eyes," they would have been "a wall unto us, both by night and day." What a *sting* was there in those words which the Indians have used unto some of our captives!—"Had the English been as careful to instruct us as the French, we had been of your religion!" Indeed, it can scarce, without an harsh *catechesis*, be called "the Christian faith," which the French Papists have made the salvages to swallow: but if the salvages had been enlightened with "the Christian faith" from us, the

French Papists could never have instilled into them those French *poisons*, that have made such raging *devils* of them. Through the blessing of God, upon the endeavours of good men in this one Massachuset-province, the Indians have mostly embraced the Christian religion.

* There are, I suppose, more than thirty congregations of Indians, and many more than thirty hundred Indians in this one province, calling on God in Christ, and hearing of his glorious word. "Whoso is wise, will observe" a notable smile of God upon those that have worthily encouraged and prosecuted this Evangelical work. But shall we not at the same time *observe*, how signally the *wrath* of God hath fallen upon the persons or estates of them that have debauched the Indians, by selling of *drink* unto them? The trading houses where the Indians of the east had so much of their *drink* and *bane*, what is become of them—every one of them? The sword has been "drunk with the blood" of the English, in the hands of those very Indians which* have been so often drunk among them. And these bloody merchants of the souls of the Indians, when they have summed up all their gains, the foot of the account has been this: "Wo to him that gives his neighbour drink, that puts the bottel to him to make him drunk!" Those men are not *wise*, but *mad*, who can observe these things, and now dare to repeat this iniquity, or dream that any gains are to be got by feeding the Indian *lust* of *drunkenness*.

[* Of that matter, see a printed account at the end of Mr. Noyes's election-sermon; whereto I have here this to add, that an hopeful and worthy young man, Mr. Experience Mayhew, omitted in that printed Journal, meerly because he was more largely mentioned in the annexed proposals of the gentleman that made it, which are not printed with it, must now have the justice done him of this character: That in the evangelical service of the Lord Jesus Christ among the Indians, there is no man that exceeds that Mr. Mayhew, if there be any that equals him. So I am informed concerning him.]

IV. In the war that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise, may observe" the loud *calls* of Heaven to "all ranks of men," in the sharp *strokes* of Heaven on "all ranks of men." As it was said in Mic. vi. 9, "The Lord's voice crieth unto the city, and the man of wisdom shall see thy name; hear ye the rod;" so I say, there has been a *voice* of God unto all the country in that Indian *rod* which hath been used upon us: and "men of wisdom in all ranks" of men will observe, and see, and hear, the meaning of this rod; inasmuch as all ranks of men have smarted under it; yea, it has fetched blood from *all ranks* of men among us. We will a little particularize 'em. And first of all, you that are our honoured shepherds; will you observe how many of our *shepherds* have been worried unto death by the Scythian *wolves* of our wilderness? Two of our MAGISTRATES have been treacherously and barbarously killed by the Indian murderers; they whom God entrusted with the "sword of justice," have had their lives taken away by the "sword of the wicked." I persuade my self, that the rest will be so wise as to "observe these things," and observe how to answer the just expectation of God in their administrations. After this, Oh! why should not our civil rulers, with more zeal than ever,

set themselves to ponder, "How may I most glorify God and Christ, and serve his dear people with my opportunities."

Two of our MINISTERS have been *struck down* into the earth by the Indian *dragons*. They who have used nothing but the "sword of the spirit, which is the word of God," for the saving of all about them, have had the "destroyers coming upon them," and have been "waited for of the sword." I assure my self, that the rest will be so wise as to "observe these things," and observe how to fulfil our ministry, with a very excited watchfulness. May all our settled pastors, upon such a thing befallen our brethren, resolve with themselves: "Am unworthy I spared? I will do more for my Lord, add more for my flock, and more for all the churches, than ever I did." We will pass on: there have been some *rich men*, that were finely situated, and "had all things richly to enjoy:" but this war has reduced them to such necessity, that within less than one year they have come to *beg their bread*! All their *treasures* have been "treasures of snow;" one summer has melted all away to nothing. I remember the Jewish "*Talmuds*" tell us of a gentlewoman who had a thousand thousand pieces of gold given with her at her marriage, by her father Nicodemus, for her portion; and yet she was reduced unto such penury, that she picked barley corns out of the cattle's dung for her food. Have not we seen almost such vicissitudes? Rich men, if you are wise, (which the *rich* are *not always*!) you will "observe these things," and upon the observation say, "Well, what man in his right wits will now set his heart upon such transitory, as all sublunary vanities! Oh! my soul, do thou make sure of a better and a lasting substance in heaven: for earthly riches take themselves wings, and flee away towards heaven."

Again, there have been abundance of *poor men*, who have been by this war plunged still into deeper poverty: they have gone without a bit of bread for many days together. The straits, the wants, the cares of widows, and orphans, or of those that have had many mouths to feed, especially in our exposed frontiers, none can express them, none can conceive them, but they, (nor *they*!) who did endure them all. Poor men, if you are *wise*, (which the *poor* may be!) you will "observe these things," and upon the observation say, "Well, I had need make sure that my soul may not be starved by wanting the bread of life, and that my soul may not be naked without the garments of righteousness. How dolefully am I circumstanced, if I go down from one hell unto another at the last.

Once more: how many *women* have been made a *prey* to those *brutish men* that are "skilful to destroy?" How many a *fearful thing* has been suffered by the *fearful sex*, from those *men* that one would fear as *devils*, rather than men? Let the daughters of our Zion think with themselves what it would be for fierce Indians to break into their houses, and brain their husbands and their children before their eyes, and lead them away a long journey into the woods; and, if they began to fail and faint in the

journey, then for a tawny salvage to come with hell-fire in his eyes, and cut 'em down with his hatchet; or, if they could miraculously *hold out*, then for some filthy and ugly squaws to become their insolent mistresses, and insolently to abuse 'em at their pleasure a thousand inexpressible ways; and, if they had any of their *sucking infants* with them, then to see those tender infants handled at such a rate, that they should beg of the *tygres* to dispatch them out of hand. Such things as these, I tell you, have often happened in this lamentable war. And now, O ye handmaids of the Lord, will you not be so *wise* as to "observe these things?" But upon the observation say, "Well, I will bless God for my enjoyments; my afflictions, be they never so many, are not such as my neighbours have seen: My enjoyments are more than my afflictions. But, Oh! let me love and serve the good God, that has distinguished me with his mercies."

It is to be added: We have had our *old men*, whose "gray hairs have not come down to the grave in peace." Young Indians have, with grievous flouts and wounds, butchered many of our old English men. The *gray hairs* of our old men have been dyed *red* with their own blood, and their carcases have been thrown unto the swine to mangle them. Old men, if you are wise men, you will "observe these things;" but, observing of them, say, "Oh! let my hoary head be found in the way of righteousness!"

But our *young men* are they whom the fury of war hath been chiefly poured out upon. Alas, alas, for our young men! they are the persons with whom it seems to have been the very errand of this war to manage the terrible controversie of God. New-England sets a peculiar accent of grief upon this, among all her lamentations: The Lord has trodden under foot my mighty men in the midst of me; he hath called an assembly against me, to crush my young men." Come then, my young men; be so *wise* as to *observe* these things; and upon the observation say, "Lord, let not me, and the rest of my generation, continue among the generation of thy wrath!"

Yea, to have done: *children* also have not been excused from a share in the blows of this hideous war. Little boys and girls, even these little *chickens*, have been seized by the Indian *vultures*. Our little *birds* have been spirited away by the Indian devourers, and brought up in a vile slavery, till some of them have quite forgot their English tongue, and their Christian name, and their whole *relation*. Yea, those *Babylonians* have "dash'd out the brains of our little ones against the stones." And our little ones have been hideously whipt unto death by those merciless *tygres*, whose "tender mercies are cruelty."—*Children*, God make you so *wise* as to observe these things; and, upon the observation, "Oh, see that you become *serious, pious, orderly* children; obedient unto your parents, conscientious to keep the Lord's day, and afraid of committing any wickedness."

Upon the whole, when a dead man was thrown into the grave of Elisha, a touch from the bones of the prophet in the grave rais'd him from the

dead. I am desiring that *religion* may be revived out of the death which has too much enfeebled it among us. Behold, sirs, I have now cast you into the *graves* of our *dead friends*; it may be, by wisely *observing* of them, and the things that have befallen them, we may be somewhat *raised* out of our deadly security. Let our "observation of these things" give some *life* to the practice of religion among us.

V. In the war that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise may observe" those *tragical things* undergone by many in captivity, that are full of admonition unto us, that have never felt the *tragedies* of such a captivity. Several hundreds of our neighbours, first and last, have been carried into captivity by the most beastly and bloody things that ever wore the shape of *men* in the world. New-England makes that moan in Lam. i. 18: "Hear, I pray you, all people, and behold my sorrow; my virgins and my young men are gone into captivity." But, Oh, the prodigious and stupendous things that they have undergone in this captivity! What weary days and nights have rouled over the miserable captives, while they have not had a bit of meat allow'd 'em, except what a dog would hardly meddle with. While they have sometimes been pinched with the bitter frost, without rags to cover their nakedness, and sometimes been parched with the burning heat, without any cordial or shelter to refresh them: While they have seen their nearest relations torn in pieces alive before their eyes, and yet those eyes afraid of dropping a tear at the mournful sight: Yea, while they have every hour looked when they should be themselves roasted alive to make a *feast* and a *sport* for the horrid *cannibals*! Need I tell you, that those "devils incarnate" have tied their captives unto trees, and, first cutting off their *ears*, have made them to eat their own ears, and then have broiled their whole *bodies* with slow fires, dancing the mean while about them, and cutting out collops of their flesh, till with lingring tortures they have martyred them to death! Such things have been done by the inhumane salvages upon our captives, that it is a sort of *inhumanity* barely to mention them. Now, shall we be *wise*, to "observe these things?"

The observation must be made with that admonition in Luke xiii. 4, 5, "Think ye, that these were sinners above all men? I tell you, nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." Wherefore, let us penitently confess that we have *all* deserved those "miserable things," where-with *some* have been so marked out by the Sovereignty of heaven. In the things that have been done to our captives, the great "Lord of Hosts" hath dealt with us as *generals* use to do upon the sedition and mutiny of *military legions*: He makes a sort of *decimation* among the offenders, and by what he does to some, he declares what he might justly do to all the rest. We must all ascribe it unto the meer *sovereign mercy* of God, that we are not every one of us "broken in the place of dragons," as these desolate captives were. That which the Scripture calls "the place of

dragons," I remember one of the Jewish rabbi's expounds, "a wilderness." Truly, our "wilderness" hath been "the place of dragons." But while we "observe these things," we shall not be *wise*, if we do not learn, "Oh! what an evil and a bitter thing is our sin!" And what horrendous miseries must we expect among the devils, if we die with our sin unpardoned!

VI. In the war that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise, may observe," a *work*, a *strange work* of Heaven, as it were *devising* of ways, very strangely to distress all sorts of people, in all sorts of interests. Truly the very character of our calamity hath all along been this: the great God has written still upon it, we may read upon it, in a very legible character, those words in Jer. xviii. 11: "Thus saith the Lord, behold I frame evil against you, I devise a device against you." It hath been as if ways had been deliberately and exquisitely *studied*, and as if with much *contrivance* plotted for to bring us all within the reach of the general calamity. We have now languished through *ten years*, which have been the saddest, and the darkest, and the *stormiest years* that ever we saw. If the *history* of these ten years were to be written, I am thinking what should be the *title*; truly it may be entituled, as Ezekiel's roll was, "lamentation, and mourning, and wo." Yea, you shall now have the history of these ten years written for you; I'll give it you in as expressive words as can be; even in those words, 2 Chron. xv. 5, 6: "In those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants, for God did vex them with all adversity." There is a variety of *adversity* with which the tedious war it self hath *vexed* us. The general fate of the war hath involved numberless families in several circumstances of adversity, and the *expensive* part of the war hath been an heavy scourge of adversity upon those that could not be reach'd by the destructive part of it. You could not but "observe these things:" But then have you not *observed* what a further variety of adversity hath been contemporary with this vexatious war. Alas, there hath been such a complication of other distresses added unto the war, in the time of it, that no-body—no, I say, *no-body*—hath been left free from those dolorous ejaculations, "I am one that hath been afflicted by the rod of the wrath of God!"

A great king of Persia, having by death lost the nearest relation he had in the world, and being too passionate a mourner for his loss, an ingenious man undertook to raise the dead relation unto life again, if the king would but furnish him in one point that he apprehended necessary. It was demanded what that was? And it was replied, "Furnish me but with the names of three persons who have never met with any sadness and sorrow, and by writing those names on the monument of the dead, I'll bring the dead person to life." Truly, the ten years of our war have set many ten hundreds of persons a mourning over their dead friends; we have seen every where the mourners go about the streets: Now, I durst

make you this offer, that if you can find three persons who have met with no matter of sadness and sorrow in these ten years, with the names of them, we'll fetch your dead friends to life again. It was said in Job xxi. 17, "God distributeth sorrows in his anger." You may observe a marvellous distribution of sorrows made among us by the anger of God.

And here, *first*, I say nothing of that amazing time, when the evil angels in a præternatural, and in an unparallell'd manner being let loose among us, "God cast upon us the fierceness of his anger, and wrath, and indignation, and trouble." It was the threatning of God against a people which he had called his *children*, in Deut. xxxii. 23, 24: "I will heap mischiefs upon them; I will spend my arrows upon them; they shall be devoured with a bitter destruction." What was the bitter destruction thus threatned unto an apostatizing people? I remember the famous Jew, Onkelos, renders it, "they shall be vexed with evil spirits;" and indeed that sense well agrees with what follows, "I will send upon them the poison of the serpents of the dust." Sirs, for our *apostasie*, (which is the very sin of the *evil spirits*;) the God of heaven a while ago turned in the armies of hell upon us, and in that matchless dispensation of God we underwent a bitter destruction from the "poison of the serpents of the dust."

But there are other points, not a few, wherein the great God hath heaped mischiefs upon us, and fulfill'd unto us that holy commination, Ezek. vii. 26, "Mischief shall come upon mischief." What shall I say? While the *Lord of Hosts* hath been against us, the *Hosts of the Lord* hath been so too: all the elements have, as it were, been up in arms against us.

Particularly you may *observe*, that epidemical sicknesses have, in these years, been once and again upon us; wherein the angels of death have shot the arrows of death into such as could not be reached by the bullets of the Indian enemy. This one town did in one year lose, I suppose, at least six or seven hundred of its people by one contagious mortality. And tho' of about three and twenty hundred men that we employ'd in one action, we did, in that action, lose hardly thirty men, yet how many hundreds did afterwards miserably perish?

Again, you may *observe*, that the harvest hath once and again grievously failed in these years, and we have been "struck thro' with the terrible famine," almost as much as if the Indian enemy had been all the while sculking about our fields. The very *course of nature* hath been altered among us; a lamentable cry for "bread, bread!" hath been heard in our streets: The towns that formerly supplied other places with grain, had now been famished, if other places had not sent in a supply to them, and had a black prospect of being famished, notwithstanding that supply.

Once more, you may *observe*, that the sea hath in these years been swallowing up our neighbours and their estates, far more than the "sword of the wilderness." Alas, the devouring displeasure of God hath said, concerning us, "Though they go to hide themselves from my sight afar off

upon the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them." And here, hath it been enough that our vessels, enough to make an huge fleet, have been taken by the French enemy? A certain writer hath computed it, that, in only the first two or three years of the war, the English nation lost unto the French more than fifteen millions of pounds sterling. But no part of the English nation hath been more frequently or sensibly prey'd upon by the French, than what hath gone out of New-England, ever since the war began. I say, has this been enough? No; the wrath of God said, "This is not enough!" I appeal to you that have been owners of vessels, or sailors in them, whether horrible shipwrecks have not been multiplied since the war began, very much more than ever they were before? Ah, Lord! how many of us have shed "rivers of tears" over our dear friends that have been "buried in the ocean."

Moreover, you may *observe*, that in these years those very things which were intended for our *defence*, have oftentimes been so much improved for our *damage*, that it was hard for us to say which was the greater, the defence, or the damage, which we had from them. It was a lamentable time with the Jews, when that *curse* came upon them, "That which should have been for their welfare, let it become a trap, and pour out thine indignation upon them." Truly, the "indignation" of God hath been "poured out" upon us in this fruit of the *curse*, no less frequently than sensibly, that some things which should have been "for our welfare," have at the same time served also to *entrap* the persons and interests of many people into sore inconveniences. There is no need of explaining this article; they that have been under this "indignation" of God know the explaining of it.

Finally, you may *observe* what *untimely ends*, and what *surprizing fates*, have come upon our sons in these "years of the wrath of the right hand of the Most High." When Croesus was in war taken by Cyrus, this captive made unto the conqueror this remark upon the difference between *peace* and *war*: "O, sir, I see that in a time of *peace* the sons bury their fathers; but in a time of *war*, the fathers bury their sons." Truly, sirs, our time of war has in various ways of mortality been embittered with this remark, "The fathers have been burying their sons all the country over!" Many of us have had our sons, even those very sons of whom we said, "This same shall comfort us!" We have had them violently snatch'd away from us, and cropt in the very flower of their youth; and they have left us deploring, "Oh, my son, with all my heart could I have died for thee, my son, my son!" But in the midst of these deplorable things God hath given up several of our sons into the hands of the fierce monsters of Africa. Mahometan Turks, and Moors, and devils, are at this day oppressing many of our sons with a *slavery*, wherein they "wish for death, and cannot find it;" a slavery, from whence they cry and write unto us, "It had been good for us that we had never been born."

——— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet a lacrymis ? * ———

Thus, as Job sometimes complained, chap. x. 17, "Thou renewest thy witnesses against me, and increasest thine indignation upon me; changes and war are against me:" Thus in our long war we have seen those *changes* on all hands, and in all kinds, which have *witnessed* against us the dreadful indignation of God. God threatned his people, (so I read it,) Amos ii. 13, "Behold I will press your place as a full cart presses the sheaf:" ['Tis an allusion to the old way of threshing the corn, by drawing a loaded cart with wheels over the corn—*q. d.* You shall undergo *tribulation*.] Ah, New-England, thou hast been under such a tribulation!

Sirs, have you not *observed* these things? But you must *wisely observe* them. And a wise observation of these things will cause you to see, "That the war which hath been upon us hath been a war of God." The Indians have been but a small part of those armies which the great GOD hath been bringing out against us for ten years together; and we may conclude that all the land have been more or less concerned in those crimes for which the Almighty GOD hath been with these armies managing his controversie with us: Our confession must be *Peccavimus omnes*—"We have all gone astray!" But shall we not upon this *observation* take up some *resolution*? If we are wise, we shall thus resolve: "'Tis time, 'tis time, 'tis high time for us to make our peace with God. O let us not go on to harden ourselves against God! we are not stronger than he: But let us all fly to the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our peace, and so lay down the arms of rebellion, that God may be reconciled unto us."

VII. In the WAR that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise, may observe" those *dispensations* of Heaven towards us, that have carry'd more than ordinary *humiliations* in them. It was said concerning Miriam, (the type of the now leprous and outcast church of Israel, "The Lord hasten that seventh day wherein it shall be restored!") Numbers xii. 14, "If her father had spit in her face, should she not be ashamed?" Ah, New-England, thy Father hath been "spitting in thy face" with most "humbling dispensations;" God hath been bringing of thee "down to sit in the dust." When the war commenced, New-England might say, "My God will humble me!"

For, first, shall our Heavenly Father put a *rod* into the hands of base Indians, and bid *them* to scourge his *children*! Oh! the humiliation of such rebellious children! Oh! the *provocation* that certainly such sons and such daughters have given him! It is a very *humbling* thing that the Lord threatned unto his "provoking sons and daughters" in Deut. xxxii. 21, "I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people: I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation." Should a child of yours be refractory; and you, sir, should bid a negro or an Indian slave

* At such a tale, though by himself 'twere told, | Who could refrain from tears?

in your house, "Go, take that child, and scourge him till you fetch blood of him!" surely this would be to humble him *unto the uttermost*. Thus doth thy God humble thee, O New-England, by putting thee over into the vile hands of those which are "not a people, but a foolish nation."

Again, *Who* are they by whose means we are now crying out, "We are brought very low?" When the Most High God was determined effectually to humble his people, he said, in Jer. xxxvii. 10, "Though ye had smitten the whole army of the Caldeans, that fight against you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet should they rise up every man in his tent, and burn this city with fire." Truly we had "smitten the whole army" of the Indians that *fought* against us three and twenty years ago, from one end of the land unto the other; only there were left a few "wounded men among them" in the east; and now they have "risen up every man," and have set the whole country on fire. Certainly, a more *humbling* matter cannot be related!

Moreover, is it not a very *humbling* thing, that when about an *hundred* Indians durst begin a war upon all these populous colonies, an army of a *thousand* English raised must not kill one of them all; but instead thereof, more of our *soldiers* perish by sickness and hardship than we had *enemies* then in the world? "Our God has humbled us!"

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that when the number of our enemies afterwards increased, yet an handful of them should, for so many summers together, continue our "unconquered spoilers, and put us to such vast charges, that if we could have bought them for an *hundred pound an head*, we should have made a saving bargain of it? "Our God has humbled us!"

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that we should have had several fair *opportunities* to have brought this war unto a *final period*, but we should still, by some *fatal oversight*, let slip those opportunities? "Our God has humbled us!"

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that whatever *expeditions* we have undertaken, for the most part we have come off *losers*, and indeed but plunged our selves into *deeper straits*, by our *undertakings*? "Our God has humbled us!"

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that more than one or two of our forts have surrendred, and one of them that was almost impregnable given away with a most *shameful surrender*, by one that hath since received something of what he deserved? Thus "our God has humbled us!"

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that we should have "evil pursuing of us" at such a rate, that in other lands afar off, and on the Exchange in London, strangers have made this reflection: "Doubtless New-England is a country in ill terms with Heaven?" But so "our God has humbled us!"

What shall I say? Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that when peace is restored unto the whole English nation, and when peace is enjoyed by all America, poor New-England should be the *only land* still embroil'd in

war? But thus, "our God, thou hast humbled us, and shown us great and sore troubles, and brought us down into the depths of the earth!"

O my dear people, how can I "observe these things," and not, like Joshua, now "fall to the earth on my face before the Lord," and say, "What shall I say?" But if you will "wisely observe these things," you will now "get up, and sanctifie your selves," and "put away the accursed thing from among you, *O New-English Israel!*"

Certainly the "high and lofty One," who "dwells in the high and holy place," expects that we should be a very humbled people. I beseech you, sirs, "observing these things;" let us in all the methods of repentance, "humble our selves under the mighty hand of God." After such *humbling* things as have befallen us, God forbid that it should be said of us, as in Jer. xliv. 10, "They are not humbled even unto this day!"

VIII. In the WAR that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise, may observe" the *compassions* of God, wonderfully exercised, and manifested, and magnified, in the midst of our *confusions*. There was a time when a "bush burned with fire, and yet the bush was not consumed:" whereupon said Moses, in Exod. iii. 3, "I will now turn aside, and see this great sight!" Sirs, I am now to call upon you, "O turn aside, and see such a great sight as that!"

Indeed, in the midst of all our *lamentations*, we must own, with the church, in Lam. iii. 22, "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not." But there are many particular and astonishing *articles of mercy* which we have seen in this tedious war. Sirs, come now to *observe* some of those things which prepared *hallelujahs!*

It was the petition in Hab. iii. 2, "O Lord, in wrath remember mercy!" New-England, thy God hath heard this petition for thee in very wonderful instances!

For, first, after a very amazing manner has *mercy* been *remembered* in the midst of *wrath*, when we have been rescued by the mercy of God, at the very point of our being else ruin'd by his wrath. Lord, "thou hast shewed thy people hard things, and made us drink the wine of astonishment." But our *extremity* hath been God's *opportunity* to relieve us. Several times in the late years of our affliction we have been brought unto a dismal *non-plus* in our affairs, and we would scarce imagine it possible for us to subsist any longer. But just *then* the bowels of our compassionate God have been moved for us! He hath said, "How shall I give thee up, O *New-England?* how shall I give thee up, O *Massachusetts?*" and so he would not "execute upon us the fierceness of his anger," but with some unexpected succours from the "machin of Heaven" he hath relieved us. We have several times been like a little vessel in a storm; the swelling waves have dashed, and raged, and roared; the rude billows have been going over us, and we have been ready to sink. But just *then* our com-

passionate Lord Jesus Christ hath *awaked* for our safety, and marvellously calmed our circumstances! O thou land, strangely saved by the Lord, say now, as in Psal. cxxxvi. 23, "O give thanks unto the Lord, who remembered us in our low estate, because his mercy endureth for ever!" When our *debts* have become insupportable, God has then "remembered us in our low estate, because his mercy endureth for ever," and strangely extricated us. When our foes have been as an "overflowing scourge," like to carry all before them, God has then "remembered us in our low estate, because his mercy endureth for ever," and strangely lifted up a standard against them. When fearful *divisions* have arisen among us, and horrid *convulsions* have been ready to pull all to pieces—I don't care to remember them any farther than to say, God has then "remembered us in our low estate, because his mercy endureth for ever," and strangely healed those *breaches* that set the land a *trembling*.

Moreover, it hath been a very *strange thing*, and a wondrous *remembrance of mercy* in the midst of *wrath*, that the Indians have been *unaccountably restrained* from giving us an hundredth part of the trouble, which they might have done, had they but *known* or *used* their own advantages. This one thing, whosoever does "wisely observe" it, must needs ascribe it unto a special operation of that God, who "forms the spirit of man within him." It was the promise of God unto his people, (Exod. xxxiv. 24,) "No man shall desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God." The faithful God strangely fulfilled this promise for many hundreds of years together; "no enemy desired the land" of that people, at the time of their going up to worship the Lord in his temple. And whereas the Roman enemy did at length "desire their land" at the time of their going up to the Passover, this one thing was enough to prove that the Messiah was come, and the Passover no longer commanded. It shows that there is a *strange operation* of God upon the *minds* of men, to curb, and check, and blind the *evil-minded*. Well, we have had our frontier towns, in many of which the Lord Jesus Christ hath been worshipped, and sought and served continually. Had the lurking *enemy* done as they might have done, how easily might one dozen of them have kept the towns in such perpetual and perplexing *alarms*, as would have caused them even to have broken up! and what unknown mischiefs might a few more of 'em have brought upon our scattered plantations! I do again and again say, this is from the strange operation of God, upon the minds of the enemy, that they have no more "disturbed our land." For my own part, I will *observe* it, and *admire* it in such terms as Austin used upon a remarkable providence: *Quisquis non videt, Cæcus; Quisquis videt, nec Laudat, Ingratus; Quisquis Laudanti reductatur, Insanus*.* they are blind and mad that are insensible of it!

* Whoever does not see, is blind: whoever sees, but does not praise, is ungrateful: whoever rebukes another for praising, is mad.

Yet again, have not our English prisoners been favoured with such a "remembrance of mercy" in the "midst of wrath," as ought never to be *forgotten*? The *mercy* of God inclined the French to buy 'em out of the hands of the Indians, and use them with an exemplary humanity and civility. The *mercy* of God preserved many of them alive, under prodigious and incredible hardships, and at length returned many scores of them home. And may not our English women, that were prisoners, take notice of one singular *mercy* shown by God unto them, in preserving them from violations by the *outrageous lusts* of the salvages? This one thing will be thought by some almost as great and strange an instance of an immediate interposition of the *angels* of God, as the muzzling of the lions in the den of Daniel! "O ye redeemed of the Lord, you, whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy, give thanks to the Lord, for he is good!" Charge your own souls, that you "never forget his benefits;" ask your own souls what you "shall render to the Lord for all his benefits:" and remember that admonition of the Lord Jesus Christ unto you, "Sin no more, lest a worse thing do come unto thee."

Furthermore, who could not see "mercy remembered" in the midst of "wrath," when God hath put it into the hearts of his people in the *southern* parts of the country, to make *liberal contributions* of money, and corn, and men, for the relief of the *northern* parts? More than once has the noble *charity* of our brethren in Plymouth, and in Connecticut, as well as of this town, been expressed in such contributions. Their *alms* are "gone up for a memorial before the Lord!" the *blessing* of many that have been "ready to perish" hath come upon you, "O ye merciful children of God," and you shall "obtain mercy" from him.

Once more. Was every "mercy remembered" in the midst of "wrath," more conspicuously than when powerful *adversaries*, designing inroads upon us, have been diverted wonderfully? Advice hath been seasonably dispatched unto us of the intentions in our enemies to fall upon our frontiers, and this *advice* hath proved our *safety*. Yea, sometimes, when we have had no advice, a strange direction from Heaven has led us to those actions, which have as much defeated the intentions of our enemies, as if we had received the fullest advice in the world. Besides this, Boston, and Salem, and Portsmouth especially, will they ever forget the *last year*? It was a "year of salvation," yea, it was a "year of miracles!" Never, never such a year passed over us. The Almighty show'd that favour to his people of old, Zech. ix. 8, "I will encamp about my house, because of the army, because of him that passeth by, and because of him that returneth." Alexander, in an expedition to the southward, did *pass by* the land of Israel, and he did *return* again to the northward, without hurting that land that had the "house of God" in it. Formidable French squadrons have more than once *passed by* to the southward, and have *returned* again to the northward, intending doubtless a *destroying visit* into this land by the way;

but our Lord Jesus Christ hath "encamped about his house here, because of the navy." Yea, once, O New-England, "the Lord thy God," he that would be the "holy one of *New-England*," gave Carthage for thy ransom; he "gave men for thee, and *Spaniards* for thy life." Another time, when a force likely enough to have carried all before them, were almost arrived unto us, we are advised that God sent such a sudden and such a wasting *sickness* among them, as to make them, for want of hands, to desist from their attempt. These were illustrious *deliverances*! and yet he gave me leave to say, we did the last year see another *deliverance*, that for ought I know may be equal to any of the rest. There was an English fleet of our good friends with a direful plague aboard 'em, intending *hither*. Had they *come*, as they intended, what an horrible desolation had cut us off, let the desolate places that some of you have seen in the colonies of the south declare unto us; and that they did *not come*, it was the signal "hand of Heaven," by which the "goings of men are ordered."

In fine, because God, "being full of compassion," would not "stir up all his wrath," he hath "remembered mercy" to us in the midst of "wrath," by raising us up generous *benefactors*, who have been able and willing to oblige us with their *benefits*. It must be with shame acknowledged, our usage of our publick servants has commonly been such, that for any *thinking man* to be willing at all to *serve* the publick, seems to be a mark and fruit of no little *generosity*. Nevertheless, we have had persons of exemplary *patience*, and *prudence*, and *self-denial*, sitting at the *helm* of our government, all this while that the *horrible tempest* hath been enough to make any man living *sick* of being there. We have had persons who have disbursed and expended of their estates, and considerably damnified their *interests* for us in our distresses, when yet they foreknew what *pay* they should have after all. Yea, we have had, and still have, (I can at this moment fasten my eye upon some of them in the assembly where I am now speaking) brave men, who have *bravely* "jeopardied their lives in the high places of the field" for our defence. O treat 'em not with *vile ingratitude*, after all the service they have done: *prefer* them on all fit occasions while they live, *embalm* their memories, and *requite* their families when they are dead. But while we are thankful to *them*, let us much more give thanks to GOD for them, even for such *gifts* of Heaven as we have enjoyed in them.

Well, will you "wisely observe" these things? *Wisely!* That is to say, *thankfully* and *fruitfully*. It may be, if more distinct and solemn THANKSGIVINGS were made unto God our Saviour for these things, the *reliques* of our enemies would quickly feel the rebukes of God upon them, not unlike those in 2 Chron. xx. 22: "When they began to sing and to praise, the Lord set ambushments against *their enemies*, and they were smitten."

IX. In the WAR that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise, may observe" those things that may mightily encourage our *prayer*, and our *faith* for a total ruin to be hastened on the *remainders* of our enemies.

There yet *remains* a knot of our enemies in those "inaccessible thickets," where we despair ever to "find 'em out," but I will read their doom from Psal. xxi. 8, 9, 10: "Thine hand, O Lord, shall find out all thine enemies; thy right hand shall find out those that hate thee; the Lord shall swallow them up in his wrath, and the fire shall devour them; their fruit shalt thou destroy from the earth, and their seed from among the children of men." What *remains* for us is, that we do by prayer and faith put our enemies over, into those omnipotent hands that can "find them out," and cut them off. Oh! Let us keep our "hands lifted up in prayer," for a total dissipation of those *Amalekites*, which have thus long and thus far prevailed against us! We have already had many notable "answers of prayer" in this our war: every one of our *deliverances* have been very notably *such*! We cannot say, how many particular persons have received "answers of prayer" in the particular troubles which this *evil time* hath *ensnared* them withal. Doubtless many a Christian has in this time had opportunity to say, "This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles!" And several towns, that have had a *remarkable protection* of God upon them in this long time of *danger*, they have had a "praying people" in them, and that "praying people" have been the "chariots and the horse-men" thereof. Why else does Deerfield stand? How should our *prayer* be *quickened* by such experiences! But there is this further *quickening* for it, that with the cry of our *prayer*, there will go up unto the Lord the cry of *blood*; much innocent, and righteous, and precious blood, cries to Heaven from the ground against those *bloody* and *crafty* men, that have treacherously shed it. Certainly they must not "live out all their days!" And we have this prevailing plea against them in the "court of Heaven!" That they have most falsely broken their *covenants* in their *outrages*. We may venture to present our *memorials* in the "court of Heaven" against the *covenant-breakers*, who are "implacable and unmerciful," and we may use the words of Jephtha against his heathen adversaries, "The Lord the judge be judge between us and them!" We may use the words of Jehoshaphat against his heathen adversaries, "O our God, wilt thou not judge them?" Uladislaus, the king of Hungary, scandalously breaking his league with Amurath, the Turkish emperor, brought an army into the field against him. The Turkish army being horribly broke and slain, and almost vanquished by the Hungarian, Amurath in his anguish took out of his bosom the written league that Uladislaus had made with him; and holding it up in his hands, with his eyes to Heaven, he cried out, "Behold, O crucified Christ, the league which thy Christians in thy name have made with me, and now without cause do violate. If thou be a God, revenge the wrong that is now done unto thy name, and shew thy power upon a perjurious people, who in their deeds deny their God!" Immediately the course of the battel turn'd, the perjurious king was kill'd, and the Turks won a most unexpected victory. Truly we may in like manner now take the instru-

very long before he fell sick, that he wrote this passage in his diary: "I was affected with what I read of Mr. Shewel of Coventry, who died in the pulpit. 'Lord, let not me die meanly, but in dying bring much glory to thee.'" And now it shall be so! At last, just as he was going to expire, he seemed as if he had some extraordinary apprehensions of the glory in which our Lord Jesus Christ is above enthroned: he strove to speak unto his virtuous consort, and anon spoke thus much: "Oh! what shall I say? He is altogether lovely!" His worthy sister-in-law then coming to him, he said, "Oh! all our praises of him here, are poor and low things!" and then added, "His glorious angels are come for me!" upon the saying whereof he closed his own eyes, about the time when he still opened his Bible for his publick labours—on the Lord's day, about three in the afternoon—and he never opened them any more.

This was he whom you are now going to bury; but, I pray you, bury not with him all the holy counsels and warnings that we have heard from him; *remember how you have received and heard.*

He was one who took much notice of what was from the oracles of God, spoken to him in the sermons of other men. He has much replenished his diaries with remarks of this importance: "I have heard a good word to-day!" And he would often decline going to feasts, whereto his friends invited him, that he might go to *private meetings* in some other parts of the town, where he might at the same time *feast* on the word of God. Thus, more particularly:

At one time.—"I heard a very good word: 'Are ye not carnal?'—Ah, Lord, I am carnal. The Lord give me his spirit to make me spiritual! I was in many things justly reprov'd: let me take it, and be wrought into the likeness of this good word."

At another time.—"To-day I heard a most precious word, with which I was much edified and refreshed, viz: 'Christ is all.' Oh! that I might never forget it! Oh! that it might be written upon the table of my heart! Let my soul feed upon it for ever. It was very seasonable. Though it was a day most intolerably cold; so cold, that there was little writing it; yet it heartily warmed me. I needed a Christ. Oh! that I could get him, and keep him for ever! I would make him my *all*, and count him my *all*. I need a *whole* Christ: Oh! that I may prize a whole Christ, and improve a whole Christ. I have of late thought that this may be one evidence of my right unto glory, that Christ is more precious to me than ever."

What I say upon it is, imitate him in a point so imitable. This preacher is well worthy to be imitated, as he was an hearer.

You can all testify, that he was none of those *cold* preachers, whereof one complains, *Verba vite in quorundum Doctorum Labiis, quantum ad Virtutem et efficaciam, Moriuntur: Adeo enim tepide, adeo remisse, verba Dei annunciant, ut Extincta in Labiis Eorum penitus videantur; unde Sicut ipsi Frigidi sunt et Extincti, sic Frigidos et Extinctos relinquunt, et utinam non facerent Auditores.**

* The words of life die on the lips of some teachers, so far as all their virtue and efficacy are concerned: for in such a lukewarm, listless manner do they announce Divine truth, that it seems to have fallen lifeless on their very tongues; so that, as they are themselves cold and lifeless, they leave their hearers cold and lifeless. Would that they did not make their hearers sometimes permanently so!

For his preaching, he particularly prescribed unto himself, according to a memorandum which I found thus entred in his diary:

"Old Mr. Thomas Shepheard, when on his death-bed, said unto the young ministers about him, 'that their work was great, and called for great seriousness.' For his own part, he told them three things. *First*, that the studying of every sermon cost him tears; he wept in the studying of every sermon. *Secondly*, before he preached any sermon, he got good by it himself. *Thirdly*, he always went up into the pulpit, as if he were to give up his accounts unto his Master. 'Oh! that my soul [adds our Baily] may remember and practice accordingly!'"

To this his preaching, when he saw God gave any success, he would still in his private papers take as thankful notice as if great riches had been heaped in upon him. And yet he would add (such passages I sometimes find):

"Let my soul rejoice. But, Lord, keep me from pride. I desire to be humbled for it. Do I not know that God makes use of whom he pleases, and usually of the *weakest*? 'No flesh shall glory.'"

But if the word preached by this lively dispenser of it live not in our lives, after he is dead, he will himself be, which he often told you he feared he should be in the day of God, a *witness* against many of you.

That we may then meet him with joy, "Let us remember them who have spoken to us the word of God, and follow their faith, considering the end of their conversation."—But be thou sensible, O all my country of New-England, how much thou art weakened by the departure of such blessings to the world of the blessed!

Thy Baily could sometimes write such passages as this (I find) in his reserved papers:

"There was a day of prayer. God was with me in prayer, helping me to plead with him an hour and half for *this poor land*, and in some measure to *believe* for it. I hope God will hear and help."

Such an one taking flight from thee, let thy lamentations thereupon be heard: "My Father, my Father!"

ment of the *submission* and *agreement* of the eastern Indians, which thirteen of their chief commanders did sign more than five years ago; and holding it up to Heaven, we may cry out, "Ah, Lord God of truth, wilt thou not be revenged upon the false wretches that have broken this league!" Doubtless our God will execute a dreadful *vengeance* upon them, if we humbly make our suit unto him for it; and he has ways for his vengeance to come at them, which we cannot imagine. 'Tis affirmed that several times in this war our enemies have in the woods met with parties of Indians, which were their *own friends*, but, by a mistake, apprehending each to be enemies unto each other, they have hotly fallen upon one another, and many have been kill'd on both sides before the mistake was discovered. Yea, 'tis affirmed that not a few of the chief murderers among our enemies have accidentally killed themselves; the most murderous Indians have in a little while been their own executioners. Who can tell what *strange ways*, the God "unto whom vengeance belongeth," hath to inflict it on a generation of his *curse*?

Only let us remember to plead the "sacrifice of our Lord JESUS CHRIST" in our prayer, with our *faith* for the *perfection* of our *deliverance*. Our Lord JESUS CHRIST hath been a "sin-offering for the congregation," and a *sacrifice* pleadable, not only for *persons*, but also for *peoples* that belong unto him. We read in 1 Sam. vii. 9, 10, "Samuel offered a burnt-offering wholly unto the Lord, and Samuel cried unto the Lord of Israel, and the Lord heard him; and the Lord thundered with a great thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfitted them." When we cry to the Lord, let us plead the burnt-offering of the Lord Jesus Christ, and plead, that God has more glorified his *justice* in the sufferings of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, than if our houses were all fill'd with the cries of our people massacred by Indian salvages. Then will our God "thunder with a great thunder" of his consuming wrath upon our Indian Philistines! That note which the great Calvin has above an hundred times over in his commentaries on the Psalms, *Nunquam Irritas fore preces*; or "prayers will never be lost! prayers will never be lost!" It will much oftner be repeated in our blessed *experience*, if our prayers do present before God that blessed *sacrifice*, of which he says, "'Tis a sweet odour to me!"

X. In the WAR that hath been upon us, "whoso is wise, may observe" those loud calls to a *reformation* of our *miscarriages*, which 'tis a dangerous and a desperate thing to neglect any longer. It was the voice of the blessed God, in Psal. xxxi. 13, 14, "O that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways! I should soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries." Ah, New-England, thy God hath not "soon subdued thine enemies, nor soon turned his hand against thine adversaries;" but let 'em vex thee for ten years together. Surely thou hast not "hearkened unto him," nor "walked in

his ways!" In that which was called, "the holy war," the ambassadors of a Saracen prince demanded of a famous Christian general, how he came to have *Manus tam Doctas ad Præliandum*—"hands that were so able to fight?" The Christian general replied, *Qui Manus Semper habui puras*—"Because I never defiled my hands with any notorious wickedness." Alas, our *hands* have made but poor work at *fighting*. 'Tis time for us then to *reform* all the "notorious wickedness" in our *hands*! Do we dream that the Almighty hath spent all his *arrows*? No; after all that for ten years together have been spent upon us, there are yet more *arrows* and *judgments* left in the quiver of God: and except we *turn* unto him, who can say what arrows he may next ordain against us? The Roman emperor upbraided his general Terentius for losing a battel; but the general, having too much occasion to say so much, replied, "Sir, I must tell you that it is you that lost the day for us, by your open fighting against the God of heaven as you do." If it be asked, how 'tis come to pass that we have sped so ill in many a battel since this war began? some will blame one, and some will blame another; but I will take leave to tell all them that lead an ungodly life, "Sirs, 'tis to you that we owe all our ill success!" I need not quote one of the ancients, namely, Ambrose, for that observation, "*Graviores Inimici sunt mores pravi, quam Hostes Infensi*:" we have had enough in our own experiments to convince us, "that our worst enemies are our vices, which provoke Heaven to chastise us with all our other enemies:" and indeed, if our "ways did please the Lord, our enemies would be at peace with us." *Observe wisely*, and you cannot but observe the language of Heaven in the circumstances thro' which we have passed for a whole *decad* of years together, to be that in Lev. xxvi. 23, 24, "If ye will not be reformed by me by these things, but will walk contrary unto me, then will I also walk contrary unto you, and I will punish you yet seven times for your sins." And that the demand of REFORMATION may be loud enough, it arrives to us now with a more than ordinary accent of *authority* upon it. We have seen—and blessed be God that we have seen!—the greatest monarch that ever sat upon the British throne, issuing out his royal proclamation upon the pious address of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, a *proclamation*, wherein that illustrious prince declares his royal *resolution* to discountenance all *vice* whatsoever, and requires all officers whatsoever to be vigilant in the discovery, prosecution and punishment thereof. We have seen a most excellent GOVERNOR, who is the greatest person that ever set foot on the English continent of America, beginning his government with proclaiming for the suppression of all vice in one of his provinces: that noble person has therein done like a *vicegerent* of GOD! his very honourable lieutenant hath worthily done his part, with the advice of his council, in another of his provinces. If these things prove but meer *formalities* among a people, "hating to be reformed" after all, what will they be, but more terrible prognosticks of tremendous

and amazing desolations at hand, than so many *blazing stars* on fire in heaven over us. It is to be hoped, the ministers of the gospel will do what belongs to them for the assistance of all *holy essays* about *reformation*; and their churches, if call'd upon, will join with them in the methods of *covenant*, and of *discipline*, for the promoting of it. Yea, it is to be hoped that we shall all *zealously*, in our several stations, do all that we can for the pleasing of God, and for the correction, and suppression, and reformation of the sin that may be displeasing to him. It is a thing very notorious unto us, that idleness, drunkenness, uncleanness, cheating, lying, prophane swearing, and, above all, that which is the *root* of all, the profanation of the Lord's-day, gains ground upon us. Let all that have any *power* in their hands, unto the utmost of their power endeavour to keep under those enormities. But *last* of all—nay, I should rather say first of all—O let every man set upon *self-reformation* with all his might! I remember that passage in Prov. xviii. 17, "He that is first in his own cause seemeth right," is translated by the vulgar Latin, so as to carry a further and an useful admonition in it: *Justus primus est Accusator sui**—"a just man, before he meddles with the *reproof* of others, will first *accuse* himself, and search the state of his own soul and life, and faithfully *reform* it." Oh! that very much of this might be done among us! How doth an army of thrice ten thousand men presently *turn* from east to west, because *every one turns one*? Sirs, we have "wisely observed" the things that have in our afflicted years befallen us, and we have now, to good purpose, heard a sermon of *observations* upon those things, if we will now retire, and ponder seriously with our selves, "What is there amiss in my own heart, and in my own life, and in my own family; and by what reformation of my self may I best answer the expectation of the God who has chastised us all.

We have been under the *lamentable punishments* of our sins for two *lustres* of years together; 'tis time for *every man*, and for all of us, as *one man*, to say, as in Lam. iii. 40, "Let us search and try our ways, and turn again unto the Lord."

* The just man first accuses himself.

E R R A T A.



READER, Carthagera was of the mind, that unto those *three things* which the ancients held impossible, there should be added this *fourth*, to find a book printed without *errata's*. It seems, the hands of Briareus, and the eyes of Argus, will not prevent them.

THE END.

* 974
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v.2

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